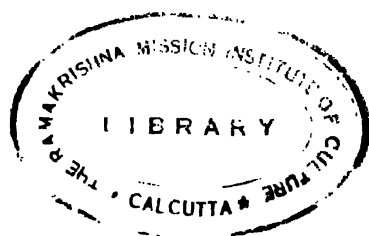
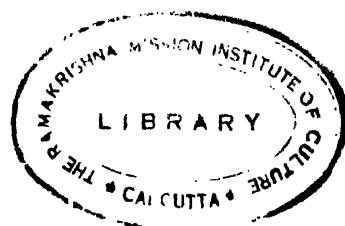


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# MODERN REVIEW

A Monthly Review and Miscellany

Edited by  
**Ramananda Chatterjee**

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July to December, 1922



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# THE MODERN REVIEW

VOL. XXXII  
No. 1

JULY, 1922

WHOLE  
No. 187

## BUDDHISM AND CHRISTIANITY

FOR more than eight years, I have kept in my writing-case the copies of some letters, which I sent from South Africa to the Poet, Rabindranath Tagore, at Shantiniketan. During that troubled time in Africa, at the close of the Passive Resistance movement, Shantiniketan was to me from afar a symbol of peace, towards which my mind continually returned for its inspiration and support. These letters were a connecting link, binding me to the Ashram.

The letters I wrote were all of a religious nature. I discussed them each one with Mahatma Gandhi before sending them to the Poet. The subject of them so occupied my mind, that the stirring political events in which we were engaged seemed as nothing in comparison. For my mind was passing through a religious crisis and a period of suffering had come to me in my inner life, which was to usher in the birth of a new intellectual freedom. At such a time, it was an infinite strength to me to be able to turn away my thoughts from external things altogether, and seek the peace of Shantiniketan, by sitting down in silence and writing to the Poet.

The change of atmosphere in the new and alien environment of South Africa, was so confusing at first, and the pressure with which it thrust itself upon me was so strong, that for a

time I was almost bewildered. The solid ground under my feet seemed to be shaken. I could not understand what was happening, where it would all end; and to what final conclusions it would lead me. The fact has to be taken into account, that I was an Anglican clergyman, still exercising the functions both of a clergyman and a missionary. Though I had seen in India already things that had greatly shocked me within the church, yet I had never seen anything in all my life before to compare with the hard, arrogant, intolerant and utterly un-Christian racialism, which was rampant in South Africa.

It was natural, at such a time of stress, to seek help and guidance from my friends. To Susil Kumar Rudra in Delhi, I wrote at length, covering the same ground as my letters to the Poet in Shantiniketan. Mahatma Gandhi, as I have related, was with me. I talked over all my questionings with him, and read over to him what I had written to the Poet. He advised me to keep the new material I had gathered by me, and not to publish anything on the subject for at least three years.

"If what you have experienced is the Truth," he said to me, "Truth can very well afford to wait. Meanwhile, on your return to India you will have

time to sift out your present thoughts and revise them in quiet meditation, at Slantniketan. Then publish these, but not now."

In this matter I determined to abide by his advice. Indeed I have now waited much beyond the period he mentioned.

When I reached London from Cape-town, I found Mr. Gokhale suffering from the illness which was so soon, alas! to prove fatal to him. The doctors would allow very few visitors. They forbade excitement of any kind whatever. But when I was with him and had related to him my inner thoughts about religions, he asked me to tell him the whole story. Before I had started for South Africa, he had said to me at Delhi,—"This visit is going to be a great shock to your Christianity." I reminded him of this and told him that his words had proved to be literally true. He read over very carefully linked the copies of the letters I had written to the Poet. It was of supreme interest to me, to find how deeply he had already pondered over the very problem with which I had been faced. It was clear to me, too, in that last illness of his and in his lonely life of retirement, the things relating to the religious history of mankind had a great fascination for him. The political issues were temporal; the spiritual search for Truth was eternal.

The envelope that contained the copies of these letters, is still with me. It has become brown, and the ink is faded; upon it, is still legible the name of Mr. Gokhale. This brown envelope in my writing-case, worn with age, recalls vividly to my mind a room in the National Liberal Club, Charing Cross, with Mr. Gokhale reclining on his couch, his face drawn with the suffering of his illness, yet filled with the light of intellectual vision. He would listen to me with an almost fatherly affection, and he could follow all that I told him. For he had only recently returned from South Africa and had passed through the same bitter experience.

Those days in England passed all too hurriedly. There was much to be done, and I had to come back to India at the earliest

possible moment. After my return, these same questionings that had arisen in South Africa were rarely absent from my mind. A further time of critical enquiry and fresh illustration came to me when I was with the Poet in the Far East and for the first time I was in a position to trace out the history of the great Buddhist movement in that quarter. Then, on my return to India, I stayed alone at Boro-budur in Java. The days I spent there in silence, all alone, marked a new departure in my thoughts and a new outlook.

These old letters had gone with me all the while in my writing-case, and I had looked at them occasionally and thought of publishing them. But I was slowly making up my mind to write a complete book instead of merely publishing the letters. At last, a few weeks ago, I nearly lost them altogether. They were in my writing-case along with many other papers, when it was stolen and rifled by a train thief. By a singular accident, these papers almost alone remained when the writing-case was found. Nearly all the other papers that were of value had been destroyed.

Therefore, I have now made up my mind at last to publish them, only reminding the reader beforehand, that they represent the first shock of discovery rather than a final judgment. On the whole, the substance of what I have written has stood the test of time, but on reading them through again I can see that there are many overstatements. I still hope to be able to work out the subject more thoroughly in a book form. Nevertheless the letters may perhaps have a personal and emotional value, which a book may fail to reproduce. In editing them, I have ventured here and there, for the sake of clearness, to expand the thought. Otherwise they remain practically as they were first written to the Poet, more than eight years ago.

#### LETTER I.

"This country of South Africa makes the heart grow sick" with its eternal colour problem. What you have been telling me so silently is quite clear to me

at last. The Christianity of the West, in its present unholy alliance with the 'white race' is utterly unable to cope with this race evil that is destroying humanity. Rather, it is aggravating the mischief by condoning it. It is giving to 'white race' inhumanity the cloak of religion, as caste did of old.

"Mr. Gokhale said to me, when I was leaving India,—'What you see in South Africa will be a great shock to your Christianity'—that has been found true. The shock has been great. But it has been a health-giving one. It has been leading me 'from the unreal to the real.'

"At almost every town out here in S. Africa, the Church of the Respectable is engaged in 'keeping the Indian in his proper place.' A sugar-planter,—a regular Church-goer and communicant,—told me about the indentured Indians on his estates,—'Of course,' he said to me unctuously, 'we provide Christian instruction for them and look after their spiritual welfare!'—this on estates where there has been cruelty, flogging, and child labour! Another, who is a rabid anti-Asiatic, wanted to tell me about the 'mission work' which was being carried on 'among the coolies'! One of the most degenerate and denationalised Indians I have met out here,—who has not lifted a finger to help his fellow Indians in their struggle for liberty,—told me that he was a 'minister of the Gospel'. I found that he had abused his official privilege of going into the prison and speaking to his fellow-countrymen (who were confined there) by attacking their religion in the name of Christ and trying to convert them to Christianity!

"What a parody of the faith of the crucified! How utterly sick the heart gets at hundreds of instances such as these! How one longs at times to be pure and meek and loving enough, in one's own character, to be able to say with Christ,—

'Ye hypocrites! Ye compass sea and land to make one proselyte; and when ye have done so, ye make him two-fold more a child of hell than yourselves!'

"The picture, of course, is not all so dark as this, and it is probable that this

very sickness of heart, which is mine at this moment, makes the picture appear darker to me than it really is. There is a noble educational work being done, and there are noble individual Christian men and women struggling for righteousness and hating this new race tyranny. But the tide is against them.

"It has all been a great shock to me. But the shock has been salutary. I feel, at last, that I have won through the intellectual independence. I must go outside the Church in order to find Christ in this land of South Africa. For I cannot find Him within the Church, as I see it here to-day. I have found Christ in the little groups of Hindu passive resisters and among the delicate Hindu ladies, with their bright faces, telling me of their joy in prison and speaking kindly of their jailors. But I cannot find Christ in these smugly respectable Churches, where a saint like Mr. Gandhi cannot even find an entrance.

"I have tried to make it a rule here, in South Africa, never to enter a tram-car, or a hotel, where an Indian who is my friend and companion, is not allowed to enter with me. Can I make an exception with regard to these Christian Churches, which have excluded Mr. Gandhi himself? I have had to face this problem, and up till now I have only gone into these Churches in order to preach against the race evil itself.

"And now, it is becoming every day not a question of my going outside the Church; it is rather becoming a question of expulsion,—of my being *thrust* out. I preached one such sermon against the racial evil the other day, simply stating the true Christian position, and it evidently gave the greatest offence. The same happened in another place. And now I see, that in the Church papers at home in England I am being attacked for 'heresy', because in India at the Gurukula I have attended Arya Samaj religious services and have spoken in public in favour of certain Hindu religious ideals, which are great and noble.

"The main issue, as you yourself have often said in talking over matters with



me, is this,—I see it all quite plainly now.—The material power and race arrogance of the West have become bound up with an aggressive and insolent form of Christianity, which no longer represents the Christianity of Christ. What is needed, is a deep religious change of heart in the West, and a true following of Christ.

"Here, I see the hopelessness of such a merely political struggle as this of Mr. Gandhi's if it stands alone,—supremely noble though it is. He is not really cutting at the very root of the evil. When one looks more deeply at the whole situation, your one book 'Gitanjali' has done more in a few months to bring East and West together, and to change the European perspective, than all these years of embittered political struggle. I have found your poems on table after table in English houses, where I have been invited as a guest,—in Pretoria, in Johannesburg, in Kimberley, in Maritzburg and Durban; and wherever Gitanjali has gone it has brought peace and love. Indeed, strange to say, among my own countrymen, it has formed my one open-door to get intimacy of speech with them about India. The European welcome, which in certain quarters and in certain homes has been given me so very generously out here, has been in no small measure due to the fact that Keuter telegraphed out, before we arrived in the country, that we were both your friends. You little know what value that telegram has been to me!

"In so far as the Passive Resistance movement here has been spiritual throughout it has left its mark. And a little group of Europeans has been won over by it. But the political aspect,—which to the Englishman is all prominent,—has only accentuated the racial bitterness. What is a cause for even more anxiety,—it has told upon the character of the Indians themselves. It has made them restless and impatient instead of calm and enduring.

"The noblest gain has been the growth of a manly sense of independence. That has been all to the good; and the supreme

courage of Indians has extorted an unwilling admiration even from their opponents. But a deeper work,—a far deeper work,—is needed, which will cut up the root of Western pride itself. This implies the reconstruction of the very bases of human thought,—the evil lies so deep. And this can only be done, when the inner chamber of the heart is prepared in silence, and out of the depth of that silence the word of Truth is spoken before which all men must bow in reverence.

"Mr. Gandhi has caught something of the evil genius of the West,—its restlessness. He has received its *good* genius also,—its fearless application of principles to the final test of action, its scientific basis of experiment as the one convincing criterion of truth. But here, in South Africa, the restlessness is growing upon him, and he must come back to India herself, the Mother, for healing and renewal.

"And what I myself also see more clearly every day is this, the Western mind will have to come back to India, the Mother, also. Europe's open wound of restlessness each day grows worse and worse, and also Europe's reliance upon material success. Our Western Christianity, above all, will have to be baptized anew in the waters of India, before it is worthy of Christ.

"I understand this now from my own inner experience. I know how vain and foolish I was when I regarded myself as fit to be a Teacher and came out in a Missionary Society for that very purpose,—how I spoke and wrote at first about Indian religious life in an insolent, patronising way, instead of studying humbly its great meaning in human history. But when I look back, the wonder and the beauty of it is that India, the Mother, drew me to herself in spite of all. And little by little, the pride left me and I began to love in turn,—to love India and her historical associations with an absorbing love, a passionate worship. This new outlook has made human life a new thing to me, and human history wear an entirely different aspect. It has also

taught me afresh, in a new and wonderful way, my own Christian Faith itself.

"I do not mean by this, that the spirit of my earlier days is wholly gone, and that racial and religious pride has left me. I am not yet so sanguine. The evil went too deep to be easily rooted out from the mind in a day. And I find it still, like a weed, springing up in new and unexpected places. But there has been a real change of mental vision; and I trust, that through all the suffering it has involved, I have learned to be more humble."

LETTER II.

"In my last letter, I tried to show you how my innermost thoughts were shaping themselves anew, in face of this appalling evil of racialism, which is everywhere rampant in this country. I had to trace this back into my own life, before I could see it in its completeness to track it home to its source, which is not merely political and social, but also religious.

"To give an instance of my own great difficulty in arriving at the truth of things and not being put off by merely conventional teaching,—there is one step I ought intellectually to have taken long ago, had it not been for this ingrained and inherited prejudice which had been with me from my childhood upward. It is this. I can see now clearly from the study of history as well as from my own life experience in India, that the Christianity of the Sermon on the Mount is not, as I had previously regarded it, an independent Semitic growth, confined to Palestine alone. It is an outgrowth of *Indian* religious thought as well as that of the Jewish race.

"The historical connexion between Buddhism and Christianity may some day, in the future, be laid bare by scholars and research-workers. But what I am convinced of now is this, that the Christ and the Buddha are not separate phenomena in human history, but organically related; that the stream of Indian religious life flowing from the Buddha and the stream of early Christian life flowing from the Christ, are one stream; that the

Upanishads and the Buddhist development lie at the basis of the Gospels and not the evolution of Semitic thought alone.

"Rivers run underground for miles and miles, and then reappear in new and extraordinary places, and so do spiritual movements. This linking together of Indian and Semitic thought in the Christian Gospel seems to me now to be one such instance. When I study the record of Christ's life and teaching in the Sermon on the Mount and in the Gospels, I breathe in India, I live in India, I feel the fragrance of India. It is not so with the Old Testament: and it is not so, generally speaking, with St. Paul. It comes just in this one section of the Christian scriptures, namely, the Gospels with the Sermon on the Mount. There is, indeed, a reflected light in St. John's Epistles and in other Epistles and in the Acts of the Apostles; but the full Indian atmosphere is breathed most freely of all in the Gospels. These stand out like a jewel in a rough setting of gold, and the light from this central jewel is Indian, as well as Semitic. The Jews crucified Jesus. But the men from the East, so the story relates, came and worshipped him, laying at his feet gold and frankincense and myrrh. Surely this old legend has a truth behind it. The Jewish mind, alone and unaided, could not recognise the Christ.

"I find it, therefore,—now after my experience of India,—less and less easy and simple to reverence the Jews' land of Palestine as the only spiritual home of my Christian Faith. The more I read the Sermon on the Mount, the more the thought grows upon me that the Christ is intimately akin to India as well as to Palestine. He is like some strange, rare, beautiful flower that has found its home in alien surroundings and blossoms therein with a startling radiance and beauty. Just as,—to compare small things with great,—Shelley, the English poet, is a strange phenomenon 'beating his luminous wings in vain' in the alien atmosphere of Tory England of the reign of George III, so the Christ of the 'Sermon on the Mount' seems to go far beyond the Jewish race from which he sprang.

"When I read the Beatitudes,—'Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth,' 'Blessed are they that mourn, for they shall be comforted,' 'Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of Heaven,'—when I read the words, "I and my Father are One" or the passage "Consider the lilies of the field how they grow", somehow, in verses such as these and a hundred others that come to the mind, I find a kinship with India, instinctive and immediate. And above all, in the whole conception of 'Resist not evil,' 'Love your enemies,' 'Overcome evil with good,' we are taken back into the very atmosphere in which the Buddha lived and moved and had his being. There is very little to compare with them in earlier Hebrew literature, and certainly nothing that I know in Greek.\*

But India,—the India that I have come to know and love,—actually *lived* those truths, in countless lives of men and women, centuries before Christ; and India *lives* them still to-day in a great measure. What can this mean except that Christianity has its roots in Indian soil, and that India is a mother of the human spirit in this, as also in other ways? And I myself, like a wilful child, with all the aggressive temperament of the West, came out to teach and to instruct, rather than first of all to study and to learn. Little by little, I have found out the shallowness of my former position, and India, the Mother, has been tender towards me and has not rejected me.

"All this I really ought to have seen and understood long ago. From your point of view, it must seem very commonplace. But the *maya* of the Western supremacy was upon me, and the spirit of pride at first darkened the eyes of love. Still further, there was the granite moun-

tain wall of hard prejudice to be tunnelled through, fixed and immovable in its Western setting. Only then light could enter, when the rocks of hereditary traditional teaching had been pierced through and through.

"I had seen, as it were, upon the surface of the rocks the fossil remains of the past, connecting the two religions,—Buddhism and Christianity; for I had been a close student of history, and on this subject of comparative religion my reading had been wide. These fossil remains might have told me, if I had looked at them with unprejudiced eyes, the true 'origin of species' in the religious lineage of mankind. But the dogmas in which I had been brought up from my childhood in the West closed my eyes to facts and their interpretation. It was thus easy to overlook their meaning. I was in my 'Pre-Darwinian' religious days, and considered each religion of mankind to be a 'special creation',—a species entirely apart from the rest,—and Christianity itself to be separated off from all by an unfathomable gulf of divine revelation. Apart from India, I could not really understand.

"And you, my friend, have seen the true 'me' in me, all this while, in spite of all the wrappings of prejudice and conceit which folded me round. I long to be more worthy of this trust you have given me, and I know that I can only do so by being more honest and truthful within myself. Other aspects of the one Truth will come before me. The swing of the pendulum will go backwards and forwards. And in this inner life of religious thinking, which has gone through so many convulsions and upheavals, the oscillations on the surface will still be great, and at times even violent, leaving great seams and scars behind them. But the one central Truth is being reached all the while more and more certainly and surely. And whether our thoughts swing together as now they do, or for a moment diverge again, the Truth when reached will be one, binding us together more closely in One, if only we can reach it through love.

*Shantiniketan*

(To be continued)  
C. F. ANDREWS.

\* Since writing this, I have been able to study more carefully the later phases of Judaism before the birth of Christ and I find that the atmosphere in which Christ lived was tinged with these conceptions and they appear in Judaism itself,—see C. Montefiore's articles on 'Liberal Judaism' in the *Hibbert Journal*, and I. Zangwill's 'The Voice of Jerusalem'. But the question remains,—Did they not reach Western Asia from India, where they were the common place of religious thought centuries before?

## LETTERS FROM ABROAD

BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

New York, Jan. 23, 1921.

I HAVE just come back from Greenwich, a suburban part of New York, where last night I had a reception and a speech and a dinner and a discussion, till I felt empty like a burst balloon, with no gas left in it !

At the far distant end of the wilderness of such trials as this, what do I see ?—But what matters it ? Results of our efforts delude us by appearing as final. They raise expectation of fulfilment and thus draw us on. But they are *not* final. They are roadside inns where we change our horses for a farther journey. An ideal is different. It carries its own progress within itself. Each stage is not a mere approach to the goal itself.

Trees proceed on their upward career, not along a railway track constructed by engineers. We who have been dreamers should never employ coolies to build railway lines of social service. We must solely deal with living ideas, and have faith in life. Otherwise we are punished, punished not necessarily with bankruptcy, but with success—behind which sits the Mephistopheles of worldliness, chuckling at the sight of an idealist dragged through the dust by the chariot of the prosperous.

What has made us love Shantiniketan so deeply is the ideal of perfection, which we have tasted all through its growth. It has not been made by money, but by our love, our life. With it, we need not strain for any result ; it is fulfilment itself,—the life which forms round it, the service which we daily render to it. Now I realise, more than ever before, how precious and how beautiful is the simplicity of our Asram, which can reveal itself all

the more luminously because of its dark background of material want. I know that I am harping on this one subject in most of my letters lately,—because my suffering is continuous and profound. My soul is being choked in this atmosphere. But it is my *tapasya*. Let me not bring a fetter of gold back for my Asram, but freedom of spirit, with its wedded companion, Poverty,—the pure the simple, the tender, the austere.

Wellesley, Mass., Jan. 25, 1922.

I am going to read my lecture on The Poet's Religion tonight to the Wellesley College students. Tomorrow and the day after, I have to read two more lectures in Emerson Hall, Harvard. Boston is about an hour's journey from here. I went there last Sunday and I am going to stay there till the end of the week. Coming to Boston has been a great relief to me. I felt in New York like living in the planet Saturn, which has its crowds of innumerable satellites, but revolves some billions of miles away from the central source of light. I am home-sick for my beautiful earth, simple and tender, bathed in light and dressed in green.

Just at this point, I was called away to dinner and then to the meeting ; and after it was over, we motored back to Boston, where I am now. It is tiring work,—the more so because my heart is hungering day and night for wide space and leisure,—that sumptuous feast of the soul, which has been mine from my infancy.

I am suffering from the great discomfort of having my feet on the decks of two different boats,—as the Bengali proverb has it. The organiser in me is planning to raise funds. I hate with

all my heart this wretched organiser, —this disciple of the West. I have my profoundest faith in the Sanyasi in me, which is urging me constantly to leave these shores. Yet the organiser in me is claiming the best sacrifice of my life and getting it.

My anxiety is growing stronger every day lest we should lose the least fraction of our independence or naturalness at Santiniketan, lest our responsibility to some dead cash interest, consciously or unconsciously, shall lessen our responsibility to the living ideal. All real creations must have freedom for their growth. You can never make truth serve you, fettered like a galley slave. Whenever we receive material help from others, we acknowledge at the same time their expectation. Such expectation is a tyrant, imposing on us a tacit obligation to satisfy it. But all creative worth is jealous of its right of spontaneity, so much so, that the artist himself must not be over conscious of his plan.

Our Shantiniketan has never followed any conscious plan of ours, but has followed its own inner life process. This freedom of vital function is far more valuable than external resources. Truth never condescends to tempt us with allurements. She dwells silent in her majesty of sublime simplicity. It is untruth which tries to decoy us with extravagance of materials. I earnestly wish we had power to create a *tapovana*, rather than to build up a University. But unfortunately, money though scarce may be available; but where is *tapasya*?

Pearson is away. My correspondence and other works have grown heavy: and therefore you will have to bear with me, if my letters become scarce or scrappy.

New York, Feb. 2, 1922.

After a break of three weeks and a sultriness of weary waiting, your letters have come in a downpour; and I cannot possibly tell you how refreshing they are! I seem to be travelling across a desert, and your letters are like weekly provisions dropped by some air-service from cloud-land. They are expected; and yet they

have the element of surprise. I hungrily attack them and then fall upon extra portions supplied from your letters written to others.

Your letters are delightful, because you have your interest in details that are generally overlooked. The world is made beautiful by the unimportant things. They furnish this great world picture with all its modulations of shades and tints. The important is like the sunshine. It comes from a great source. But the unimportant composes the atmosphere of our life. It scatters the sun's rays, breaks it into colours, and coaxes it into tenderness.

You have asked for my permission to abolish the matriculation class from our school. Let it go. I have no tenderness for it. In our classical literature, it was the strict rule to give all dramas a happy ending. Our matriculation class has ever been the fifth act in our Ashram, ending in a tragedy. Let us drop the scene, before that disaster gathers its forces!

I am enclosing with this a translation, which runs thus:—

#### WOMAN

The fight is ended.

Shrill cries of loss trouble the air,  
The gains, soiled and shattered,  
are a burden too heavy to carry home.  
Come, woman, bring thy breath of life.  
Close all cracks with kisses of tender green,  
Nurse the trampled dust into fruit-  
fulness.

The morning wears on;  
The stranger sits homeless by the road-  
side playing on his reed.  
Come woman, bring thy magic of love!  
Make infinite the corner between walls,  
There to build a world for him,  
Thine eyes its stars, thy voice  
its music.

The gate-door creaks in the wind.  
The time is for leave taking at the day's  
end,

Come, woman, bring thy tears!  
Let the tremulous touch of thy hand call  
out its last lyric  
From the moment of parting.  
Let the shadow of thy sad gaze  
Haunt the road across the hills.

**Till the day dawns in the East.**

And a small cabin build there,  
Of clay and wattles made ;  
Ninebean rows will I have there,  
A hive for the honey bee  
And live alone in the bee-loud glade.

The whole world is suffering from this cult of Devil worship in the present age, and I cannot tell you how deeply I am suffering, being surrounded in this country by endless ceremonials of this hideously profane cult. Everywhere there is an antipathy against Asia ventilated by a widespread campaign of calumny. Negroes are burnt alive sometimes merely because they tried to exercise their right to vote, given to them by law. Germans are reviled. Conditions in Russia are deliberately misrepresented. They are furiously busy building their towers of political civilisation

upon the quagmire of mob psychology, spreading over it a crust of deliberate lies. These people have to subsist upon a continual supply of hatred, contempt, jealousy and lies and lies and lies !

I am afraid I shall be rejected by my own people when I go back to India. My solitary cell is awaiting me in my Motherland. In their present state of mind, my own countrymen will have no patience with me, who believe God to be higher than my country.

I know such spiritual faith may not lead us to political success ; but I say to myself, as India has ever said, "तु तः किम् ?" ( even then,—what ? )

The more I live in this country, the more I understand the true meaning of emancipation. It is for India to keep her breast supplied with the true *amrita* of wisdom, with which to feed the new-born age and nourish it into a mighty future.

The ideas to which politicians still cling belong to a past that is doomed. It is a wreck rushing towards annihilation. The West is beginning to have doubts about its shelter, but its habit of mind is preventing it from leaving the old shelter for a new one. But we unfortunate creatures are getting ready to jump into the stream and swim across to the sinking ship and fight for our place at its corner. But I know that our huts are safer than that doomed and drifting monster. I long to live in the heart of the शान्ति, the Peace.—I have done my work, and I hope that my Master will grant me leave to sit by Him, and not to talk, but to listen to His own great silence.

Houston, Texas, Feb. 13, 1921.

Tied to the chariot wheels of *karma* we flit from one birth to another. What that means to the individual soul I have been made to realise in these last few days. It is my tyrant *karma*, which is dragging me from one hotel to another. Between my two hotel incarnations I usually have my sleep in a Pullman Car, the very name of which suggests the agency of death. I am ever dreaming of the day,

when I shall attain my *nirvana*, freed from this chain of hotel lives, and reach utter peace in Uttarayana\* !

I have not written to you for some time. For I am tired to the profound depth of my being. Yet, since coming to Texas, I have felt as it were a sudden coming of Spring into my life through a breach in the ice castle of Winter. It has come to me like a revelation, that all these days my soul had been thirsting for the draught of sunshine poured from the beaker of infinite space. The sky has embraced me, and the warmth of its caress thrills me with joy.

The people here in Texas have had the leisure and opportunity of storing this sunshine in the cellar of their hearts,—they are human and hospitable. However, the time for our departure from this country is drawing near.

New York, March 18, 1922.

I wish that I could be released from my mission. For such missions are like a mist that envelopes our soul,—they seem to shut us off from the direct touch of God's world. And yet I have such an immense hunger for this touch. The spring-time has come,—the sky is overflowing with sunshine. I long to be one with the birds and trees and with the green earth. The call comes to me from the air to sing, but wretched creature that I am, I lecture,—and by doing it, I ostracise myself from this great world of songs to which I was born. Manu, the Indian law-giver, enjoins us not to cross the sea. But I have done so : I have sailed away from my own native universe,—from the birth place of those morning jasmines, from the lotus lake of Saraswati—which greeted me when I was a child even as the finger touch of my own mother, and now when occasionally I come back to them, I am made to feel that I have lost my caste,—and though they call me by my name and speak to me, they keep themselves apart.

I know that my own river Padma, who has so often answered to my music with an amused gleam of tender tolerance in

\* The name of the Poet's cottage at Santiniketan.

her face will separate herself from me behind an invisible veil, when I come to her. She will say to me in a sad voice: "Thou hast crossed the sea!"

The losing of Paradise is enacted over and over again by the children of Adam and Eve,—we clothe our souls with messages and doctrines and lose the touch of the great life in the naked breast of Nature. This my letter, carrying the cry of a banished soul, will sound utterly strange to you in the present-day India.

We hold our mathematical classes in Shantiniketan under the *madhavi* bower,—is it not good for the students and others that, even in the busiest time of lessons, the branches overhead do not break out into a shower of geometrical propositions? Is it not good for the world, that poets should forget all about the resolutions carried at monster meetings? Is it not right, that God's own regiment

of the useless should never be conscripted for any military contingency of the useful?

When the touch of spring is in the air, I suddenly wake up from my nightmare of giving 'messages' and remember that I belong to the eternal band of good-for-nothings; I hasten to join in their vagabond chorus. But I hear the whisper round me: "This man has crossed the sea," and my voice is choked.

We are leaving for Europe tomorrow and my days of exile are coming to an end. Very likely my letters will be fewer in number from now, but I shall make up for this when I meet you in person under the shadow of the rain-clouds of July.

Pearson is busy seeking health and happiness, making himself ready for the time when he will join us in India in the cold season.

## THE EAST AND THE WEST

### *Should There Be A Conflict?*

BY T. V. SESHAGIRI AYER, M.L.A.

THE world is large enough for all of us and for a great many more. Even if its productivity is more intensive than the figures of the last Census warrant us in hoping, even if the world is made more safe for its denizens,—notwithstanding wars and epidemics, crashes in the air and collisions in the sea, and earthquakes and train-disasters, there is room enough for expansion. India alone can shelter twice its present population, if its arid areas are fertilised by the wasted waters of its great rivers. The whole African continent, Canada, Australia and Russia have yet to be fully peopled. There are many wilds unexplored. Many regions untouched. Surely, there is enough for man to do if he would only live and let live. But that is not as he conceives his vocation to be. The beast in him has not died out. Centuries of pseudo-civilisation has not wiped out the

original taint. He is, either like the father tiger, endeavouring to devour his own children, or like the cannibal on whose iniquities he wastes so much ink and paper, is always on the prowl against less favoured neighbours of his. Religion has done him no good. His appetite grows on what he is feeding on, and he is never at ease until he has coveted what his fellowman possesses.

Never was this depraved tendency in man brought home to me more forcibly than when I read to the end "His Father's Daughter" by G. Stratton Porter. There is nothing in the plot which one may not find in thousands of the penny catchbooks which adorn a Railway bookstall. Its distinction is in its political setting. As I read it through, it seemed to me to be a clarion cry for rousing up the Western nations against the people of the East. America and Europe are cautioned



against the wives of the sons of Asia. Their tendency to multiply is deplored: there is a tirade against the want of motherliness in the modern civilised female of the Western countries. The panacea preached in England at one time to the peasant was three acres and a cow. Mrs. Stratton Porter's prescription against the possible domination of the West by the East is that every woman should nerve herself to produce at least six healthy children.

The plot of the novel is very simple. The heroine is a girl, a very fine specimen of humanity which would have secured the whole-hearted encomium of Mrs. Humphrey Ward. She is still a school girl (17 years old) when the story opens. She is arrestingly original, forward without losing femininity, unconventional as to her wear, but intensely womanish in her predilections; she is absorbingly patriotic. The villain of the piece is a Japanese student in the same school. His misfortune is that he is at the head of the class. Miss Strong (she is the heroine) takes an instinctive dislike to the Jap. She cannot allow this yellow-faced foreigner to dominate over the boys of her own race. She wakes up in an easy going American student race jealousy. She is bent upon making the Jap find his own level. Notwithstanding her admonition to the American youth not to swerve from the path of rectitude and honesty in endeavouring to supersede his rival, I cannot help saying that there is no sin known to man which she is not laying at the doors of the Asiatic. He is said to have joined the class by understating his age; he is believed to be employing agents to murder his class-mate because of the fear of his losing his position in the class: he is actually detected in the act of letting lose a boulder to hurl his class-mate to death. Now this kind of writing can have but one effect: Race antagonism will be roused; and, the distrust will be reciprocated.

The measure of the Jap (the author makes it clear that the estimate is true of all Asiatic peoples) is taken with some care: (a) "He has got a brain that is hard to beat." (b) "He is quick and he knows from his cradle what it is that he has in the back of his head." (c) "Take them as a race..... they are mechanical, they are imitative." (d) "They are not creating anything of their own in their own country.....

.....they are not creating one single thing." The advice to the American student is to "study them, to play the game fairly, but to *beat* them in some way, in some fair way; to beat them at the game they are undertaking.....you have got to be constructive." A passage which seems to sum up the philosophy of the author is worth quoting in full: "The Eagle dominates the hawk; the hawk, the falcon; the falcon, the raven; and so on.....we go a step ahead of the wild..... And I want to see the white boys and girls of Canada, of England, and of Norway and Sweden and Australia and all the whole world doing exactly what I am recommending that you do in your class." Of course the whole world is the white world.

Now, one may ask, why this undisguised hatred? What has been the work of the people of the West in the continent of Asia?—in India, China, Japan, Manchuria, and what is it now in Africa? We need not complain of covetousness or of spoliation. Why, I ask, should not the Asiatic try to learn something from the white man? The intolerance displayed in the book is not the vapouring of a solitary overwrought individual; apparently, she is only voicing the sentiments which not one nation alone, but many entertain.

The etiology of this disease is worth studying. At one time the Jap, the Chinese and the Indian were patronised. I do not think that the Indian is in his place here. However that does not matter. The white man, the trader first, the missionary next, the battalions third and orderly Government afterwards came in as guide, philosopher and friend. He was welcome. Internal dissensions, in indulging which Asiatics are proficient, made the welcome real. The Westerner flourished, and to his credit it should be said, he helped the coloured man to live an orderly life. In some instances he had only a safe port from which he offered counsel and assistance. In other cases, he became the master of the whole situation. From the outset his declared object was to raise up the Asiatic, to civilise him and ultimately to enable him to govern himself. The early stages of the promise were honestly observed. When the last stage was in sight, there has always been a gnashing of the teeth and references to the "hard fibre that won the Empire" and to the determination to employ similar means to maintain it. The Jap very

soon freed himself from domination. He showed remarkable aptitude to benefit by what he has learnt from his foreigner teachers. The Chinese is struggling to achieve the same object. The Indian, with a longer record of weakness, submission, listlessness and with a longing to get away from the ills of life by penance and renunciation, is slowly waking up. He finds it impossible to sleep. The din of voices around him compels him to make an effort. He asks for some share in the administration of his country. He looks longingly at Japan, at Egypt. He wants that in East and South Africa he should be treated like a man. All these have got on the nerves of the Westerner. He condemns the whole brood of coloured people. He rails against them for ingratitude, he threatens them that they shall have to go back to the days when they were content to eat the crumbs thrown to them from the plentiful table. This is the pervading view among an unthinking section of the people of the Western countries. Men of honour, of foresight and statesmanship take a different view, but when mischief-mongers are on foot—the voice of the wise is easily drowned. The danger is not imaginary, because Mrs. Stratton Porter is the mouthpiece of many who think and speak as she has written.

May one ask these people to take a dispassionate view of the situation? If closely analysed, the position is this, the white man thinks that it is his prerogative to rule the Asiatic, that any infringement of this privilege is a sacrilege. He should be the undisputed arbiter of the destinies of the coloured races. Is this anything more than a return to the eagle, hawk and falcon theory? The falcon should not get stronger than the hawk and the hawk should yield itself to be whooped down by the eagle. The white man's burden is only a pontifical version of this simple principle. Of what avail will be President Harding's naval policy and Mr. Lloyd George's non-aggressive pact for a ten years' peace among nations, if the poison of hatred against the Asiatic is allowed to permeate the white races? What is wanted among the Western peoples is a sense of proportion in their ambitious designs, some sanity in appraising the worth and value of other nationalities and an inclination to abate to some extent at least the inordinate love of

power and the determination to lord over the Asiatic peoples.

The great war has devastated fair regions, has paralysed industry and has decimated thousands of men. The welter of blood is still in sight according to the Prime Minister of England. Is it prudent, is it wisdom to antagonise a whole continent at this juncture? Love and a desire to do to the Asiatic what the Westerner has done for himself should be the guiding principle of statesmanship. The Easterner has no desire to covet European territory. He only wants to be left in peace where he is and to be allowed to manage his own affairs as best as he can. It must be regarded as a great compliment to European civilisation that he seeks knowledge in the Western Universities, assiduously studies Western methods and adapts himself to Western institutions. Instead of feeling pride at this compliment, jealousy even, at his multiplying faster than Westerners do is exhibited. It looks as if the Westerner is beginning to lose his head. These are premonitory signs of a serious disease. The prayer of the wisest among all the nations should be that a saner outlook than is discernible now may manifest itself among the white peoples, and that a feeling of comradeship and love may replace the present one of distrust and hatred. Rudyard Kipling's view that the "twain can never meet", has long held the ground. There are men among the Asiatic peoples who would be assets to the most civilised nation on earth. Others are slowly emerging from their slumber. The genius of the people, their literature and their traditions show that they have inherited tendencies of a high order. If the Western nations are wise, they should utilise to the full the services of these communities; otherwise there must ensue a combat which may be uneven at the beginning but which in the long run, if only by sheer strength of numbers, would render the position of Europe and America unbearable. Rivers of blood will have to flow before the contest terminates. This would mean the arrest of all humanising work, the engendering of fierce hatred, and the collapse of the fabric of civilisation which is the boast of the races of the West. May God prevent such a catastrophe and may He imbue men who are bent on rousing up all that is worst in both the peoples with a sense of fairness, tolerance and love!

## THE UKRAINE AND INDIA

BY AUGUSTUS SOMERVILLE.

**T**HE present unrest in India and the political outlook in the Ukraine, have so many points in common that a review of the situation in that country, as it at present stands, will be interesting.

When the Armistice was signed on the 11th November, 1918, the average man fondly believed that a world peace had been established, that Mercy and Justice had come to abide and that the long looked for millennium was at hand. Subsequent events have, it is feared, completely disillusioned him.

The Treaty of Versailles is today an admitted failure. Why? Not because of errors in statesmanship, but to fundamentally unsound and unworkable concepts. When we analyse the treaties and follow the course of the negotiations, we immediately select the following five concepts to whose impracticability we attribute this failure. (1) Creating a league of nations whose charter provides for the permanent hegemony of five nations with widely divergent interests, (2) reserving the advantages of the treaties to a few nations but making all members of the league responsible for its execution, (3) treating the vanquished enemy as criminals, without right of counsel or appeal, but failing to provide the necessary restraint for limiting their activities, (4) denying the principle of reciprocity in contractual obligations, and (5) limiting the right of self-determination to a favoured few, and, as a natural result, striving to re-establish the old balance of power theory.

The refusal of the United States to participate in the discussions or to associate themselves with the Treaty of Versailles is now clearly understood. President Wilson stated definitely that the United States were not prepared to identify themselves with any international association which was not a league of all for the common good of all, and, later, Senator Knox contended that the actual aim of the Treaty was not the establishment of a world-wide peace, but the provision of a common vantage ground from which the principal powers could control the destinies of the lesser nations. The Ukraine is a typical example of the working of this policy.

The Ukraine stretches from the Carpathian Mountains to the Black Sea and the Caucasus. It is considerably larger than Germany and twice as large as France. It has a population

of about thirty-five millions, most of whom are concentrated in the six southern and south-western of the former Russian provinces, and in Eastern Galicia. The soil is naturally rich. There is an abundance of oil in Galicia and coal and iron in the famous Donetz region. The major portion of the cereals, cattle, sugar and salt exported from the late Russian Empire came from the Ukraine. If it survives the present political campaign and maintains its integrity as a race, it will be the most populous and the richest of the new States created by the War and, next to Russia, the largest country in Europe.

One is tempted to pause here and compare the Ukraine with India. The similarity is sufficiently striking. India has rightly been called "the gem of our Eastern possessions." The richness of her soil, the wealth of her produce, and last, but not least, her ever increasing revenue, makes her doubly so. And yet she is today, like the Ukraine, the one possession that causes us the most uneasiness.

The balance of power is the dominating feature in the foreign policy of every European nation. The cessation of hostilities brought into prominence that ever present question of the status quo of subject nationalities. The Ukraine with her aspirations for national self-determination loomed large on the political horizon, and the downfall of the Romanoffs and Hapsburgs made these aspirations possible. An independent Ukraine was unthinkable and the only answer of the Entente coalition was the Treaty of Versailles and the revival, in another form, of the old theory of the balance of power.

An insight into the political history of the Ukraine will be illuminating. The Russians before the War (1914) were divided into two distinct classes, or races, Great Russians (Muscovites) and Little Russians (Ukrainians). Historians, geographers, ethnologists and philologists are all unanimous in agreeing that the Ukrainians originated from a race distinctly Slavic in its racial characteristics and language and more nearly related to the Serbian than the Russian. To deny that the Ukrainians are a race distinct from the Russian is ridiculous, and yet this is precisely the attitude adopted by the late Russian Government and apparently supported by the greater European powers.

As to how far this policy was successful

history informs us. Paul Miliukoff in his speech before the Russian Duma on February the 24th 1914, said :

"All sides of Ukrainian life are penetrated by the nationalist element. At the same time, the Ukrainian movement is thoroughly democratic; it is carried on by the people. For this reason it is impossible to crush it. But it is very easy to set it on fire and in this way turn it against ourselves, and our authorities are successful in their work in this direction."

This was a confession of failure unprecedented in the history of Russification, and in view of recent occurrences in this country, bears a striking resemblance to the success of the anti-political movement adopted by the local Government.

To return, however, to the question of the Russification of the Ukrainians. Herbert Adams Gibbons, dealing with the same question, describes the situation in the following terms :

"The Great Russians began their attempt to assimilate the Ukrainians in 1690. They started with the Poles in 1830, and with the Finns only in 1900. Ukase after ukase was aimed by successive czars against the Ukrainians to compel them to abandon their nationality. The crowning edict, in 1876, suppressed the Ukrainian language altogether. Deprived of schools, of newspapers, of books, of the right of assembly, of the use of their mother tongue in the administration, in the law courts and in business, the Ukrainians contrived not only to keep intact their language in the home, but also to develop and enrich their literature. Patriots were exiled to Siberia or fled to Galicia. Just as Posen in Germany became the centre of Polish propaganda, Lemberg in Austria was the foyer of the Ukrainian nationalist movement. So successful was the preservation of the mother tongue, to the exclusion of Russian, that the agents of the British and Foreign Bible Society with the Russian Army at the time of the Russo-Japanese War reported to London the necessity of using the Ukrainian Bible in their work among the troops.

After the revolution of 1905, Lithuanian and Polish schools were allowed, but no Ukrainian schools. This proved which nationalist movement the Russians regarded as the most formidable of all.

The sixty-three Ukrainians elected to the first

Duma asked for autonomy and, pending that, a complete restitution of language and other rights. But the ukase of 1876 was only partly rescinded, and as M. Miliukoff admitted in 1914, the Ukrainian nationalist movement having permeated to the peasant masses, could not be stamped out. Petrograd kept a firm hand on the press, watched the Galician frontier for contraband literature, and acted rigorously in the matter of clandestine schools. But the Ukrainians found a means of propaganda that baffled the functionaries. The Government could not suppress the drama, folk-songs and national dances. When the war of 1914 broke out, more than three hundred theatrical troupes were the agencies of the national spirit in the Ukraine."

All the various nationalist movements throughout the world have many features in common. But to the unprejudiced reader the nationalist movement in the Ukraine and that in India have so many points in common, that the similarity appears quite remarkable. Setting aside the *modus operandi* adopted in this country for securing their political desires, the aspirations of the people, their ideals, are unquestionably those of self-determination. India with her wealth of mineral ore, her produce, her geographical situation, her very accessibility, makes her at once the centre of the commercial world. And yet, with all her natural wealth, her peoples are amongst the poorest on earth. Like the Ukraine her wealth has been exploited for the benefit of a favoured few. But today the position is changed. The lethargic indifference so characteristic of the average Indian has disappeared. The man in the street is alive to his own responsibilities. The spirit of national self-determination is on all the land, and its appearance has been welcomed by none more heartily or more genuinely than the "white man" who has made India his home, and the Englishman to whom the awakening of national ideals, the revival of its home industries and the stimulation of commerce in this land, is a source of mutual advancement, and the strengthening of that bond of commercial *bon homme* that is so essential a part of our international relationships.

## • CAPITAL

**F**OR any economic or industrial development, whether large or small, capital is needed.

In theory, the production of raw materials does not cost much except labour, but the agriculturist cannot get anything out of his raw materials until they are ready for the market and he has got to live in the mean-

while. It is true that he gets advances of money, but those advances come from the money-lender, who is also generally the middleman for the buyer, and sometimes direct from the buyer. In both cases, the person making the advance is interested in getting the produce below the normal market rates, and that is the main object of

his advance. The producer is not only thus compelled to dispose of his produce at a low price but has also got to pay interest on the money advanced. The gain of the *ryot* by the sale of his raw produce is thus rendered small and he can therefore hardly save anything, especially because out of his small gain he has got to support his family and feed his cattle during non-agricultural season, when there is no work for them in the fields, and also because he is dependent on other countries or distant markets for his necessities of life for which he has got to pay, as he does not make them himself, as he used to do at one time. This hand to mouth living is the cause of the poverty of India; the agricultural masses comprise the great bulk of our population and they have no money, at least no superfluous money.

#### BIG CAPITALISTS.

If India possessed owners of big capital in large numbers, and again if such capitalists were amongst the permanent population of the country, as is the case in other industrial countries, things would have been different. In all ages, however despised such a capitalist might have been by the labourers and by those who have got to borrow from him, he has nevertheless been a very useful man. He is very handy, for he can take great risks which the small capitalists cannot afford to take. Further, an individual big-capitalist-proprietor is satisfied with a comparatively small return per unit on a large sum of money invested by him in a single concern, which he may own to a very large extent, but on the other hand for the same large amount put in collectively in a concern by a number of small capitalists the return expected per unit is comparatively greater; for the smaller capitalists, taken separately, are individually not rich enough to sacrifice an immediate big dividend to allow of a good part of the revenue to be spent on improvements and in better wages in order to make the property sounder and safer.

We also know that if a concern is backed by a big capitalist, it at once attracts money from the smaller investors very largely.

Owners of large capital were, in the olden days, known as "*Seths*", and at the same time they were also "*Sawdagars*" (merchants and traders) and the most influential among them were attached to the courts of Rajahs, even of the later Nawabs. And these "*Seths*"

were also State treasurers in some cases, and advanced money even to the State when needed.

These men traded with distant markets and tradition tells us that they made long voyages to foreign countries and exhibited and sold Indian wares. Our productions of cotton and silk goods and other works of art fetched very high prices in foreign countries, and the wealth earned thereby and brought to and accumulated in India, was considerable. Money (gold and silver coins) and valuable goods were the means of exchange and the latter included precious stones, pearls and jewellery. The use of money was known in India from ancient times.

#### WHERE AND HOW TO GET CAPITAL.

But we are drifting away from the main issue and let us return to it. We want capital for both small and large developments, and the point is where and how to get it. We have already mentioned the usefulness of the holders of large sums, but rich men, in the Western sense of the word, are but a few in India, amongst whom count the mill-owners and merchant princes of Bombay, a few Ruling Chiefs and a few Maharaja-Zaminders.

Next to these, come the *Mahajans* (bankers) and *Banias* (traders) of Northern India, the "*Bhatias*" and "*Borahs*" of Bombay, the "*Chettis*" of Madras and the Marwaris. Formerly, excepting the "*Bhatias*" and "*Borahs*", the others were not content with the comparatively smaller returns the industrial concerns brought. But of late there has been a change; some landlords too have found money for industries, and money has also come from the Native States.

Next come the professional men and salaried officials, such as lawyers, doctors, the highly paid Government officials and officers, employed in mercantile concerns and railways, who by the reason of their larger income are able to save. Senior clerks, mechanics, petty dealers and other men with comparatively small incomes also subscribe to industrial concerns, but in very small sums, individually.

We have not mentioned the agriculturist; for he has hardly any savings, and when he has got any money he puts it in his land and that is better until he is able to save comparatively largely which however he cannot do at present.

Owing to small income the majority of Indians are not habitual savers of money, and their expenditure on small charities and on poorer relations and for marriages also prevents them from saving. From an economic point of view, a man who saves without being a miser, sometimes renders greater service and makes wider charities. His savings invested judiciously in a productive concern brings recurring benefits for men employed in such concerns, who can, in their turns, also save and use their savings in developing other concerns, and thus find work and food for a greater and increasing number of people; and some say a better form of marriage dowry or charity would be to transfer shares in a paying concern.

Then, our savings are invested also in gold ornaments and some of this gold requires to be brought out for our industries and productive works and firstly and foremostly in rural industries.

#### RURAL INDUSTRIES AND CAPITAL THEREFOR.

While on the one hand the rural industries of India are dying out and agricultural classes are getting more and more dependent for their necessities of life on foreign countries and are living from hand to mouth, the wealth of some people in and around big cities, where trade and industries are getting concentrated, is increasing. And this process of centralization, especially in and around port towns, has been, to some extent, responsible for the increasing number of foreign traders and manufacturers enriching themselves by utilising India's raw productions, labour, and wealth, along with some money of their own and the wealth thus made by them leaves the country eventually. The concerns promoted by them and run by them have drawn large sums from all parts of India, the use of which the local areas have lost.

The Holland Industrial Commission did not fail to point out that the manufacturing industries in India should be more evenly distributed throughout the country, and this will help the local producers and the local labourers to make more out of their produce instead of getting the bare and poor profit from the crops only, which practically amount to labourers' wages for raising the crops and a little more, but that is all.

The railways and the shipping agencies

claim that they have been the means of more even distribution of world's productions, requirements and wealth, but so far as India's rural areas and rural population are concerned we see that this wider distribution has been the means of

(1) wiping out the rural non-agricultural industries and of throwing the ryots on the single precarious industry of agriculture;

(2) increasing the stress on land, which, on account of being cultivated continually instead of by rotation, loses its fertility;

(3) taking away from the local population the wages of manufacturing some of their wheat into flour or oil-seeds into oil;

(4) making the ryots lead an idle life for four months in a year when they could be usefully employed in manufacturing their own cloth, instead of importing and paying for foreign cloth and thus reducing their savings;

(5) taking away nutritious cattle food in the way of oil-cake by export of oil-seeds.

First of all we want to revive and build up rural industries, and when the rural population starts making money by handicrafts, money will be forthcoming in India for the bigger and power-driven industries, but in the beginning we want capital for developing and creating rural industries. And some of this capital can be brought out in the shape of gold ornaments. If the local Government Agricultural and Industrial Departments and the local district people—both officials and non-officials, local landlords and the local bankers combine together, and the people know that the Government would be taking interest, capital in this manner will be forthcoming, and in addition if there is gold currency in India the turning of gold, that now exists in the shape of ornaments, into coins and the retention of such gold in the country will be helped. We will deal with this latter point more fully when we come to the currency question.

Attention may first be directed to the creation of centres for a group of villages, where a number of *charkas* (spinning wheels) and handlooms could be concentrated and cotton supplied to them. Then next, small plants driven by oil-engines may be introduced for pressing oil seeds into oil and for milling wheat into flour. Further, the creation of co-operative centres for dealing with and preparing for market the produce of the small fruit-growers will be useful, and

attached to more important ones of such centres there may be factories for canning fruits and drying vegetables. Small irrigation schemes, for catching and utilising rain water that runs waste, and for digging wells and tanks for selling water to ryots, may be promoted. Creation of farms for rearing sheep for producing wool and weaving country blankets, in spinning wheels and handlooms too, will be profitable. Then the Registrar of Co-operative Societies and Local Government Industries Department may devise and improve the means of advertising the local products. Small engineering workshops in each district with a few machines and a blacksmith department may be developed gradually, beginning being made with important centres from where work goes out at present to distant places.

#### SCOPE OF ZAMINDARS.

Zamindars (landlords) can become very useful if they co-operate with their ryots in enabling them to obtain a better price for their produce, and if for this purpose they build their own *arhats* and godowns and, where there funds allow, put up small plants (oil-driven) for crushing and pressing oil-seeds and for milling flour they will not only benefit themselves but save their ryots from the clutches of money-lenders. And the profits thus earned by the Zamindars, by acting as middlemen, may be utilised by lending money to the ryots at more reasonable and lower rate of interests than that now exacted by the money-lenders.

#### CURRENCY.

We generally have a favourable balance of trade in connection with our foreign trade, but as we export raw materials we (especially our ryots) *do not make much* out of our raw products *per unit and per individual*. But if we increased our manufactures and exported them we would substantially increase this balance of trade, and *the gain per individual and per unit in India would be much greater*. If we milled our wheat into flour only to the extent of half our exports of raw wheat, India would be gainer by three crores of rupees a year. If, therefore, we increase our production of manufactured goods, for which protective tariff would be most useful, there will be a rise in the value of our exports and so the manufac-

ture of our own cloth will reduce the value of our imports. We should then be very greatly benefited by gold currency, although it would benefit us even now. We could demand direct and separate payment for balance of our trade from each country and in gold, and do our best to reduce our imports and increase our exports of manufactured goods. It is said when gold is not in use as currency in a country, the chief demand for it in that country being thus removed, gold then goes to that country in limited quantities only. We also know that gold goes to that country (in fact the gold of the world moves to that country) which has gold currency. If we look to America we will find this. That country has gold currency and holds the great bulk of the gold of the world not only because of its vast resources but also on account of its gold currency. It is the presence of this gold in America that enables her to lend money to other nations, and because this gold is in America in the shape of money it creates exchange and increases the wealth as a contrast to our gold ornaments. We are told that a portion of the gold sovereigns that were brought to this country were melted and turned into ornaments and thus became stagnant. If this be so, what are we to do to prevent this and also to draw out the gold that lies in the shape of ornaments, and above all to see that we do not send away all the gold we thus bring out. Perhaps sovereigns are too much for a country like India, but gold money of say Rs. 5 ought to do. If we have five rupee gold coins in circulation, and currency notes of Rs. 10 and of lesser values gradually disappear and 20 rupee currency notes are more in circulation than the smaller ones, the danger of gold coins getting absorbed would be greatly minimised, if not entirely removed, as there will be then need for 5 rupee gold coins to be in constant circulation.

The small paper notes of values of less than the value of gold coins must decrease, and silver, copper, even nickel, should be used, only as fractions of the gold coin but gold must be the standard. The presence of gold coins in the country will remove the fear of Indian people of losing all their gold, and the necessity for Standard Gold Reserve Fund in England would be removed and a great deal of money should be released for expenditure in India. At

present all the inconveniences of the silver currency is ours, and at the same time we bear the burden of the gold currency. The presence of gold coins will create confidence and will remove the "craze", if there is any such thing here, for possessing gold. To retain gold in this country it is essential that we should demand payment for our balance of trade in gold and increase this balance of trade by reducing imports of manufactured goods and by increasing exports of our manufactures instead of exporting raw materials only.

It is said that reduction of paper money automatically helps towards reducing extravagance of running a government, because when a government can create extra artificial money by stroke of pen, the process assists towards extravagance of a government as the tendency to economise becomes less. The multiplication of paper currency has been one of the causes of the rise in prices.

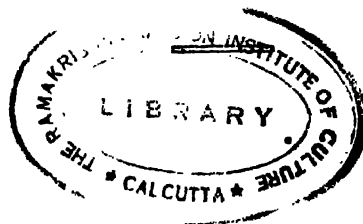
Then again the borrowings of the Government should be limited to productive expenditure, such as railway, irrigation, etc., and non-productive expenditure should as far as possible be met of revenue. Experience has taught us that the holding of paper bonds, securities and promissory notes are greater losses than even the stagnant gold ornaments. The issue of each successive bond, especially for non-productive expenditure, on more attractive terms has considerably reduced the values of former securities and made them non-exchangeable except at very low prices. This is a great economic loss and these losses and the high expenses of running the Government will go on increasing so long as we have multiplication of paper currencies and extensive borrowing, through paper bonds and promissory notes.

#### EFFECT OF INCREASED TAXATION ON CAPITAL AVAILABLE FOR INDUSTRIES.

Any increase in taxation of a country

retards the development of industries. On the other hand increased taxation is a facility to meet increasing Government expenditure. But as late Mr. Gladstone observed, "all excess in the public expenditure is not only a pecuniary waste but a great national and, above all, a moral evil." And with every increase in public expenditure the tendency is to increase it further. We have seen large sums of increases in those directions during the past 3 or 4 years in heavy salaries paid to officials, and all this has to come out of taxation, which increases the non-productive expenditure and retards the power of the people to spend on industries. Although theoretically taxes fall heavily on the rich people, especially direct taxation, such as Income Tax and taxes on luxuries, yet the raising of railway fares, salt taxes, rates of freight on goods carried by rail fall on the poor. And also the Super Tax and other taxes on industries, and the decreased savings of the richer people who have to pay higher taxes, tell directly on industries, as the money that could be spared for productive works is reduced, and the retarding of the development of industries must mean less work for the poor and the labourers. We propose to deal with later on only one item of public expenditure, viz. on Railways and to show how through company agencies increasing high salaries are paid to officials. First the high salaries came on company managed State lines and then on State managed State lines. And the increased railway rates and fares, instead of encouraging the railways to economise will give them the facility to spend more and inducement to ask for further enhancements in railway rates and fares. The late Mr. Gladstone also said that the facility of reverting to and increasing the tax, whenever fresh expenditure was incurred, was the main cause for extravagance in a Government.

S. C. GHOSH.





## MOLIERE CENTENARY

## RAGING CRITICISM—MOLIERE THE POLEMIST.

**B**UT the conventional critics and jealous rivals growled furiously. Some discovered in the play a travesty upon pulpit sermons, others an attack upon the ethics of marriage! Even a confirmed libertine like Prince de Conti condemned it as "a licentious work offending good manners!"

This was too much for Moliere and in two successive pieces—the criticism of the *School for Wives* (June 1664) and the *Versailles Impromptu* (Oct. 1663)—Moliere vindicated his position and caricatured his critics. Aggressively propagandist as they are, these two plays yet surprise us by their remarkable vivacity. Here we find the orthodox poet Lysidas quoting his Aristotle to silence the artist, who, however, retorts effectively through one character: "You poets are amusing fellows with those *rules of yours*.....To hear you hold forth, one would think the *rules of art* were the greatest mysteries in the world, while, in reality they are merely a few simple observations which *good sense* has made upon elements that might destroy the pleasure one finds in such poems. The same good sense which once made those observations now continues to make them quite as readily without the aid of Horace or Aristotle."

Not stopping there Moliere goes forward to hold a brief for *Comedy as superior even to Tragedy*—a line of speculation that irritated many of his friends and specially the great Corneille:

"Indeed I think it far easier to soar aloft upon fine sentiments, beard fortune in verse, impeach destiny and arraign the gods—than to depict the ridiculous side of human nature or make the common faults of mankind appear diverting on the stage. When you paint heroes you make them what you choose; no likeness is sought in such fancy portraits. But when you paint men you must *paint from nature*; and if you do not make us recognise the men and women of our time, you have accomplished nothing."

The above extracts are sufficient to show how capable an advocate or a polemist Moliere was. But it provoked many scurrilous criticisms from professional rivals. In his "*Versailles Impromptu*" Moliere shows more impatience:

"They criticise my plays: so much the better; and Heaven forefend I should ever write any they would like! That would certainly be a piece of bad business for me."

These polemics through dialogues may not be

high art but they testify to the intensely *human* sensibilities of Moliere. He felt the insincerity of his critics. "All the world found the *School for Wives* wicked and all the world ran to see it!" It became the greatest stage success of Moliere's career—being played 32 times between the Christmas and the Easter. The receipts were also phenomenal, for "the ladies condemned and went to see!"

MOLIERE, THE MILITANT DRAMATIST:  
"THE HYPOCRITE."

This insincerity roused Moliere soon to pen one of the most relentless analysis of Social fraud, in his *Hypocrite (Le Tartuffe)* (May, 1664). As a picture of human duplicity and an analysis of sanctimonious humbug, the *Hypocrite* is probably unrivalled in literature. Yet the polemist or moralist in Moliere is so marvellously balanced by the supreme artist that the arch fraud neither degenerates into an inverted ethics (as it frequently happens in so many "problem plays") nor into an unredeemed unqualified inhuman devil like Shakespeare's Iago. The *Hypocrite* of Moliere with all his sublime cant and solemn self-deception remains to the last a *human hypocrite*. So he cries:

"Though devotee, I am none the less a man."

Racine records how the Jansenists thought that the Jesuits had been satirised in the comedy and the Jesuits flattered themselves that it was aimed at the Jansenists. In fact every one seemed to discover his neighbour caricatured—so intensely realistic, so relentlessly universal was the delineation of Moliere.

But appearing at a time when religious controversy was dangerously ripe, this masterpiece of dramatic portraiture was suppressed several times and mutilated in presentation and not permitted to be staged complete till Feb. 1669. Even then the title had to be changed and the Archbishop of Paris interdicted the piece! So Moliere had to pay for this grand crusade against Cant by being refused a Christian burial after his death! But crucifixion is the indispensable preliminary to apotheosis and Moliere's case cannot be an exception. Two passages in his preface are of great psychological interest:

"All the hypocrites have armed themselves against my comedy with appalling fury; yet they have taken care, not to attack it on the side which wounds them.....following their praiseworthy habit, they have cloaked their interests with the cause of Heaven and the *Hypocrite* on their lips becomes a play which offend piety."

Moliere's petition to Louis XIV, whom he cleverly extolled in the play as a "prince the mortal enemy of Fraud"—is full of noblest sentiments :—

"I believe that I can do nothing better than attack the vices of my time with *ridiculous likenesses*: and as hypocrisy is, without doubt, one of the most common, the most disagreeable and the most dangerous of these, I thought, Sire, that I was rendering a not unimportant service to the honest people of your kingdom."

It was really a passionate pleading. Louis was moved no doubt, but he had to suppress the play temporarily for *State reasons* and Napoleon is reported to have justified Louis on the same grounds.

#### MOIÏRE, THE MILITANT ALLEGORIST : DON JUAN.

But to Moliere, as to all really great souls, reason is only reason. It is pure, unadulterated, human—almost synonymous with Nature. Anything that deviates from reason, from *Bon sens*, is *unnatural*. From this point of view Moliere appears, at the same time, as the precursor and the corrective of the eighteenth century Age of Reason. His reason was neither tinged with the *doctrinarism* of the Encyclopedists nor was it diluted with our modern civilised *sophistications* giving rise to State reason and church reason and so forth. With him there was no compromise with Reality. Hence the Philosopher-comedian proceeded almost immediately to examine the basis of the so-called "Pillars of Society." To do it openly would be dangerous. So he searched and found a splendid archetype in the traditional figure of Don Juan and based his play on a Spanish play by Tirso de Molina.

This semi-human, semi-legendary character has attracted the attention of a great composer like Mozart, a poet like Byron, and modern dramatists like Edmond Rostand (*La derniere nuit de Don Juan*) and Bernard Shaw (*Man and Superman*). Moliere used it in his own original way, making it (consciously or unconsciously who would say?) a veritable symbol of the crumbling "Pillars of Society"—the grand fearless monstrous "Patricians" parading the stage! The Don Juan of Moliere is a sort of incarnation of cynicism audacity and infidelity. He gathers in his person all the vices and some of the virtues of the old dying nobility. He is perfect in fashion, witty in speech and captivating in conduct. Though a decadent, he conserves his ancestral courage: Confronted with the ghost of the general he had murdered, he cries out with a courage equalling to that of ten Macbeths :—

"No, no! It shall never be said of me, no matter what happens, that I am capable of repenting."

Thus Don Juan meets his fate unflinchingly. He believes in nothing, neither man, nor god,

nor love, nor retribution—a portentous solitary figure, apparently transcending the weaknesses of humanity and the consolation of divinity—discovering in his sublime Egoism a *locus standi*, as it were, outside the Cosmos!

#### MOIÏRE, MILTON AND SHAKESPEARE—PARALLELISM IN PARENTHESIS.

Though far removed from the burning lake, the thunder of heaven and the inferno (except in the last scene), the Don Juan of Moliere seems to work out the destiny of the Rebel Angel with more aesthetic consistency than that we notice in the epic of his English contemporary poet, Milton. The puritanic basis of Milton led him unconsciously to subordinate art to theology and to spoil thereby his splendid outline drawing of Satan in the opening cantos of *Paradise Lost*. Moliere stands closer to reality and works out the damnation of Don Juan in a manner at once more consistent and convincing. Hence while Milton's Satan gradually pales into insignificance, degenerating into a coward and a cheat; Moliere's Don Juan gathers round him an atmosphere of epic horror as the awful comet of social disintegration, crying out with his last breath as it were: "After me, the Deluge!" And the Deluge did come only a century after, in the form of the great French Revolution!

Moliere's Don Juan is supposed by some critics to be the nearest approach to a Shakespeare play. Yet it is difficult to discover the ghost of a reason thereto! That reminds us of the fact that the Ghost, as one of the *dramatis personae*, is a common factor. But which ghost—that of Macbeth or that of Hamlet? Preferably of Macbeth, for the Ghost of the murdered man joins the murderer in a banquet! But where are the other steps in the parallelism—the incoherent ravings of the unhinged Macbeth, the shriek of Lady Macbeth, the last consultation with the fateful witches and the ultimate surrender to Fate with apparent stoicism, through awful introspections?

Comparison may not always be odious but it is often precarious. Shakespeare is Shakespeare and Moliere Moliere. Their mentality is so different and their technique so dissimilar. In the supreme pieces of Shakespeare we find generally one or two characters, regulating and dominating the whole, covering the entire piece with their shadow; action is secondary, introspection everything. Hence it is possible to represent his plays through the extracts from his marvellous soliloquies. Hence his plays are, in practice, pruned and redressed by modern stage managers not always without dramatic justification. But any one who has witnessed the performance of a classical piece of Moliere, has felt that it is impossible to drop a single detail! The texture is organic, the de- interdependent. Don Juan is the piece but one must see the part of *Scarlatti* played by a

consummate actor like George Berr in the Comédie Française and he would be convinced that the servant is as important as the master. In the language of Mon. Moland,\* we may say that the comedy of Molière is "a world fully set in motion by the impetus of the main idea creating it and giving it life. All classes of Society pass in turn before our eyes."

"Yes, from the baffled creditor Mon. Dimanche to the country wenches with whom Don Juan is flirting—a veritable tableau of Rembrandt, perfect in drawing and *Chiaroscuro* (light and shade), secure in its apparent secularism yet divine in suggestion and implication, lacking perhaps in the gorgeous gold tint of Raphael or in the grandeur of Michael Angelo, yet none the less unique on its own intrinsic merit—such is a Molière piece to which may very aptly apply Molière's own lines in appreciation of the fresco of his friend Mignard:

"La fresque, dont la grace, à l'autre préfère,  
Se conserve un éclat d'éternelle durée."

Differences between the works of Molière and Shakespeare become more apparent in their respective treatment of the background and their management of the minor characters. Space would not permit a discussion of this very important but rather complicated problem. Suffice it to point out in this general paper that though accidentally one of the most prolific writers of dramas, Shakespeare stands by unanimous vote as the greatest Poet of the Renaissance. His heroes and heroines may appear (as they do appear to ultra-modern critics like Maeterlinck and Shaw) as a little too theatrical, if not actually melodramatic—yet none would dispute the magnificent quality of poetry that gushes out of their souls. Hence in a Shakespeare classic the monologues are more organic and interesting than the dialogues, and the introspection more important than action. And above all—crowning all, remains the supreme glory of Nature, charming and playful, sinister and sublime—Nature balancing the characters and transforming them with a grandeur that is only Shakespearean!

In Molière's works, on the contrary, this aspect of Nature is conspicuous by its absence. Here Nature is the whole human society with its Homeric procession of beggars and vagabonds, valets and servant girls, quacks and charlatans, pedants and prigs, upstarts and dandies—all crowding the canvas, inducing cross-currents, helping or hampering movement, developing the main characters which are never allowed to dominate the stage but only to play their allotted role in the drama as a whole. Hence there is less colour and more characterisation: less pathos, more dramatic detachment. We miss here no doubt that bucolic atmosphere and that lyric rapture of Shakespearean comedies. But what do we gain in return?

An ease that is unique—a balancing that is unrivalled—a realism and a naturalism that is the despair of even the ism-mongers of our days—a differentiation of types that become universal through their sheer concreteness—a veritable encyclopedia of common life and above all an apotheosis of the Commonplace: noblest truths, profoundest judgments coming from the ordinary children of the soil: Mascarilles and Sganarelles, spiritual cousins of Touchstones and Falstaffs—immortal creations of human comedy!

MOLIÈRE, THE MILITANT PHILOSOPHER  
POET: "THE MISANTHROPE".

If any piece of Molière resembles Shakespeare's in spirit if not in form it is his *Misanthrope* which along with *Don Juan* and the *Hypocrite* form a grand trilogy of seventeenth century French theatre. Like Shakespeare, Molière was a sublime plagiarist and a master transformer, so far as the plot of the plays were concerned: the plot of *Hypocrite* he borrowed from Scarron's novel of that name, *Don Juan* from Tirso de Molina, *Forced Marriage* from Rabelais and George Dandin from Boccaccio, to mention among others. Only in the case of *Misanthrope* we find Molière original. But the originality in plot is the least part of it. In felicity of expression, in the faithful creation of atmosphere, in the dramatic use of background, in the balancing and perspective of composition, in vigour of characterisation and profoundness of philosophy, *Misanthrope* stands not only as the greatest work of Molière but one of the very few masterpieces of the dramatic creation of humanity. To leave such a record in dramatic literature, already enriched by masters like Cervantes (1547-1616) and Shakespeare (1564-1616), Lope de Vega (1562-1635) and Calderon (1600-1681) is an achievement for Molière indeed. In *Misanthrope*, Molière creates for the first time a character *Alceste* which has ever remained the subject of wonder for dramatic critics and of despair for actors. Of course it was never a theatrical success so far as the selling of tickets is concerned. But from Boileau and Racine to Sainte Beuve and Alfred de Musset all great writers of France adored this work as the magnum opus of Molière. To Boileau Molière was above all the author of *Misanthrope*. And when Racine was informed that it had failed as a stage-piece, the poet is said to have exclaimed: "I don't believe it!" And Racine was not only a professional rival but had already quarrelled with Molière.

*Alceste*, the misanthrope, appears as an impossible idealist let loose in a fashionable salon! He comes successively in touch with Oronte, a hopeless literary egoist, Philante, a champion of compromise and moderation, Arsinoë, a sanctimonious prude, and Célimène, an incorrigible flirt. The party is not very large, the plot is remarkably thin, and the denouement rather weak. Yet the whole action thrills with the

\* Life of Molière.

tense introspection of one character Alceste. In this respect he betrays a striking family likeness with Shakespeare's Hamlet. Both Alceste and Hamlet are profound souls and uncompromising idealists. Both are victims of human perfidy. The cases of both are cases of progressive disillusionment and the ultimate tragedy of apparently unmitigated hatred for humanity. The differences are no less patent: Alceste moves in a historical seventeenth century salon, while Hamlet moves on a semi-legendary atmosphere of court intrigues and murder, of ghost and retribution! There are more of stage-actions and stage-sensations in Hamlet: drowning of Ophelia, rapier duel with Laertes—things probably indispensable for an Elizabethan dramatist who wanted to rouse his somewhat stolid and hence sensation-loving audience. But drowning all rises the voice of Hamlet:

"To be or not to be that's the question."

Hamlet (or rather Shakespeare, because he wanted to make a tragedy!) preferred to answer the question in the *negative*. The vote was given for "not to be" and out go Polonius, Ophelia, Laertes, Hamlet, and "the rest is silence"! Alceste, on the contrary, managed to live through the ordeal; probably Moliere did not find sufficient justification for killing a hero on metaphysical grounds! Moreover the king and the French public wanted a comedy. So Moliere gave them a comedy indeed! It opens with a thunderous onslaught of the misanthrope on the hollow, insincere, treacherous courtesies of the so-called refined society where we find those—

"Too cordial givers of unmeaning love,  
Too courteous utterers of empty words,  
Who in smooth manners vie, treating true worth  
And any fopling with an equal grace!"

This recalls strongly to our mind Hamlet's terrific diatribe against the insincere *laughter* of mankind. But while in the case of Hamlet the cynicism is the result of an accidental though grievous personal wound, in the case of Alceste it is the result of a continuous observation and slowly formed conviction. So, while Hamlet's heart-rending laughter is already almost tinged with semi or pseudo insanity, there is perfect sanity about the laughter of Alceste. That presents such a striking contrast to the prevailing atmosphere of levity and hilarity that Alceste becomes, as it were, a *comic* in spite of his cries! \* Stung by sarcasm or contempt he cries out in agony:

"—Upon my faith,  
It wounds me mortally to see how vice  
Is spared; into silent desert, far  
From man's approach, I am tempted to fly."

Both Hamlet and Alceste are reticent yet profound lovers: To save their beloveds from

the inevitable contamination of *Society*, they suggest means of escape that are curiously similar. "To the nunnery go!" was the cry of Hamlet to Ophelia, while Alceste asked Celestine to come with him to "a desert, far from all mankind!" The death of Ophelia quenches the light out of Hamlet's heart, while Alceste bleeds to the end with a heart lacerated with wounds and cries:

"All my greatest efforts are in vain

Indeed, it is for my sins I love you thus!"

Yes, it is the sin of loving too much—the sin of all great lovers: of Dante and Leonardo, of Moliere and Shelley! Hence Alceste, so vigorous in characterisation, so objective in delineation, is at the same time the centre of a sublime subjectivism of the great artist. We cannot forget that only a few months after the first representation of the *Misanthrope* (June, 1666) Moliere was forced to live apart from his wife (Dec., 1666). Armande Rejart, a giddy girl, frivolous and superficial, was a veritable cross of Moliere's life. So, if we find in Celestine a subdued study of Armande, we must admit that Moliere, as a Dramatist, had an equilibrium that is almost phenomenal. The deepest agonies of his life he depicted with a faithfulness and dramatic justice that is rarely equalled. Hence the inevitable *dualism* of *Misanthrope*: the subjectivism of the *Man* Moliere and the objectivism of the *Artist*—both fused with so much passion into such a marvel of repose, thrilling with such a depth of tragic calm that it will always stand as a deathless model of dramatic art. This dualism was brought out very ably through the splendid interpretation of *Misanthrope* by Jacques Copeau of Theatre Vieux-Colombier: There we find Celestine, the so-called incorrigible coquette, bursting the bounds of a stereotyped character and betraying traits that are so contradictory, so human! She realises the vanity of the polite life in which she moves, yet she cannot accept the offer of Alceste to leave society behind and to go to a desert! She shows no sign of dramatic conversion. Rather she shows her legitimate misgivings about an existence—may be very noble—yet entirely foreign to her! As a stage-heroine she may not have attained to a histrionic climax but she appears intensely human when she quietly walks out of the stage! So Alceste also silently passes out of sight "to find upon the earth some lonely place where one is free to be an honest man!" All his militant zeal for reform, his prophet-like denunciations are over and he seems to lapse into a mysterious silence! Did he end in love or in hate? Probably both! Yes, the case of our *Misanthrope* reminds us strongly of Browning's lines\* on the author of the *Divina Comedia* :—

"Dante who loved well because he hated,  
Hated wickedness that hinders loving."

\* Cf. the brilliant parody of M. Courte, *Conversion d'Alceste*.

\* "One Word More."

Hence in the last scene we seem to forget Moliere the Dramatist only to discover Moliere the Musician, playing the ineffable, voiceless symphony of hope frustrated and love baffled, of suppressed sighs and crushed tears suggesting a New Dawn—a *Vita Nuova*! Then Celemene appears as a veritable symbol of human suffering and Misanthrope is found to love Humanity with all the agony of an unrealised dream which his proud passionate soul defined only once:—

"My love will purge her Soul  
Of all the passing vices of the time!"

\* Here we witness the eternal tragi-comedy of the *Ideal* and the *Actual*—so conflicting yet so complimentary! Here if anywhere Moliere gives a point to Shakespeare and we may agree with modern critics\* who say that while "inferior in imagery and sublimity of conceptions" Moliere is "equal to Shakespeare in fecundity, and his superior in truth."

#### APPRECIATIONS—ANCIENT AND MODERN.

The opinions about Moliere and his works, like the opinions about all great writers, are as numerous and diversified as the critics who dipped into his writings. Contemporary judgments were conflicting as usual. His illustrious royal patron, Louis XIV., is said to have asked Boileau, "what great writer had most honoured his reign"—and the immediate reply was: "Moliere, Sir." "I think not," Louis replied, "but you know better than I." That shows the attitude of Louis XIV and Boileau. Then we know that La Fontaine had a real artist's admiration for a great artist. La Bruyere and Fenelon appreciated some points and condemned other traits—especially, Moliere's style. Bossuet,† had nothing but contempt for the comedian whose "place at the Holy Table was among the public sinners," and consequently according to Bossuet, "a Christian burial should be denied him." Voltaire realised the greatness of Moliere, yet his studies and criticisms were somewhat cold and condescending! Rousseau felt the overwhelming character of Moliere's humour and considered it "morally" dangerous!

The first unqualified acknowledgment of Moliere as a *classic*, and the first unstinted admiration as a man and a poet, came from the greatest creative artist of Germany—Goethe. Goethe, who encountered Napoleon and showed nothing but a Caesarian contempt for that Prodigious Gallic Barbarian,—the same Goethe used to adore Moliere passionately till the last days of his life. We quote a few extracts from his conversations:

"Moliere is so great that each time one reads or re-reads him, one finds a fresh astonishment. I look

upon him with the same veneration as on the engravings of the great Italian masters" (12th May, 1825)...

"What a man is Moliere! What a soul grand and pure! He governs the manners of his time whilst others allow themselves to be governed" (29 June, 1826).....

"I know and love him since my young days and I hold to him not only because of his artistic triumph but above all because of the *natural goodness* and the *high culture* of a poet's soul!" (28th March 1827).

That verdict pronounced at the beginning of the 19th century is strongly corroborated by another verdict of an authoritative critic of the 20th century: Mr. Ward, in his splendid monograph on Drama,\* remarks about Moliere: "He is the most versatile, the most sure-footed and the most consummate master of the comic drama whom the world had known."

By the side of these superlatives lavished by foreign admirers, the noble-prose rhapsody of Sainte-Beuve† appears to be quite sober though none-the-less profound and touching.

"Aimer Moliere!" "To love Moliere! by that I mean to love him sincerely and with the whole heart..."

To love Moliere—is to love health and the right sense of the spirit in others as well as in oneself!"

#### PERSONAL LIFE—A TRAGIC CONTRAST.

But when we turn from these public encomiums to the concrete details of his private life, we are shocked by the tragic contrast! A man with such an independence of judgment had to serve a king who was at his best but a noble autocrat. An artist of such a refinement of taste, had to humor the "gallery gods" in the triple capacity of dramatist, actor and manager! A philosopher of rare sanity and insight had to wear the mask of a *farceur*! A passionate lover of the Sublime and the Beautiful, had the misfortune to be tied to a woman that was the veritable cross of his life! In 1664 Moliere's first child was born and Louis XIV himself acted as the Godfather in the Baptism, but the boy died a few months after. His *Hypocrite*, though admitted by everyone as a masterpiece, had to be suppressed for State reasons—another tribute paid by Pompous Egoism to organised Hypocrisy! As a refuge from such shocks and as a source of mutual inspiration, Moliere organised (in 1664) the memorable circle with La Fontaine and Claude Chapelle, Boileau and Racine. In 1665 Moliere presented Racine's *Alexander* at his theatre but a few months after Racine ungratefully transferred the right of presentation to Hotel de Bourgogne without a single warning! In 1666 Moliere lost one of his most favourite pupils in the histrionic art—Baron—through the insulting behaviour of his wife

\* Cf. Taylor, pp. 2 Coquelin, Moliere et Misanthrope (1881).

† Maximes et reflexions sur la comedie.

\* Encyclopædia Britannica, XI edition.

† Causeries du lundi."

Armande who soon left him. In 1667 Racine made a cowardly attack on Moliere by encouraging many of his artists to desert his theatre of Palais Royal. Soon after Moliere fell seriously ill and he lived for two months on milk diet, in a quiet retreat near Auteuil with his friend Chapelle drunken but devoted to the last! The theatre had to be closed for six months. In 1669 Moliere lost his father. In 1670 appeared the most venomous and scandalous attack on his life and character—*Elomire the Hypochondriac* written by Le Boulanger de Chalussay. In 1671 Moliere was reconciled with his wife through the intervention of some friends but the very next year he lost one of the oldest and staunchest of his friends Madeleine Bejart who died (1672) leaving practically everything she had for the benefit of Moliere's daughter and his children yet to be born. Moliere's name figures in her burial act—his last mute token of gratitude! His time was also fast approaching! In broken health, in exhausted spirits Moliere continued his double work of an author and an actor. He had lost all faith in cure, in medicine, in doctors. He was desperate. To crown all, the conspiracies of the Italian royal musician Lully and the hostilities of jealous Racine alienated Louis XIV for the time being. So while the dying Moliere was playing his masterpiece, *The Imaginary Invalid*, in Palais Royal Theatre, "the troupe of the Hotel de Bourgogne was playing Racine's *Methridates* before the ungrateful king!"\* On the day of the fourth performance of *Imaginary Invalid*, his wife Armande and his beloved pupil Baron implored Moliere "with tears in their eyes not to act that day; but his point of honour proved unalterable. 'There are fifty poor work people who live on their day's wage; what would they do if there were no performance?' exclaimed Moliere and went out to play for the last time! This last phase of Moliere's life has been dramatised with singular fidelity and pathos by the new play *Moliere* now being staged in Theatre Odeon. There we see Moliere already seized with convulsion in the last scene struggling with superhuman strength of his comic art to laugh death itself to scorn! Carried to his home on Rue Richelieu, in a semi-conscious state Moliere breathed his last (Feb. 17, 1673) muttering to himself: 'How much a man suffers before his death!' Thus Death also seemed to have been in a comic mood in carrying away the Great Comedian, surprised by a fatal stroke of malady while playing his *Imaginary Invalid*! And the pious society continued that comedy or rather tragi-comedy by refusing Moliere a Christian burial! Finally after four days of supplication, the greatest writer of France was allowed to be buried (Feb. 21, 1673) at the cemetery of St. Joseph with no pomp...with a

few friends following silently in the dark..... unaccompanied by Divine service! Moliere's widow is said to have cried out: "What! a sepulchre is denied a man worthy of altars?" And such was the end!

#### MOLIERE—THE LAST PHASE.

Thus we see that the last few years of Moliere's life was a period of progressive undermining of his body and mind. Yet, it is a period of prolific artistic creation. The flame of his genius burnt steadily to the last! And here we find unmistakable evidence of the triumph of Spirit over Matter. Even if we leave aside popular farces like *George Dandin* (1668, an amplified version of his earliest farce *La Jaloux du barbouille*) or the *Rascalities of Scapin* (*Les Fourberies de Scapin*, 1671); or gorgeous court-ballets like *The Sicilian*, or *Love as a Painter* (1667), *Amphitryon* (1668) or *La Comtesse d'Escarbagnas* (1671); or clever skits on the medical men like *Love as a Doctor* (1655), *The Doctor in spite of Himself* (1666);—we must admit that Moliere gives indisputable proof of unlagging creative power through four universally praised and eternally fresh pieces: *The Miser* (*L'Avare*, 1668), *The Burgher*, a *Gentleman* (*Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*, 1670), *The Learned Women* (*Les Femmes Savants*, 1672) and the last, though not the least, the *Imaginary Invalid* (*Le Malade Imaginaire*, 1673). In a general popular paper it is neither possible nor desirable to discuss any and every piece of the Great Comedian. A bare statement of his achievements in the domain of dramatic creation is sufficient to convince us as to his title to literary immortality. Brunetiere voices the opinion of millions when he characterises the works of Moliere as "un fragment de nature et d'humanité sous l'aspect de l'éternité"—truly, a fragment of Nature and of Humanity in the aspect of Eternity!

I conclude by reciting the noble and passionate lines addressed to Moliere by Alfred de Musset† (probably next in rank in French drama and poetry):—

"J'admire quel amour pour l'apre verité  
Eut cet homme si tier en sa naïvete!  
Quel grand et vrai savoir des choses de ce monde!  
Quelle male gaite, si triste et si profonde  
Que, lorsqu'on vient de en rire on devrait en pleurer!"

I admired: What a love for the hard Truth  
Had that man—so balanced in his simplicity!  
What a grand and true knowledge of the things  
of this world!

What a masculine gaiety, so pensive and so profound

That when one goes to laugh one can't help crying.

Let our tribute be sober, let it be sincere.  
Moliere's art is a permanent asset of Humanity.

L'histoire de la Littérature Française  
"Un Soir Perdu."

\* Moliere by Chatfield Taylor.



Alfred de Musset: A Monument at  
the Theatre Francais.

His life, as a creative artist, is a perpetual inspiration to his posterity. May both his life and art reveal their real significance to us and like a guiding star lead us along the path of

Eternal discovery of Truth through suffering that scorns not the Divine prerogative of Laughter.

".....Je suis ce que je suis. Rire ne m'empêche pas de souffrir; mais souffrir n'empêchera jamais un bon Français de rire. Et qu'il rit on qu'il larmoie, il faut d'abord, qu'il voie."

".....I am what I am. Laughing does not prevent me from suffering but suffering never hinders a good Frenchman from laughing. And whether laughing or crying he must observe."—ROMAIN ROLLAND (*Colas Breugnot* 1914).

15th January, 1922.

KALIDAS NAG.

Paper read before the "Association des Hindous de Paris" in commemoration of the Tricentenary of Moliere.

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## LICE

By CEDRIC DOVER, F. E. S.

**T**HOUGH cleanly people now-a-days regard lice with the utmost abhorrence, and it is not uncommon to hear an Anglo-Indian mother say that her children have been in undesirable company when they have "nits" in their hair, they were not always objects to be shuddered at. In the time of the Stuarts, for instance, people used to joke about them and some even went so far as to be proud of finding

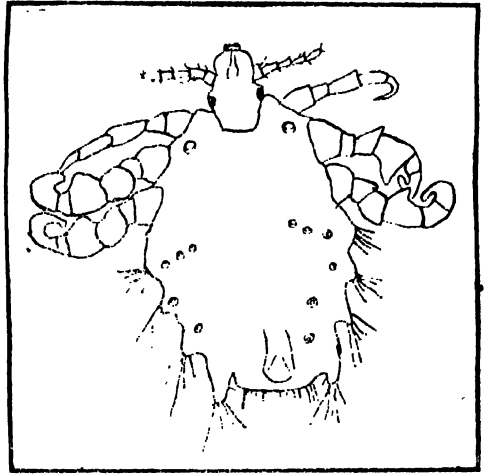
them on their person. Col. Alcock tells us that it was taken as a sign of consecrated grace in the "holy blissful martir" of Canterbury that the hair garments he wore next his skin were found to be seething with lice "like a boiling caldron"; and it was in an appreciative mood (Col. Alcock continues) that Sir Hugh Evans, in the *Merry Wives of Windsor* says not only that "the twelve white

louses do become an old coat well" but also that "it is a familiar beast to man and signifies love". It is a belief among some of the poorer classes both here and in England that the presence of lice is a sign of productivity and good health, and as a consequence many people refuse to take any protective measures against lice for fear of becoming sterile and losing their robust health. In R. Hooke's *Microphagia*, an old book published in London in 1665, a description of the head-lice is introduced as follows:—"This is a creature so officious that 'twill be known to every one at one time or another, so busie and so impudent, that it will be intruding itself in every one's company, and so proud and aspiring withal that it fears not to trample on the best, and affects nothing so much as a crown; feeds and lives very high, and makes it so saucy as to pull any one by the ears that comes its way, and will never be quiet till it has drawn blood."

Leaving the reader to conjure up visions of certain aspects of domestic life during the reign of the "Merry Monarch", of which history leaves us more or less ignorant, I will now endeavour to give him a little information of a more useful nature, about these vermin which unlike most other parasites spend the whole of their existence on man.

It is perhaps some consolation to know that man is not exceptional in harbouring these insects, and most species of the Mammalia from camel to mouse are attacked by some member of this group of parasites. But like the fleas, the species that live on man are more or less peculiar to him, and it is probable that different mammals have different species of lice which are entirely and exclusively devoted to their particular host.

Most entomologists are now agreed that the lice belong to a separate order—the Anoplura or Siphunculata—superficially resembling the biting-lice (Mallophaga) from which they are mainly distinguished by the difference of the mouth-parts and



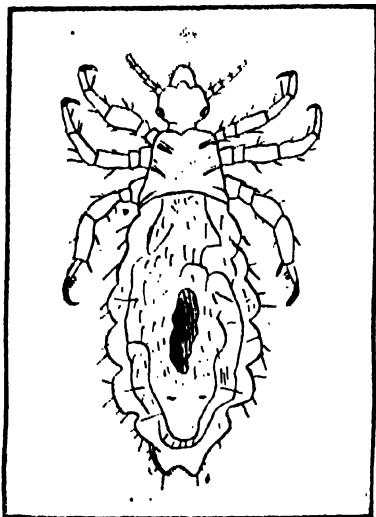
Outline Drawing of Male Crab Louse.

the claws; but they were, and are still, regarded by some competent authorities as a group of the Rhynchota or bugs. The Anoplura contain many genera, but in this article we are only concerned with two—*Pediculus* and *Phthirus*: of the first there are two species—*P. capitis*, the head-lice and *P. vestimenti* the body-lice of the second only one, *Ph. pubis* the crab-lice, which inhabits the pubic region of man, but is not entirely confined to it.

The oldest name for the head-lice is *P. humanus* the author of which was Linnaeus, who did not regard the body-lice as specifically distinct. They are now again regarded as varieties or races of a single species, the head-lice being known as *P. humanus capitis* and the body-lice as *P. humanus corporis*; but while admitting that this nomenclature is correct, as this article is not a strictly scientific one I have thought it best to give the creatures their commoner names.

Though difficult to rear in captivity the human *Pediculi* increase and multiply to an astonishing degree under favourable conditions, and wherever human beings are congregated together under conditions not strictly sanitary, they are sure to spread. *P. vestimenti* is the chief Anopluron parasite of human beings which





The Body-Louse. ( magnified )

spend their whole time or a large part of it, in an uncleanly environment. But though lice flourish best in dirty surroundings it must be understood that they do not arise from dirt as the uninformed, who still believe in spontaneous generation, think. No creature exists that is not the result of the union of a male with a female and every existent louse was hatched from an egg laid by a mother-louse and fertilised by a "daddy-louse." It might be well to mention here that lice have no metamorphoses : that is to say they have no caterpillar and chrysalis stage like the butterflies.

The structure of the mouth-parts of the Anoplura have interested the earliest entomologists and Swammerdam, Linnaeus Schiodte, Redo, and others have all given lengthy dissertations on the louse. But there was considerable difference of opinion among these authorities regarding the structure of these organs and even to-day the structure sucking-tube is not clearly understood. In his book on Medical Entomology Col. Alcock gives a good short account of the mouth parts which I quote here. He writes :—"All that can be seen of the mouth-parts outwardly is a short and incomplete tube with

some dorsally placed recurved teeth: the function of this tube with its denticles is to hold the skin when the insect starts to suck. The rest of the mouth-parts are retracted within the head, in somewhat the same way as, only more completely than, those of the Hippoboscids flies: they have the form of a slender tube composed of the three very fine stylets, two of which lying dorsally are perhaps the mandibles, while the third which is ventral in position perhaps represents the two maxillae fused together except at their tip; in repose this tube lies invaginated in a sheath beneath the pharynx; in action it is far extruded, through the short outwardly-visible tube, for the purpose of piercing the skin and drawing blood. The most reasonable view to take of these ensheathed mouth-parts is that they are closely homologous with those of bugs, but are protectively intussuscepted when at rest."

The male-body louse is a tiny creature about 3 mm. long and 1 mm. broad, while its "better half" is somewhat larger. It varies in colour considerably : Andrew Murray states that those found on West African and Australian natives are almost black ; on the Hindu dark and smoky ; on Afrianders and Hottentots orange ; on the South American Indians dark-brown ; on the Mongolian races yellowish-brown ; and on the Esquimos light-brown, which comes nearest to the light dirty-grey colour of the parasites found on Europeans.

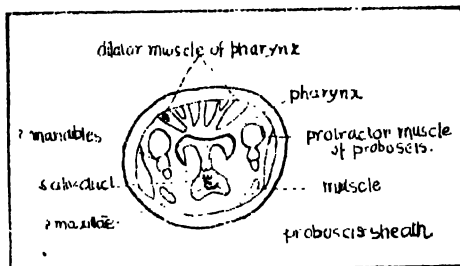
Mr. C. Warburton of Cambridge has recently succeeded in rearing *P. vestimenti* and *P. capitis* in captivity in the Quick laboratory of the University but only after a series of experiments had failed. One of the conditions of success was the close proximity of the human body, and the anchorage of the pests in some sort of cloth such as flannel. Sir Arthur Shipley of Christ College, Cambridge, writes that :—"He ( Warburton ) anchored his specimens on small pieces of cloth which he interned in small test tubes plugged with cotton wool, which did not let the lice out, but did let air and the emanations of the human body in. For

Warburton found that a single impregnated female of *P. vestimenti* produced 125 eggs in the course of 25 days. The young which are tiny miniatures of the adult, feed immediately after emerging from the egg. They moult about three times, generally attaining maturity on the 4th day, but they do not perform their sexual functions till about four days later.

Incubation period : Eight days to five weeks.  
From larva to imago : eleven days.  
Non-functional mature condition : four days.  
Period of adult life : male, three weeks ;  
female, four weeks.

Mr. Warburton's work makes it clear that unless regularly fed body-lice perish very quickly and that the young can only live 36 hours at the utmost without food. It might be of interest to mention that he found at the commencement of his experiments that the body-louse is capable of living longer under adverse conditions than *P. capitis*.

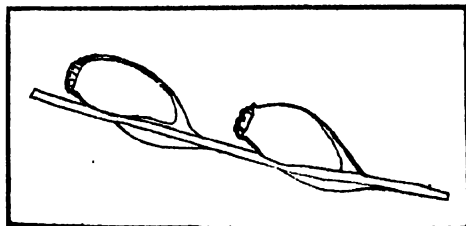
The head louse is a somewhat smaller creature than the body louse, the female being about 1.8 mm. long and 0.7 mm. broad. They are generally of a cindery-grey colour, but like the body louse, vary considerably. They are usually found on the heads of uncleanly people; and school children—especially girls—in India very



frequently have "nits" in their hair, mainly owing to the motley crowd that attend even our best 'seats of learning.' The habit of several natives such as the Australians, the Andamanese, and the Apache Indians of plastering their hair with coloured clay, is said to be a protection against vermin and also to keep them "agreeably cool". Anointing the head with ointments or oil, is also a protective measure, and it is probable that the Spartan youths who used to oil their wavy locks before going into battle, feared these parasites. The habit of the natives of India of anointing themselves daily with oil serves a more useful purpose than they perhaps think. Likewise, the round head of the German soldier is not shaved to provide the cartoonist with a subject, but has a practical significance, as it affords no nidus for lice. The wigs of the seventh, and early part of the eighteenth centuries, and the later powdering of the hair also probably owed their origin to the difficulty of combating the parasites, and not to the whims of Dame Fashion.

The egg of *P. capitis* is something like that of the bed-bug, but has a perforated cap, which Col. Alcock thinks is to supply the developing embryos with air. It is attached to the hair, and at the end of six days the young emerge, mating after a certain number of moults, on the 18th day.

The crab louse, *Ph. pubis*, is, like the dethroned Emperor Wilhelm among rulers, a creature quite unlike the other lice. It is nearly as wide as long; the legs are



Eggs of Head-Louse.

proportionately very stout (the front pair are much slenderer than the others) and always spread out laterally which has the effect of making the body look even broader than it is. It is more or less whitish in colour with a dark patch on each shoulder and the legs are tinged with a red. Its popular name, "the crab louse," is more appropriate than popular names of insects usually are, as a glance at the illustration will show. It inhabits the pubic and perineal hairs particularly, but is not entirely confined to those regions and has even been found on the head. The eggs are pear-shaped. Young emerge in about a week and are quite mature in a little over a fortnight. 420

Numerous remedies have been suggested for combating lice, which I do not propose to detail here. "Prevention is better than cure" and acting on this principle we should try to avoid contact with "lousy" people and advise the children to do the same. It should also be remembered that to secure immunity from their attacks the chief requisite is *cleanliness*. The gentle sex generally dislike the idea of washing their heads frequently, on account of the time it occupies and its troublesomeness, and children share a similar antipathy. But frequent head-washing is essential, and parents should see that their children are regularly and thoroughly bathed. The use of oils on the hair, as I have remarked previously, is a useful preventive. This has been known for centuries and in former times some horrible mixtures were probably in use. Mouffet, for instance, would have his readers use a

compound of hog's blood mixed with wine and essence of roses.

For curative purposes a wash made from an extract of tobacco is efficacious, but not agreeable. Perhaps the best method of ridding the head of *P. capitis* is to rub the hair thoroughly with equal parts of paraffin and salad oils, followed by washing with soap—preferably carbolic soap—and hot water and combing with the small, fine wooden combs that can be had for a few pice in any Indian bazar. Sulphur ointment is also commonly used for destroying the head-lice.

*P. vestimenti* the more annoying of the two *Pediculi* and also the more difficult to destroy as it lays its eggs in the seams and folds of one's inner garments. Lousy clothing should be steamed or boiled or cleaned by soaking in gasoline or some other volatile mineral oil. This will never be necessary, I think, in the average home, if the clothes are frequently dusted, sunned, and ironed particularly along the seams. It seems the custom among poorer Eurasean families to regularly have their hair searched for "nits" and to examine their clothes for body-lice, this custom no doubt considerably mitigates the evil. As a private once said to Sir Arthur Shipley: "We strips and we picks 'em off and place 'em in the sun, and it kind o' breaks the little beggars' 'earts."

The body-lice, and even the head-lice, are known to be carriers of relapsing fever and it has been "shown that infected lice transmit the infection if their bodies are crushed and rubbed into an abraded skin, as might happen in the rubbings and scratchings of a lousy person." For this reason infected persons should try to avoid scratching the irritated parts. Considerable relief may be obtained by bathing with warm water and carbolic soap, or any good medicated soap such as "Cuticura"; and I have been told that a dash of Phenyle in the water increases the soothing effect.

The body-lice also stands convicted of conveying typhus, and the head-lice is suspected of carrying not only typhus but also beri-beri.

The crab-louse is more easily conveyed from one person to another than either of the two *Pediculi* and as they are usually contracted from using an infested public lavatory or bath, such places should as far as possible be avoided. I do not suppose even our energetic "city-fathers" could make all the public latrines strictly sanitary. But they are a wonderful body (witness the new electric rubbish cart) and who knows what may happen in the future!

This is the most troublesome of all lice and also the most difficult to get rid of as it reproduces very rapidly. Shaving of the

affected parts and blue ointment is the usual treatment.

Let us close this article in the same manner as Sir Arthur Shipley—cheerfully!

The third, Lady Holland, with more spirit than delicacy had informed Theodore Hook, who had offended her at Holland House that "she did not care three skips of a louse for him." Hook in revenge addressed the slangy aristocrat the following lines:—

Her ladyship said when I went to her house  
She did not regard me three skips of a louse.  
I freely forgave what the dear creature said,  
For ladies will talk of what runs in their head.

## BOOKER T. WASHINGTON

### HIS LIFE AND WORK.

IT is well known to students of History that some fifty years ago the Negroes in America were in the bonds of slavery. From the middle of the seventeenth century the Portuguese began to capture the Negroes of Africa and sell them as slaves. By and by the trade fell into the hands of the English, and thousands of these poor creatures were imported into America. They were readily purchased by the white settlers, who urgently wanted some labour agency to clear the virgin forests and bring the vast land under cultivation. In 1776 America declared her Independence, and the equality of man before God was recognised.

But the condition of the Negro grew from bad to worse. He was not treated as a human being, he could not own any estate, he was regarded as cattle by his master. The horrors of this system are graphically described in Mrs. Stow's famous novel "Uncle Tom's Cabin", which is also responsible for awakening the sympathy of the people for the coloured man. From the very beginning the Northern States of America were against slavery. The States in the South—where the Negro slaves were owned by the planters in large numbers—were strongly in favour of continuing this system. This and the other points of difference between these two groups of States led to the fierce Civil War in 1860. The cause of the helpless Negro was stoutly championed by Abraham Lincoln, one of the greatest Presidents of America, with whom the principle was, "If slavery is not wrong, nothing is wrong." The cause of the

weak and the humble was successful, and on the 1st January, 1863, the famous Lincoln Amnesty declared complete freedom to all the American Negroes.

Though the chains of bondage were broken, this did not much improve the material condition of the coloured people. Hitherto they were in a primitive condition, and had scarcely any knowledge of earning their livelihood. Till then their masters were responsible for their maintenance. But now they were thrown out in the open and broad world, where there was a hard and keen struggle for existence. Some kind of literary, spiritual and industrial education was necessary to meet this situation. An attempt in the direction was successfully made by General Armstrong and Booker T. Washington by starting the required schools at Hampton and Tuskegee respectively. It is the life of the latter that is chosen for our study here.

Our hero was born a slave in 1858 in a plantation in Franklin County, Virginia, near a Post Office called Hale's Ford. His life 'had its beginning in the midst of the most miserable, desolate, and discouraging surroundings.' He was born in a typical log cabin about fourteen by sixteen feet square. Here he lived with his mother and family 'till after the Civil War, when they were all declared free.' As soon as freedom was proclaimed, the family went to Malden, Kanawha Valley, in West Virginia, to live with his step-father. At that time salt mining was the great industry in that part of

West Virginia. Washington's father had already engaged himself at a Salt-furnace, and he had also secured work in the same for his step-son.

From his very childhood he had a great desire to learn to read, and understand common books and newspapers. Soon after they had settled in the new home, he asked his mother for a book. She procured for him an old copy of Webster's Blue Back spelling book. This was the first book he read. After some time a school was opened in the neighbourhood, and arrangement was made with the teacher to give him some lessons at night, when the day's work was over. He could learn more at night than the other children could do during the day. His experience gave him faith in the institution of a night school, with which afterwards he had to work at Hampton and Tuskegee.

After he had worked for some days in the Salt-furnace, he was engaged in a coal-mine. This work was not only hard, but dangerous. "There was always the danger of being blown to pieces by a premature explosion of powder, or of being crushed by falling slate"; and frequent accidents from these causes kept him in constant danger. It was while working here that he heard of the establishment of a Normal and Agricultural Institute at Hampton. He immediately resolved to go there, though he had no idea of its precise whereabouts, and he had also no means to reach the place. This thought, however, was uppermost in his mind day and night.

Soon afterwards he heard of a vacancy in the house of General Ruffener. Mrs. Ruffener was very strict with her servants, and especially with the boys who tried to serve her. He had, however, decided not to remain in the coal-mine, and so through his mother he secured the place in Mrs. Ruffener's house. Soon he learned that she required everything to be kept clean, that she wanted prompt execution of work, and that she desired absolute honesty and straightforward character. The lessons he learned in the home of Mrs. Ruffener were as valuable to him as any education he ever received since then. His heart and honest work soon pleased his mistress, who always sympathised with him in all his efforts to get an education.

In 1872 he determined to make an effort to go to Hampton. He had no money to buy clothes or pay his travelling expenses. He had on the other hand the sympathy of the coloured people, who took a keen interest in the matter. The great day at last came, and he started on his pilgrimage! His mother was then not keeping good health, he hardly expected to see her again, and hence his departure was all the more sad. The distance from Molden to Hampton was about five hundred miles. He had not sufficient money to pay his fare. "By walking, begging rides both in waggons and in the cars, in some way, after a number of days"

he reached the city of Richmond late at night. He was tired, he was very hungry, but he was not disheartened. He arrived at a street where the "board side-walk was considerably elevated." He crept under it, and rested for the night upon the ground with his satchel of clothing for a pillow. In the morning he noticed he was near a large ship, which seemed to be unloading its cargo. Here he secured his work, and in this way earned money to pay his way. He reached at last the place of his pilgrimage with fifty cents to offer at the feet of the Goddess of Learning.

He immediately presented himself before the head teacher for admission. Having been so long without food and change of clothing, he could not make a favourable impression upon her. She perhaps thought that he was a loafer or tramp. After some hours had passed, she said: "The adjoining recitation room needs sweeping. Take a broom and sweep it." Here was his chance! He instantly took the broom and swept the room three times. When every corner in the room was thoroughly cleaned, he informed the teacher of it. She, however, knew just where to look for the dust. She took out her handkerchief and rubbed it on the wood work, about the wall, and over the furniture. When she was unable to find a particle of dust she quietly remarked, "I guess you will do to enter this institution." Miss F. Mackie, the head teacher, was thus favourably impressed, and she offered him a position as janitor. This he gladly accepted, as it enabled him to pay his board. At Hampton he came in direct contact with that great man, General Samuel C. Armstrong, the founder of the Hampton Institution. For three years he worked very hard, and was graduated in 1875.

After graduation he returned to his home at Malden and was elected to teach the coloured school of that place. Two years after he went to Washington D. C. and he studied there for eight months. About 1878 he was called to Hampton by General Armstrong to deliver the post-graduate address at the next commencement. This he considered to be a great honour and spoke on "The Force That Wins". In 1879 he was again called to Hampton as a teacher, where he further pursued some supplementary studies. General Armstrong was then carrying on an educational experiment with Red Indians; and seventy-five young men of them were placed under Washington's care for training, he being appointed as their 'house-father'. He creditably acquitted himself of this rather delicate, dangerous and difficult task. He also started a night school in connection with the Institute in which students were to receive education on condition that they were to work ten hours during the day. This class was called by him "The Plucky Class" on account of the earnestness the students showed in their hard work and in their studies.

In 1881 General Armstrong was asked by some gentlemen in Alabama to recommend someone to take charge of a Normal School for the coloured people in Tuskegee. He recommended Washington, who was immediately accepted. Tuskegee was a small town of about two thousand inhabitants, nearly one half of whom were coloured. Washington expected at Tuskegee a school-building and the necessary teaching apparatus. To his utter disappointment he found nothing of the kind. The State had given a grant of 2000 for the payment of teachers only. What however he found was hundreds of hungry and earnest souls who wanted to secure knowledge.

His first work was to find a place in which to open the school. After a careful enquiry he could secure an old shanty, near the Methodist Church, with the Church itself as an assembly room. Both these places were in a dilapidated condition. The school was opened here in July 4, 1881, with thirty students of both the sexes. It soon became apparent that something else must be done besides teaching mere books. The students were ignorant of many essential things. They did not know how to bathe and care for the body; they scarcely thought what was proper to eat and how to eat it; they had no idea as how to care for their rooms. Besides this, he also wanted to give them a practical knowledge of some one industry with the spirit of labour economy. They were to be so trained and equipped with the industrial education that they would be sure of knowing how to make a living after they had gone out in the world. Eighty per cent of the coloured people depended upon agriculture. Such an education was therefore absolutely essential as would fit a large proportion of the students to return to their farms as good farmers, and put "new energy and new ideas into farming, as well as into the intellectual, moral and religious life of the people."

Three months after they began their work an old plantation came into the market for sale. It was bought for 500 with the help of General F. B. Marshall, the treasurer of Hampton. No time was lost in occupying the place. There were standing upon the plantation only a cabin, an old kitchen, a stable, an old hen house. As soon as the cabins were in a condition to be used, it was resolved to clear up some land in the neighbourhood to plant a crop. When this was explained to the students, they did not welcome the idea. It was difficult for them to see the relation between clearing land and an education. Washington, however, took his axe and led the way to the woods. When his students saw that he was not ashamed to work, they gladly came forward with a smile. The school was daily growing in numbers, and an adequate provision of buildings and

apparatus became a pressing necessity. From the very beginning Washington was determined that the students should erect their own buildings. "During the nineteen years' existence of the Tuskegee school," forty buildings had been built, and "all except four are almost wholly the product of student labour. Under his presidency the Tuskegee institute at present has become the foremost exponent of industrial education for the Negroes."

His work demanded more and more money; to promote its interest it became necessary to establish better understanding between the white and the coloured people; and on account of these and similar causes he took to public speaking. Soon his fame as an orator increased and he delivered many addresses and lectures throughout the United States. His speech in 1895 at the opening of the Atlanta Cotton States and International Exhibition is especially noteworthy. It was equally liked and appreciated by the white and the coloured people, and is considered to be one of his best, finest and most thoughtful speeches.

A few extracts from this speech will not be out of place:

"To those of my race who depend on bettering their condition in a foreign land, or who underestimate the importance of cultivating friendly relations with the southern white man, who is their next-door neighbour, I would say, 'Cast down your bucket where you are'—cast it down in making friends in every manly way of the people of all races by whom we are surrounded."

"No race can prosper till it learns that there is as much dignity in tilling the field as in writing a poem. It is at the bottom of life we must begin, and not at the top. Nor should we permit our grievances to overshadow our opportunities."

"In all things that are purely social we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress."

"In 1898 the Tuskegee Institute was very fortunate to receive a visit from the then President of America. In the course of his address to the students President Mackinley observed:—

"To meet you under such pleasant auspices and to have the opportunity of a personal observation of your work is indeed most gratifying. The Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute is ideal in its conception, and has already a large and growing reputation in the country, and is not unknown abroad. I congratulate all who are associated in this undertaking for the good work which it is doing in the education of its students to lead lives of honour and usefulness, thus exalting the race for which it was established."

"Nowhere I think could a more delightful location have been chosen for this unique educational experiment, which has attracted the attention and won the support even of conservative philanthropists in all sections of the country."

"To speak of Tuskegee without paying special tribute to Booker T. Washington's genius and perseverance would be impossible. The inception of this noble enterprise was his, and he deserves high credit

for it. His was the enthusiasm and enterprise which made its steady progress possible, and established in the institution its present high standard of accomplishments. He has won a worthy reputation as one of the great leaders of his race, widely known and much respected at home and abroad as an accomplished educator, a great orator, and a true philanthropist.

His work is also recognised by the American Universities. Harvard conferred upon him the honorary degree of Master of Arts in 1896, and Dartmouth that of Doctor of Literature in 1901. In 1899 some of his friends raised a sum of money to enable him and his wife to undertake a trip to Europe as he was very tired on account of eighteen years' strenuous and laborious work. He visited Belgium, Holland, France and England, and returned home after a three months' stay in the Old World!

The Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute was established by the legislature of 1880. The school was opened in 1881 in a rented shanty and church with thirty pupils and but one teacher. During the first session the present location with three buildings thereon was purchased. The population of the school community is at present over 2000. This includes 193 teachers, officers and employees with their families. From its foundation upto 1912 over 9000 men and women have finished a full or partial course. In 1912 the total enrolment was 1645. Of these 1067 were young men, 578 young women.

The educational plant consists of 2345 acres of land, and 107 buildings. This does not include 19910 acres of public land as remaining unsold from 25500 acres granted by Act of Congress, and valued at 25000000. The control of the school is vested in a Board of 19 Trustees. The Endowment Fund amounts at the present time to 1,871,647. The current annual expense is about 270000. Including the agricultural department, the industries for girls and the Nurse Training School there are now forty different trades or professions taught at Tuskegee. They are grouped under agriculture, mechanical industries, and the industries for girls.

At the present time the farm comprises 22300 acres. An extensive live-stock industry is also conducted on the basis of this farm. Landscape gardening, horticulture, and floriculture have recently been added. There is a Museum in which specimens of various products of the soil are preserved for illustrating lectures. Experiments in cotton breeding are carried on since 1905.

In the shops, where the mechanical industries are taught, arrangements are made for the following trades:—Carpentry, wood-working, printing, tailoring, black-smithing, wheelwrighting, harness-making, carriage-trimming, plumbing, steel-fitting, electric-lighting, architectural and mechanical drawing, tinning, painting, steam-engineering, and shoe-making.

Girls' trades include laundry, cooking, dress-making, and millinery. All girls in the school study cooking and domestic science. The school maintains a practice cottage, where the girls of the senior class keep house, and do their own cooking on a small fixed allowance given them by the school.

There is also an academic department. All the students are required to take academic studies. There is a systematic effort to harmonise academic studies with industrial training and practical interest of the pupils. Teaching in this department is carried on by a faculty of fifty-two teachers, giving instruction on the subjects of English, Mathematics, History and Geography, Science, Education, Book-keeping, Vocal and Instrumental Music, Kinder-Garten, Drawing, Writing and Physical culture. There is also a public school of the institute community called the Children's House. A summer school is conducted each year for teachers from the northern and the southern States.

Religious and spiritual education is given in the Phelps Bible Training School. The aim of this department is to give its students a comprehensive knowledge of the whole English Bible. This is done with a view to give them such knowledge and training as will fit them to work as preachers and missionaries.

In 1892 a Hospital and Nurse Training School was started. Seventy-four nurses have gone out from the school since 1891, and are doing good work in different parts of the country.

Besides these, there are other special features of educational work at Tuskegee for which a school extension department is created. In 1891 the Annual Negro Conference was started, which has resulted now in the annual farmers' and workers' conferences. A Farmers' Institute was established in 1897. A short course in Agriculture is started since 1904 to give the farmers the advantage of two weeks' study and observation of the work of the school farm. In 1907 the demonstration farming experiment was started. A Negro County Fair has been held for a number of years in connection with the Farmers' Institute. There is a Rural School Extension, a Model School, a Plantation Settlement, and Mothers' Clubs, the last two being established through Mrs. Booker T. Washington's efforts. A National Negro Business League also meets annually at Tuskegee.

The discipline of the school is in charge of the commandant of the battalion and the Dean of the Women's Department. Military discipline of some sort has been enforced since the foundation of the school.

There is a large Library housed in the Carnegie Library building, which contains at present 19000 volumes. A special effort is now made to furnish the Library with books and pamphlets on Africa and the Negroes. The Library carries on a considerable amount of extension

work. Circulating Library boxes are being fitted up and sent out to the Rural Schools.

Having seen so far the life of Booker T. Washington, and his noble work at Tuskegee, it will not be a digression to apply the lessons of his story to the present condition of India. Curiously enough the position of the American Negro closely resembles the state of our untouchable and depressed classes. With the stigma of being untouchable, they are in a deep submerged condition of poverty, ignorance, social degradation and isolation from a higher moral and spiritual life. The insanitary life they lead, together with the regular visits of famines and plague, makes their condition simply unthinkable. Our Mahars and Mangs, and the Dheds and Chamars are in a far worse condition when compared to the highly civilised life that is led by the present American Negro. Our Bhils and Koles are also not in a very happy condition of life. As far as their economic, moral and spiritual welfare is concerned, they are in the same boat with our so-called depressed class brethren.

And coming also nearer to the higher classes, what do we find? Eighty per cent of our population, entirely dependent upon agriculture, is living in abject poverty and deep ignorance. The rays of education, sanitation and civilization are yet to penetrate into their poor hamlets! Taking also the condition of our young educated men, with the honourable exception of a few successful and flourishing pleaders, doctors and engineers, it is not far from the truth to say

that they have to remain satisfied with their exceedingly small and poor income which barely enables them to live from hand to mouth.

And how are these great problems to be solved? In my humble opinion education as imparted at Hampton and Tuskegee is absolutely necessary for our people. We most urgently want our General Armstrongs and Booker T. Washingtons. The majority of our people must receive such an education as would enable them to live on their own labour a decent life. The idea of the dignity of labour must be raised to a higher level. The education of the head, heart and hand must be simultaneously given.

We are not hopeless. There are fortunately signs in the country that indicate that our people are thinking over this serious situation, and are trying to face it as best as they can. The Kirloskar Wadi in the Oundh State, the Glass Factory at Talegaon, the Ranade Economic Institute in Poona, are some of the efforts in this direction. I cannot but also mention here the splendid work done by the Depressed Classes Mission Society. The mission at present has four branches at Bombay, Poona, Hubli and Nagpur with ten affiliated centres and forty-five educational institutions. But taking all these attempts together, we are obliged to say that they are quite insufficient to successfully meet our economic situation.

T. R. GADRE.

## SHANTA DURGA IN GOA

THE temple of Shanta Durgā is situated at Kavale in Goa. This Portuguese Settlement on the West Coast of India protected on the land side by the almost impassable forest of the Western Ghats or Sahyādri Mountains and intersected by numerous navigable rivers which flow into the Arabian Sea is the holy land of the Sāraswat Brāhmans of the Deccan. Shanta Durgā, Mangesh, Nāgesh, Rāmnāth and Devaki-Krishna, the principal shrines of the Sāraswats are situated in the hilly region known as Novas Conquistas (New Conquest).

On board the S. S. Tilak, once a British mine sweeper, the pilgrim from Bombay embarks for the holy land. The steamer winds its way out of the crowded shipping in the Bombay harbour past islands and hills which conceal the British

batteries and the fairy caves of Salsette and Elephanta.

The Konkan Coast, the Ariake of the Greeks and Kemkem of the Arabs, was from ancient times occupied by a multitude of ports some of which like Chaul and Dabhol were the great emporium of trade with the West. As we steam along hugging the shore we pass the former territories of the great Maratha corsair-captain Angre who defied the Portuguese and British fleets. This picturesque region of low hills green with groves of cocoanut trees possesses a number of fortresses built by Sivaji. Vijaydurg the fortress of victory, Ratnagiri the hill of jewels, Suvarnadurg the golden fortress, jut out into the water, breaking the line, and from their high ground favorable to distant vision appear to command an uninterrupted view along the coast.





Temple of Shanta-Durga As Gramadevata at Macel. The Man in the Foreground is A Saraswat Purohit or the Worshipper of Shanta-Durga.

Early next day we see the white-washed Farol or light house of Panjim to the north of the entrance to the Goa creek. It is situated on a hill which is crowded with batteries and is known as the Castello de Agoada. The entrance to the creek is about two miles broad. The southern prong known as the "Cabo de Convanto" once occupied by a monastery has now the residence of the Governor-General of Portuguese India.

The steamer slows down in the shallow creek as we enter. The spring air is soft and cool. A thin mist rests upon the lower grounds and hovers half way up the hills, leaving their palm-clad summits clear to catch the silvery light of dawn. A sharp whistle reminds the passengers to "prepare to dismount" and as the ship touches the dock, porters board it to remove the passengers' beddings to a shed for Fumentacao or disinfection. The owners are kept waiting for an hour and in return are charged an anna per bedding. Before the passengers are allowed to land, a Portuguese Doctor tries to feel their pulse. Then comes the Customs Examination. The Alfandega (customs official) a rhubarb-coloured Portuguese regards us of no consequence. The delay is but it is some consolation that equal is meted out to every one, coloured including an Englishman. The

customs officials are said to resent tips, but more things are wrought by a cup of tea or a solitary cigarette in this part of the world. The vagaries of the Alfandega are best illustrated by what happened a few years ago when the Maharaja of Kolhapur presented an elephant to a Saraswat landholder the Visconde de Perneu. The Portuguese official at the customs post on the Ghats not having seen such a beast before, classed it as a parrot and so the beast was called a parrot and duty was charged accordingly!

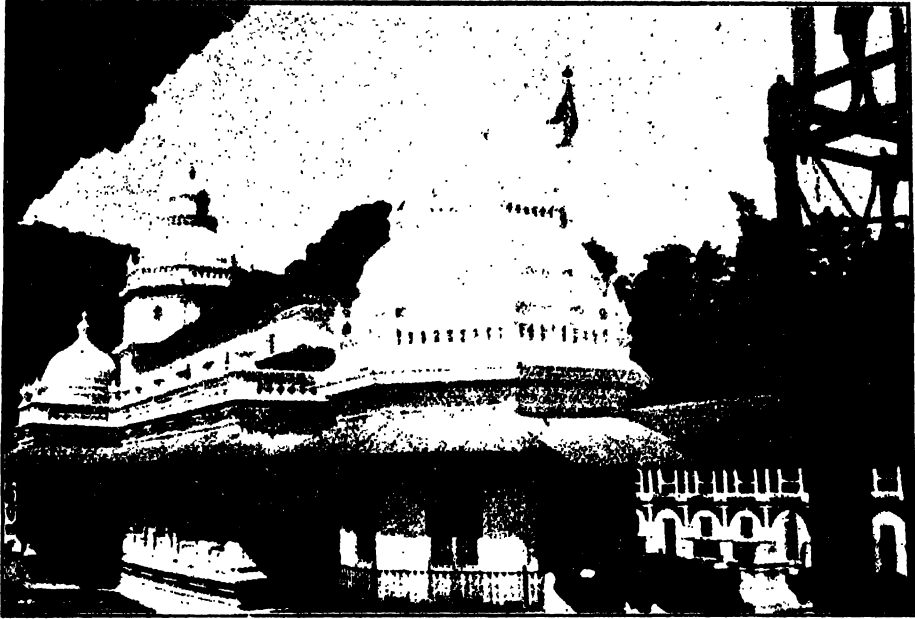
Panjim or Nova Goa is the capital of Portuguese India. It is situated upon a narrow ledge between a hill to the South and the creek which stretches for many miles from West to East. Houses with

white-washed walls and red tiles peep through gardens of slender cocoanut trees. There are a variety of public conveyances for hire from the lugubrious-looking Manchel to the motor car. The Manchel is a kind of palanquin made up of a light sofa curtained with green or red velvet and strapped to a bamboo-pole which rests upon two bearers. Panjim resembles the towns in the South of France. The uniforms of the Police and Military are in the continental style. There is a variety of costumes and complexions to be seen in the streets. The ancient Portuguese costum de dame with its thick striped and coloured petticoat and a huge white or coloured calico sheet muffling the whole figure is still to be seen in the streets of Panjim amongst the poor, while the ladies now dress according to Parisian styles.

The ancient Hindu capital was a few miles from what is now Goa Velhas (Old Goa). It was known as Gopak-pattan or Gopak-puri, the capital of Kadamba Mahamandaleswaras who derived their origin from Jayanta alias Trilochana Kadamba\*.

The Kadambas of Goa had the title of "Supreme lord of Banawar the best of cities". Upto 1313 A. C. the Kadambas were

\* Fleet—Dynamics of the Canarese Districts, p. 84.



The Temple of Mangesh at Goa.

tributary to Devagiri. In the 14th century, after the fall of Devagiri, Mahomedans entered Goa and commenced the destruction of Hindu religious edifices. The famous temple of Sapta Kotishwara was among those destroyed. In about 1380 A.C. the prime minister of Vijaynagar conquered Goa and expelled the Turushkas or Mahomedans and re-established the image of Sapta Kotishwara. Under the sway of Vijaynagar the trade of Goa especially in horses and pearls from the Persian Gulf grew rapidly. This tempted the Bahamani King Mahomed II. to invade Goa in 1470. So great was that monarch's joy at the conquest that according to Ferishta he ordered "the march of triumph to be beaten for seven days." But Goa soon fell into the hands of the Turkish King Yusuf Adil Shah of Bijapur in 1489. This king embellished the city with many fine buildings and greatly augmented its prosperity. Yusuf Adil Shah however favoured his own creed and oppressed the Hindu population. His governor especially made himself obnoxious by the cruelties perpetrated by his Turkish garrison on the citizens. But the days of the Turks and Persians were numbered. A

Hindu jogi had foretold that a foreign people from a distant land would conquer Goa and on the arrival of the Portuguese under Albuquerque guided by Timoji the inhabitants readily surrendered the city. Albuquerque entered the city in triumph amidst shouts of welcome by the people who showered on him flowers made of gold and silver.

The Portuguese nation had grown warlike from its victorious conflicts with the Moors in Europe. When there were no Moors left to fight in the Peninsula, the Portuguese led by their gallant princes went to fight the Moors in Morocco. Their history had been one long struggle with the Mahomedans and the duty of fighting the Moors had from their history sunk deep into the hearts of the Portuguese people. In 1510 when the Portuguese finally obtained possession of Goa, Albuquerque ordered that the Mahomedan population, men, women and children, should be put to the sword. He abolished Islam and transferred the whole of the property which had belonged to the mosques to the new Churches which he established. Captured Mahomedan women were baptised and given in marriage to his



General View of Mangesh.

favourites. Albuquerque's unrelenting hatred for Islam made him desire the friendship of the Hindus. He sent an embassy to Vijaynagar and directed his ambassador to state in his name that

"The King of Portugal commands me to render honour and willing service to all the Gentile kings of this land and of the whole of Malabar and that they are to be well treated by me, neither am I to take their ships, nor their merchandise, but I am to destroy the Moors with whom I wage incessant war."

The Portuguese found to their great delight Nestorian Christianity flourishing on the Coast of Malabar. They considered that the Hindus or Krishna-worshippers believed in a form of Christianity. The grounds for this belief, though very slight, were sufficient to convince the ardent Christians and secured the Hindus from persecution for some years. But the Hindus did not long enjoy immunity from religious persecution. In 1560 the inquisition was established in Goa by the Jesuits in the magnificent palace of Yusuf Adil Shah. The work of forcible conversion commenced in about 1541, was continued with rapidity and vigour. The inhabitants of Goa and the various provinces were incessantly victimized. Tradition relates that a race of giants known as Panlistres

came by sea to destroy the Hindu shrines and to convert the Hindus to Christianity. They built the magnificent edifices of the new faith in Goa Velhas and their disappearance was as sudden as their arrival. This no doubt refers to the Jesuits who brought the dreaded inquisition. Tavernier says,

"The Jesuit fathers are known at Goa by the name of Paulists on account of their grand church dedicated to St. Paul."

The synod of Udayampur in 1599 condemned the doctrines and ritual of the Nestorian Christians of Malabar. The Jesuits pretended to have the right to try those who were never Christians. To them every pagan was an enemy of Portugal and of Christ. Soon the burning of relapsed converts and supposed witches, known as *Auto da Fe*, commenced their sanguinary work. Unbridled tyranny went hand in hand with religious bigotry. The Portuguese robbed and burnt the temples of the so-called heathen, trampled on their books and threw them into the flames. The two most famous temples of the *Sāraswats*—of *Shāntā Durgā* at Kelus and of Mangesh at Kushasthali—which had escaped destruction by the

\* Travels, Vol. I, 197.

Mahomedans were destroyed by the Portuguese,

The Crusaders however soon sank into more debasing material facts when once the activities of religion had slackened. As the Viceroy Dom Jono de Castro said,

"The Portuguese entered India with the sword in one hand and the crucifix in the other; finding much gold they laid aside the crucifix to fill their pockets."

The Jesuits were expelled finally from Goa in about 1758 and the Inquisition was suppressed at the recommendation of the British Government,—“one of those good actions with which,” says Burton, “our native land atones for a multitude of sins.”

Before the destruction of their temples the Brāhmans escaped with the images of their deities to the neighbouring hills of Antruj then under the rule of the Hindu prince of Saunda. It is said that the Mahārs, an untouchable caste, sheltered the devotees of Shāntā Durgā and provided a site from their own encampment for the new residence of the deity. In return they begged that they may be allowed a ‘darshan’ once a year. Ever since the Mahārs have exercised right of worship on the day following the Māgh Shud Panchami, the greatest festival of the Goddess. The old site at Kelus is still pointed out by the Christian cultivators who speak of the Shāntā Durgā with great reverence as “Mai” (mother).

The Christian population of Goa is composed of three heterogeneous elements, viz., pure Portuguese, half-breeds and Christian converts. Formerly the pure Portuguese were called Reinols and were exclusively entitled to high offices of State. Tavernier tells us that any adventurer who passed the Cape of Good Hope forthwith became a Fidalgo, a gentleman, and called himself a Dom. The white families settled in the country were formerly called Castisses to distinguish them from Reinols. This colonist class is now neither numerous nor influential. As soon as intermarriage with the older settlers or native Goanese took place, the progeny was called Mestici—in plain English mongrels—though they preferred to call themselves Descendantes.

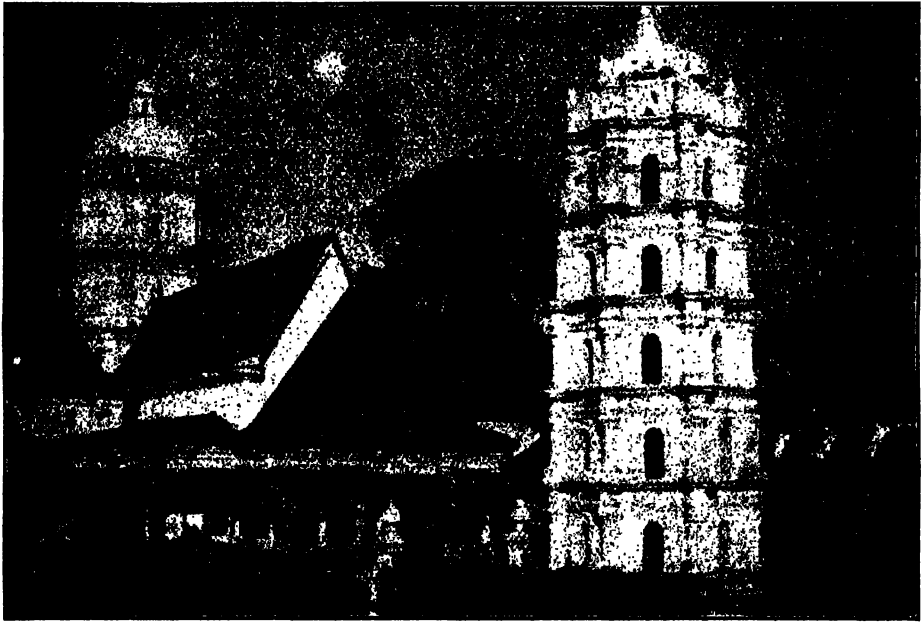
The Mestici or mixed breed composes the great mass of society in Goa. It includes all classes from the cook to the Government official. Perfect equality, political as well as social, has long prevailed between the white as well as coloured and in 1835 one of the

Mestici, Bernardo Peres da Silva, rose to be Viceroy.

The mixed class are not prepossessing in appearance and the fair sex is little superior to the other. One scarcely ever sees a pretty half-caste girl. The men imitate European dress but the quantity of clothing diminishes with the wearer's rank and means. Even the highest wear coloured clothes to spare the washerman. They are fond of spirituous liquors and seldom drink except honestly for the purpose of intoxication.

The native Christians or Christāo, who constitute half the total population, still observe the four Hindu castes. They are Bāman, Chārade (Chhatri), Gāvde (Vaishya) and Shētra. The converts do not intermarry, though they all dine together. The Brāhman Christian is particular about marriage in high class Brāhman Christian families and would ordinarily reject large dowries when the family is not considered high. The Christian Gāvdes like their Hindu brethren abstain from spirituous liquor and fowls. The Gāvdes have perhaps migrated from upper India. Their women do not wear the lāngdar Deccani dhoti (kāstā). Their dress which resembles the upper Indian sārī has a knot tied on the shoulder and their ornaments, unlike those in the Deccan, are of Kānsā (Bellmetal). Widow remarriage though not forbidden is as much condemned among the converts as among the Hindus. Many of them, especially among the women, cannot bear the idea of eating beef and they observe the characteristic Hindu prohibition against a wife addressing or speaking of her husband by his name. Their marriage ceremonies are performed in Church according to Christian rites, but they are preceded and followed by observances which are survivals of the Hindu customs of betrothal and marriage. These include the formal bathing of the betrothed couple, the tying of an auspicious necklace round the bride's neck, the exchange of presents and the formal transfer of the bride to her husband's family.

There is yet another class of Christians who are, unlike the native Goanese, clean shaven. Their dress is scanty in the extreme, consisting only of a coloured piece of cloth worn about the waist like the loongy. They wear round their necks strings of beads and the cross. The



The Temple of Shāntā-Durgā with the Deepastambha or the Lamp-Tower.

women are equally scantily clothed ; a single long cotton-piece forms their sārī, without the cholec or bodice worn by the Hindus, thus leaving the bosom unsupported and often uncovered. They seem to be devoted to their religion—their superiority to the 'heathen' consisting in eating pork, drinking toddy to excess, shaving the face, never washing and in the conviction that they are sure to go to paradise. They are descendants of the converts brought from Portuguese settlements in Bengal by the Jesuits and their pronunciation and vocabulary unmistakably point to their Bengali origin.

The native Goanese Christians are in spite of conversion to Christianity divided into two sects—Smārta and Vaishnav. They still retain the affection for the kuladevatās of their ancestors. One has only to ask a Goanese "what is your kula-deva" and he is proud to be included among the votaries of one of the wellknown temples. The Christians give the "oti", offering of rice and cocoanuts, to their kula-deva as well as the first fruits and new rice in the harvesting season. They take the Prasād in the temple through the pujāris before embarking on a new adventure or for Dayā (mercy)

generally ; and it is an established rule in the temple of Shāntā Durgā that the Christian seeking Prasād has precedence over the Hindu.

From Panjim the pilgrims go by Lancha or Vapor ( steam-launch ) past the Hospital de Misericordia and the old city of Goa. Alighting from the steam launch the rest of the journey is by road up steep hills which afford magnificent view of the valleys below. During the month of Māgh spring encircles the green hills and smiling valleys with the wonderful richness of many-coloured foliage. The kaju, the mango, pummels and various other fruit trees are in full blossom. The flame-coloured flowers of the Simul ( Bombax Malbaricum ), the new foliage of the Kokamb ( Garcinia Indica ), the Sisu ( Dalvurgia Latifolia ) and the wild plaintain afford food and shelter to the greenpigeon, barbet and the bronze-winged dove. Pine-apples, ferns and mosses adorn the surface of the ground. Strange forms of plant and insect life continually demand our attention, while the notes of the thrush, black bird, Koel and the Ghāt Bulbul musically salute our ears. The rapturous praises of pilgrims may often be extravagant, still few who have visited

this picturesque country will think that here extravagance and fiction have left truth much too far behind.

The temple of Shāntā Durgā at Kavale stands on a slope in the bosom of a chain of mountains. In front of the temple a white-washed Deepastambha points out, through ravines and tangled forest, to the way-worn pilgrim by day and night the site of the holy dwelling of the deity. In front of the temple is a large Kund and on either side are rest houses for the pilgrims. Outside a small shrine is dedicated to the Northern Brāhman who first installed the Durgā in the Deccan. Behind the temple is a wooded hill. It is significant that the present site of the temple bears a remarkable resemblance to the old site at Kelus in each case resembling the old Hindu temples of Bhanier and Katrui, a few miles west of Baramula in Kashmir, which are both backed by five wooded cliffs crowned with deodars. The chief points which distinguish Kashmiri from other Hindu temples in India are the trefoil-headed doorways and recesses, high pediments and straight-lined pyramidal roofs. In the village of Macel there is a shrine dedicated to Shāntā Durgā as Grāma-devatā. It has the high pediment and straight-lined pyramidal roof. At Kavale the temple of Shāntā Durgā is a collection of these pyramidal roofs with the addition of a dome. The old temple of Mangesh also resembled the temple of Shāntā Durgā. No other temples in Goa or the Deccan have such straight-lined pyramidal roofs. The marble used for the pillars and flooring at Shāntā Durgā is known as Kashmiri pāshān or the stone of Kashmir.

Tradition relates that once upon a time there was a fight between Siva and Vishnu. The Adi Shakti took the form of Jagadambā, intervened and pacified the combatants and thus came to be known as Shāntā. Shāntā would however seem to be derived from Portuguese Santa, meaning holy or sacred in imitation of Santa Maria. The old Portuguese colony of Santa Cruz near Bombay is called Shāntā Cruz by the Hindus. The Hindus in Goa have borrowed largely from the Portuguese language. In Macel there is a temple dedicated to Devaki-Krishna representing the infant Krishna with his mother Devaki, an idea evidently borrowed from Roman Catholic Christianity. Hindu temples in Goa are white-washed like, and generally resemble, Catholic

religious edifices, as in the case of the modern Mangesh.

Havell sees in the Durgā the inaccessible mother worshipped with bloody sacrifices by the ancient Dravidians. He says that under the influence of Aryanism.

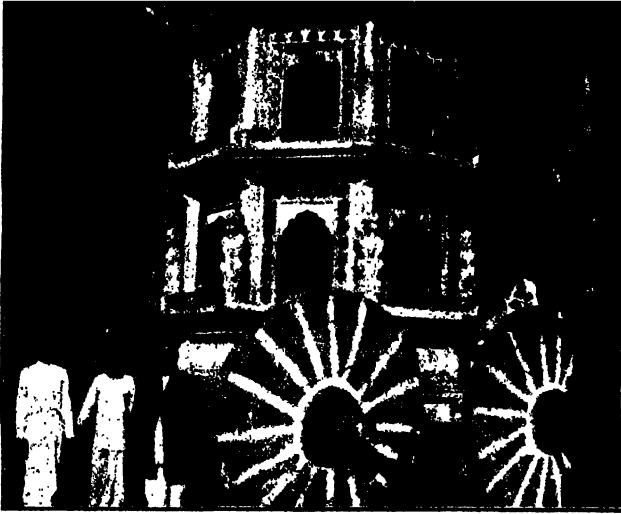
"Durgā—the religious cult of the brigand and outlaw—was transformed into the beautiful wife of the great ascetic Shiva, the teacher of spiritual wisdom and the destroyer of ignorance."\*

The Pauranic account of Durgā as Chandi (terrible) describes her as the collective power of the devas fighting the asuras. The allegory of the Devi-yuddha in the Markandeya Purāna which means the destruction of egoism and self-seeking in a righteous war indeed depicts the dreadful aspect of the divine power more than the tender. But the Durgā of the Deccan Sāraswats is worshipped in her gentle aspect. No animal is sacrificed. The oti or offering consists of rice, cocoanut, areca, kumkum, fruits and a piece of coloured cloth for bodice. It is usual for the pilgrims to abstain from meat and fish during the festivals.

The Shāntā Durgā can be traced to a North Aryan Vedic source. Her origin lies in the poetic fancies of the Vedic Rishis. The Khila of the Rig Veda following the 127th hymn mentions the Durgā and describes her as the refuge of all sufferers, all who are pursued by enemies internal and external. In the Taittiriya Aranyaka (X.7) she is called Durgi. In the Devi Sukta of the Rig Veda, Durgā is Rudrāni, the wife of Rudra who lives in the Himalayas. Later on the Gayatri Mantra, the personification of Vedic learning, is identified with Rudrāni or Durgā. Thus Durgā means knowledge and in her Aryan form Umā, light, the daughter of king Himavat, she becomes the type of high-born loveliness.

The most important festival of the Shāntā Durgā is the Vernal Equinox—the Vasanta Panchami in Māgh. The vernal festival celebrates the victory of the sun's light over the power of winter and darkness. Two days later, on the Ratha Saptami, the Goddess is taken in procession in a beautifully carved chariot representing the victorious chariot of the sun. Sāraswat ladies draw the figure of the sun in front of the tulasi plant on this day and worship the figure when the sun enters the meridian.

\* Aryan Rule in India, p. 15.



Rath or Chariot of Shāntā-Durg

The next two important festivals are the one in Chaitra and the Nāga Panchami. Snake worship prevailed among the ancient Aryans. It is found in the Brāhmana portion of the Yajur Veda. The Grihyasutra of Ashwalāyana contains definite instructions for making offerings to the sarpa-devas. The Nāgas are also mentioned by Ashwalāyana. In the Bhāgawat Purāna Vāsuki and eleven other Nāgas are mentioned as forming the strings of the sun's chariot. The association of the Nāga Panchami with the Shāntā Durgā is thus significant. The Deccan Sāraswats regard the Nāga as a Brāhman. They do not kill the Nāga, but if one happens to be killed, it enjoys the privilege of a Brāhman's funeral. It is duly cremated with a sacred thread and a pice thrown in. The Rājatarangini relates how a Brāhman named Vishākha married Chandralekhā, the daughter of the Nāga Sushravā. Such names of places as Ananta Nāg, Verināg, testify to Nāga worship in Kashmir. Springs such as the one behind Mangesh are called Nāg-jhari and Chashmo Nāg by the Sāraswats in Goa and Kashmir respectively. The Sāraswats observe the 1st of Chaitra as the New Year's Day.

In Kashmir the ancient Aryan spring festival is observed as a national picnic. In the month of Chaitra the Goddess Durgā is worshipped under the names of Sharakā

Jwālā and Rāgya. The Devotees of Rāgya ( Kheer-Bhawāni near Ganderhal ) worship with milk, kheer, cocoanuts, rice, Kumkum, fruits and narven ( red thread tied on the wrist ). No animal is sacrificed. The pilgrims abstain from meat for the eight days of the festival.

Of the Hindus in Goa the predominating caste is that of the Sāraswat Brāhmins, also known as the Gaud Sāraswats. The word Gaud is explanatory of their northern origin. It shows that they belong to the Pancha Gaud as distinguished from the Pancha Dravid Brāhmins.\* The Sāraswats follow the Rig Veda and are for the most part Smārta. They have their own spiritual Gurus with their Maths at Kavale, Gokarn, Nasik and

Benares. The Sāraswats are not subject to the jurisdiction of the Shankarāchārya of the Deccan who is followed by the Dravid Brāhmins. Claiming to be Aryan immigrants from the North, they form a separate caste from the Dravid Brāhmins of Mahārāshtra, such as the Chitpāwan, Deshastha and Karhada. In their homeland the Sāraswats do not eat food cooked by any caste except their own. On the plateau of the Deccan and away from their circle they sometimes eat with the Mahārāshtra Brāhmins. The staple food of the Deccan Sāraswats, men and women, is rice and fish. They also eat meat but not fowls. They eat the jungle-fowl ( Vana Kukkuta ) and the flesh of the wild boar but not the domestic pig. In Goa some Sāraswats have adopted the South Indian Vaishnavism. Amongst them most men abstain from meat, some from fish also, whilst the women are generally strict vegetarians. In centres of the caste they have their own priests, in other places they allow the Mahārāshtra Brāhmins to officiate at their ceremonies. The Sāraswat parents bear the expense of their daughter's marriage. A moderate dowry, the scale of which is fixed, is given to the bride. Once the marriage festivities are over the bride's

\* Saraswati Mandal (1884), p. 46.

parents and relatives do not accept hospitality from the other side.

The Deccan Sāraswats in common with their northern brethren trace their origin to the sage Saraswat, the son of Dadheechi, mentioned in the Gadāparva of the Mahābhārat. The Skanda Purāna, which describes the movements of various tribes of Brāhmins, gives an account, in the Sahyādri Khanda, of the origin of the Deccan Sāraswats. Parashurām by forcing the ocean to recede from the Sahyādri mountain created a fresh piece of land, viz., Goa, where he held a Vedic sacrifice to commemorate his victory against the Kshatriyas. He brought learned Pancha Gaud Brāhmins from the north to perform the Vedic rites and settled the immigrants by grants of villages in agrahār.\* Their descendants are the Deccan Sāraswats. The immigrants brought their family-gods, amongst whom were Shāntā Durgā and Mangesh.

The old temple of Mangesh was at Kushasthali. Shiva, it is related, in a love-quarrel frightened Pārvati by assuming the shape of a tiger whereupon she cried out with fright, Mām Gireesha, and was unable to complete the sentence—Mām Gireesha raksha (protect me oh lord!); from Mām Gireesha is Mangesh.† Another account traces the origin to the "mountain Mangirish in the eastern country of Trihotra."‡ As these conflicting accounts are given in the same Purāna, a third account traces the origin of Mangesh to an imaginary man of the name of Mangā.§ Some have identified Tirhut in Behar with the "country of Trihotra" and the town of Monghyr with the "mountain Mangirish".|| But the ancient name of Tirhut was not Trihotra. It was Teerabhukti.¶ The old name of Monghyr was



Monument of Afonso d'Albuquerque New Goa.

Mungiri. We have a grant of Devapāla, most powerful kin of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal, issued from his Court at Mudgagiri or Monghyr. According to Mr Girindranath Dutt the system of Kulinism was borrowed by Bengal from the Brāhmins of Tirhut and the Tirhutia Brāhmins are divided into hypergamous groups.† There is no trace of either Kulinism or hypergamy among the Deccan Sāraswats. The Durgā in Eastern India is worshipped with animal sacrifice and her greatest festival is in autumn and not in spring.

Mangesh is perhaps abbreviated from the Sanskrit Mangalesh. At Girnar in Kathiawad there is a temple dedicated to Shiva known as Mangalesh. There is near Prabhaspattan a sacred place called Kushasthali. The Gujrati-speaking Sāraswats are to be found in Kathiawad, Cutch and Broach. The latter claim the Punjab as their original home; both tradition and their social customs which resemble those of the Punjab Sāraswats to a considerable extent support this view. The Broach Sāraswats worship Durgā as the Jwālmukhi. A Sāraswat of Bhuj (Cutch) has written the history of his community trac-

\* Sah. Kh. U. A I verses 47-50.

† Sah. Kh. Mangesh Mahatmya, chpt. V.

‡ Sah. Kh. U. A. III.

§ History of Mangesh Devasthan, p. 3.

¶ Saraswati Mandal, p. 28.

• Vincent Smith—Early Hist. of India, 3rd Ed. p. 390

• Ind. Antiquary, XXI, 204.

† Risley's People of India, p. 206.



ing its origin to Kashmir. Deccan Sāraswats have however no common traditions with the Gujrat Sāraswats. A theory based on names of towns or imaginary identifications of towns or places has no other merit than that of transcendental speculation.

The historical value of the evidence of the Sahyādri Khanda is impaired by the uncertainty of dates, by the sacerdotal predilections of its author or authors and by the manifest inability to draw any distinction between fact and fancy. The legend of Parashurām is not peculiar to Goa. It is shared in the Konkan and Malabar by other Brāhmins. It is not unlikely that the hardy Aryans of Northern India settled early in the picturesque and hilly country of Goa which was admirably adapted for such colonization. The Aryans seem to have crossed the Vindhya and aryanized\* the Deccan between the 7th century B. C. and 350 B. C. Dr. Bragança Pereira (Juiz de direito) of Bicholim who is writing a history of Goa holds that it was, in ancient times, divided into little republics (Republican Pequenas) of Brāhmin settlers. The Portuguese found Hindu Goa divided into village communities (comunidade). Albuquerque maintained intact the constitution of the village communities and shortly after his death a code called *Foal de Usos e Costumes* was compiled to serve as a guide to his successors. The Sāraswats are still the land-holding class in Goa. Wealthy landholders such as the Visconde de Pernam, Baron de Dhepé and Baron de Kalapur sit down to meals daily with over a hundred men of the community. Their palaces are liberty halls and "pej" or rice gruel is served to all comers who care to ask for it.

It is a tradition in the Deccan that two northern Sāraswats, Deva Sharmā and Iona Sharmā, returning from a pilgrimage to Rameshwar found a Sāraswat community in Goa. The newcomers were welcomed by the old settlers "who by giving them their daughters in marriage accepted them in their own community."† Deva Sharmā of the Vātsa Gotra founded the temple of Mangesh. His nephew Shiva Sharmā founded subsequently the temple of Shāntā Durgā. The descendants of the Sharmās are known as Shenwis. The Shenwis alone, wherever domiciled in India,

form the congregation of the Shāntā Durgā and Mangesh and are entitled to this day to manage the properties dedicated to the temples. Other Sāraswats have no voice in the management. The Sharmās, it is believed at Kavale, were Kashmiri Sāraswats.

The Kashmiri Brāhmins call themselves Sāraswats. It is a tradition in the Happy Valley as well as among the Kashmiris domiciled in India that when Kashmir was forcibly converted to Islam eleven Sāraswat families managed to escape conversion by hiding themselves in the mountains. Of these, seven families remained in Kashmir and four families emigrated to the plains; of the latter, two families went to the Deccan and married Deccan Sāraswat women and two families are said to have settled in the Punjab. These four families are called Bhanmasi. In later times the descendants of the old Kashmiri called Malmasi came down and settled in the plains and intermarried with the Bhanmasi of the Punjab.

The Sāraswat men have well cut features. The complexion of the men generally is what is called "wheat coloured", but some are fair. The women "are generally graceful with dark lustrous eyes and black hair."\* R. B. Burton who visited Goa in 1851 said of the Sāraswats that in appearance they

"are of a fair or rather light yellow complexion. Some of the women are by no means deficient in personal charms and the men generally surpass in size and strength the present descendants of the Portuguese heroes. They wear the mustachios but not the beard, and dress in the long cotton cloth with a cloth round the waist very much the same as in Bombay. The head however is usually covered with small red skull cap instead of the usual turban. The female attire is the Sāri with a long armed bodice beneath it and their caste is denoted by a round spot of kumkum or vermilion upon the forehead between the eyebrows."†

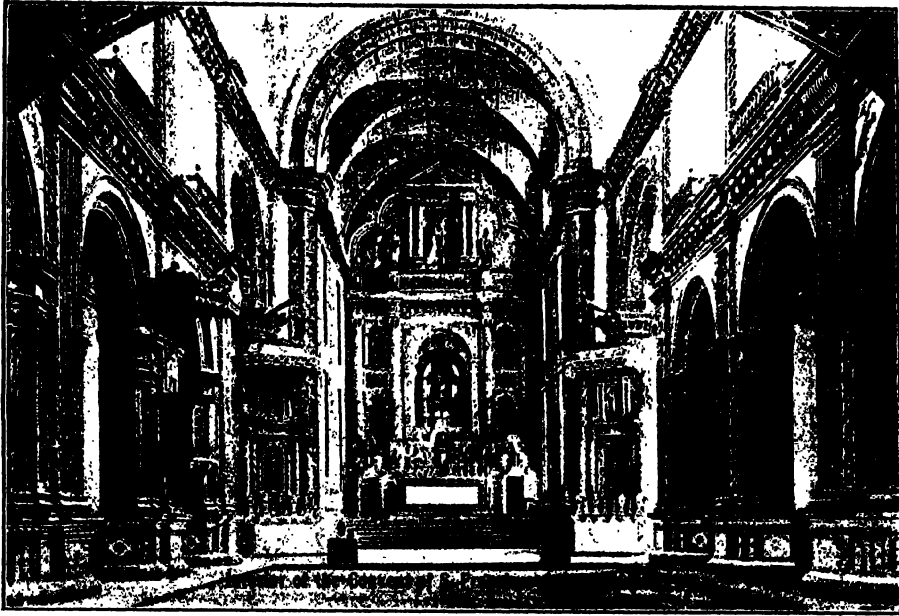
The Shenwis have mainly followed the literary line. They have been well known in the Konkan as Pantoji (Panditji), schoolmasters. Goa, according to Tavernier, was one of the finest harbours in the world rivaling those of Toulon and Constantinople and monopolised the trade of the West Coast. But the Shenwis never took to trade. The legal and literary talents of the Sāraswat and their capacity for political employment made them indispensable to the Portuguese.

\* Sir R. Bhandarkar, Early History of the Deccan, Ch. III.

† Konkankhyān, p. 64.

\* Enthoven—Tribes and Castes of Bombay, 1920, Vol. I, p. 250.

† Goa and the blue mountains, p. 107.



Interior of the Convent of St. Francis of Assisi at Old Goa.

In Tavernier's time they were already in undisputed charge of offices in reference to law as agents, solicitors and scribes. He says of them, "there are no people in the world more cunning and subtle."

"They have much intelligence and are good soldiers and the clerics have assured me that they learn more in the colleges in six months than the Portuguese children do in a year whatever the science may be to which they apply themselves."\*

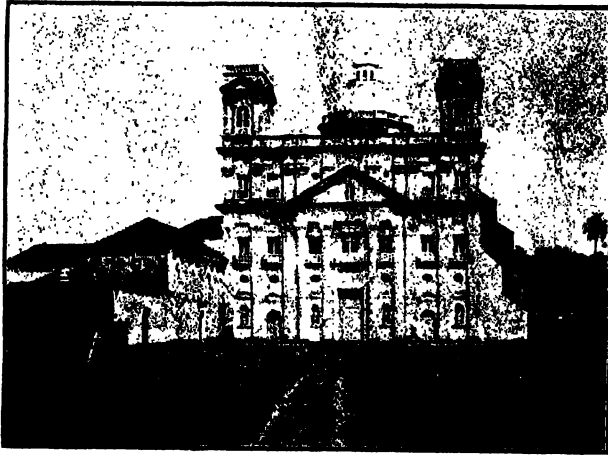
With the rise of the Marhāttās the Shenwis rose to the highest positions in the State, civil as well as military. Naro Ram Shenwi became a Mantri in the Ashta Pradhān of Shāhu and was known as Pandit Mantri. He built the modern shrine of Shāntā Durgā and obtained the grant of the village of Kavale for the temple. Ramchandra Malhar rose from Kulkarni to be the right hand man of the first Bājirāo Peshwā. He completed the rest houses and confirmed the grant of Kavale to the temple of Shāntā Durgā under the seal of the Chhatrapati. With the northward march of the "Deccan invincibles" the Shenwis rapidly established themselves at Kolhāpur, Baroda, Rajputana, Indore and Gwalior. They were

distinguished not only as statesmen but as generals and officers in that age of Marhatta chivalry and became known to the English as the "Gallant Sainowees". In modern times the Sāraswats owing to their readiness to imbibe and assimilate new ideas have secured positions of influence in the services and the liberal professions in numbers out of proportion to their numerical status in the community at large both in British and Portuguese India. The first lawyers educated in Portugal, Bacharel-em-dereito ( Barrister-at-law ) are Sāraswats.

During the Portuguese persecution the Spiritual Guru of the Sāraswats shifted to Benares and there founded a *math* returning to Kavale in comparatively modern times. The Gurus treated caste questions in a liberal spirit. The Deccan Sāraswats watched with interest the vicissitudes of the sister community in the North.

"Another Sāraswat, hailing originally from the North and now settled in Lucknow, U. P., as a Barrister, Pandit Bishen Narain Dhar, is presiding over the Indian National Congress. On his return from England, some years ago, there was a storm in a teapot and even a Sabha named after him and called Bishen Sabha was started to support him in opposition to Sat Sabha and Dharam Sabha.

\* Travels in India, Vol. I, p. 105.



Ancient Temple of Shambhu—Now A Catholic Convent, Old Goa.

The storm has subsided and Bishen Narain Dhar is one of the rest of the *Sāraswats* there."<sup>2</sup>

The late Spiritual Gurt of the Shenwis *Atmānand Saraswati* of Kavale advocated the amalgamation of all the Deccan *Sāraswats*. He said,

"The majority of the *Sāraswat* Brahmins are in the North: those in the Deccan are in the minority. When one thinks of the numerous sub-sections that have sprung up in this minority one cannot but feel sad at the result."

*Atmānand Saraswati* brought about the marriage thirty-two years ago of a Shenwi girl with his lay disciple the learned grammarian *Pandit Ghanshyām Misra*, a Kashmiri *Sāraswat*. *Pandit Ghanshyām* was a native of *Akhnoor* in Kashmir. His father's name was *Gokul Chandra*. He became a worshipper of *Shāntā Durgā*. In the history of caste the most persistent and effective factor is the *jus connubium*—the body of rules and conventions governing marriage. The influence of these rules penetrates every family. The math and the shrine of *Shāntā Durgā* at Kavale are the repositories of the traditions, instincts and manners of the Deccan *Sāraswats*, for as *Anatole France* says,

"Nous ne dependons point de Constitutions ni des Charts mais des instincts et des mœurs."

Old Goa today is a city of ruins. The pig infests the classic streets. In Goa the pig occupies the same social position which

he does in Ireland. In the magnificent churches are to be seen struggling native Christians at their devotions in the morning; for the rest of the day the curse of desolation hovers over the ruins. No effort is made to preserve the ancient monuments and finding it easier to carry away stone than to quarry it, the Goanese are helping to destroy them. Old Goa is visited by Catholic pilgrims when the remains of *St. Francis Xavier* are exposed by permission of the Pope. (*Exposic,ao de S. Francisco Xavier*). The ancient Hindu temple of *Shambhu*, converted into a convent, is the only Christian religious edifice in Goa

possessing a dome. It contained an old well closed by the Christians, the miraculous water of which was supposed to cure leprosy. The Hindus believe that a cross cannot be constructed on this building, repeated efforts having proved abortive.

The Portuguese revolution of 1910 was proclaimed as a new era in Goa. The republicans were against the Catholic Church. The republican minister who drafted the separation law of church and state declared that "within three generations after the passing of the separation law the Catholic religion will be annihilated in Portugal." At Panjim the chapel in the Government House was converted into the office of the *Governador Geral*. Equality of all religions was proclaimed in Goa and the Hindus obtained the right to build temples.

While the old religious ideals of Portugal have thus passed away and her Churches are neglected, the temple of *Shāntā Durgā* brings together the *Sāraswats* domiciled in distant parts of India inspired by the poetry of religion. When I approached the temple I saw built and carved in stone the heroic age of *Mahārāshtra*. The sentiment about the *Shāntā Durgā* fostered and stimulated by the men and women of the race represents the higher qualities of courage, devotion and self-sacrifice which go to the making of nations. The temple is cherished not merely as a matter of faith but as a principle of honour.

Kavale, Goa.

R. S. PANDE

\* *Saraswat Conference*, 1911. *Sawerutwadi*, p. 28.

## INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

*International Relations :—Eight Lectures delivered in the United States in August, 1921, By Viscount Bryce. Mamillan & Co., London. Price 10 s. 6 d. 1922.*

**I**N this book of nearly 275 pages, we find mention of every country in the world from China to Peru, but none of India. We get as far as the Indian Ocean, or even the Afghan War, and there is one reference to Hindu immigrants, with regard to whom the policy of prudent British statesmen is said to be to 'temporise', as they can never induce the colonial authorities to give the Hindus free entrance. Even in the reference to the Washington Conference for the reduction of armaments, where the Rt. Hon'ble Mr. Sastri was our representative, we find India ignored, whereas dominions find honourable mention. If, as our English friends assure us, we have now acquired an international status, being one of the original members of the League of Nations, and signatories to the Peace Treaty of Paris, there is no indication of it in the volume before us. And yet it is not a book written by one who does not know us. Viscount Bryce and Lord Morley are the two great political writers of England who are also practical statesmen, and when in a book written by one of them, expressly dealing with international relations, India is ignored, the presumption is that the so-called elevation of India into the domain of international politics is a myth.

But though India is ignored, Islam and Turkey are not. Whereas Lord Bryce has nothing but flattery for the powerful American nation, and is guarded in his reference to every other nation including even Germany, in the case of Turkey he lets himself go with a vengeance, and delights in using blood-curdling epithets. Pan-Islamism "is an attempt to renew the original aggressive movement of the Muslim peoples against the Christian, and in particular to strengthen the Turkish Sultan by exalting him as Khalif of the whole Mohammedan world." Enver Bey is a "varnished ruffian", the Nationalist Turks of Angora are "the remnants of the infamous Committee of Union and Progress," Turkey is "barbarous and decrepit", "an uncivilized state, with a government stupid as well as savage", and "the misgoverned subjects of the sultanate ought to have risen against it, destroyed it, and created new states", the Turkish government had in 1915 "massacred a million of its Christian subjects, women and children as well as men, under circumstances of cruelty and brutality unsurpassed even in the East"

(this is a charge to which Lord Bryce returns again and again, as at pages 69, 199, 208, 261), "that profligate rascal, Ismail, formerly Khedive of Egypt"; though the government of Turkey is 'detestable', Islam continues to spread among the 'black races' in the interior and along the East coast of Africa, but apart from the fear that it may become a warlike and aggressive force, it is admitted that "its spread is to be desired, for it raises the negroes to a higher level of self-respect". To illustrate the dictum that an Ambassador is "an honest man sent to lie abroad for the good of his country", Lord Bryce selects the case of the Turkish ambassador at London in 1886, "himself a man of exceptional ability", who assured the author that the Sultan was bent upon promoting the welfare of his Christian subjects. It is no wonder that Lord Bryce is strongly against the modification of the Treaty of Sevres (p. 69).

In the chapter on Diplomacy and International Law, the author gathers some maxims from the biographies of famous diplomats, as well as from his own experience which go to show that there is nothing esoteric or abstruse in the art of diplomacy, and that any man of ordinary prudence and strong common sense, coupled with a knowledge of history and of men and manners, can shine in that field. It was hitherto the accepted doctrine that 'the chief duty of diplomatists was to deceive', and Lord Bryce is of opinion that "the relations of states being what they are, no European or Asiatic government can tell the world all it is doing or means to do." But the author draws the line at the bribing of persons to steal documents,—a service which, nevertheless, some governments, according to the author, have asked and received from their envoys. The author says that from the biographies of eminent diplomatists it appears "how crafty, how cynical, in a sense how unscrupulous" diplomacy was thirty years ago. Has it, one wonders, changed for the better since then?

The only parts of the world, as Lord Bryce points out, that have not yet been appropriated by the European races are China, Mongolia, Japan, Persia, Abyssinia, Siam and some fragments of Western Asia. It is these European races whom Lord Bryce asks to combine to maintain the peace of the world (that is to say, their world-dominance) and he appeals to

America not to keep aloof from the combination. "The world cannot be left where it is now. If the peoples do not try to destroy war, war will destroy them. Some kind of joint action by all the states that value peace is urgently needed." Unfortunately for those who like Lord Bryce would divide the world among the white races, there is no hope of union among them. As he says, "all the nations must bear their share of the blame" for the great war, and "there is not one that doth righteousness, no, not one." "Not to speak of the angry class struggles within the nations, we see that national hatreds and rivalries and ambitions are hotter than ever and threaten to bring fresh strife upon us. It is possible—I hope it is not probable, but it is possible—that so soon as an intermission of fighting has enabled the hostile peoples to recover their fighting capacity, some of them will fight again. The great lesson of the war, that the ambitions and hatreds which cause war must be removed, has not yet been learned, and if this war has failed to impress the lesson upon most of the peoples, what else can teach them? This is why thoughtful men are despondent."

Elsewhere the author says that the "causes of war do, no doubt, abound in the old world, but whatever may befall among the smaller states, a period of at least nominal and formal peace between the great Military Powers may well last for eight or ten years at least." But in Lecture II, describing the settlement made by the peace treaties, Lord Bryce is less sanguine, and can only say, 'no country is in a position to resume fighting this year or next year or the year after.' In that lecture he shews that the peace settlement bristles with inequities capable of furnishing ample material for fresh wars, to which those who have accepted it under protest are looking forward for the redress of their grievances. Had he lived to participate in the Genoa Conference, with its secret treaties, and disclosures regarding the menacing growth of the Red Army of Bolshevik Russia and of its alliance with Germany, Lord Bryce would hardly have ventured to predict, from the physical and financial exhaustion of the Great Powers, that the peace will last at least for two years more. In South Eastern Europe, the subterranean fires which might at any moment threaten a volcanic eruption are, according to the author, as hot as ever; the disregard of the appeals to the principles of nationality and self-determination in the case of the Macedonians has prepared the ground for future trouble; the treaty of Trianon "has prepared in Hungary a fruitful soil to receive the seeds of future war"; "Germany which though reduced in area is still Germany, still a mighty nation [no longer Huns?], full of intellectual force united by a strong national sentiment,...the most populous of European countries after

Russia, with inhabitants industrious as well as highly educated and with great productive industries." In the opinion of the author, there is not one of the treaties of 1919–20 which is not already admitted to need amendments. Some are utterly condemned by the results already visible. Some are seen to be leading straight to future wars. One hears people say all over Europe: 'The sort of peace these negotiations have given is just as bad as war'!! This is due in the author's opinion to the fact, that the peace did not throw up any master-mind or superman to guide the destinies of Europe, and "there is no saying more false than that which declares that the Hour brings the Man." It was fondly believed that the costly preparations for war and the crushing burdens they entailed would end all war. "The price has been paid and the result desired has not been attained." Paris was bombarded during the war by a gun with a fifty mile range; since the war, the author tells us, a gun has been invented with a hundred mile range, and more deadly poison gases have been invented. The powers represented at Paris forgot to recognise the principles of nationality and self-determination and left some grievances unredressed and created other grievances that did not exist before, "thus sowing the seeds of future trouble." The alliances which were formed during the war are broken reeds. "As Aristotle observes, a friendship based on reciprocal advantage comes to an end when the advantages disappear, and in the constant changes of politics this frequently happens. Alliances are unstable: the partner of today may be the secret or even open enemy of tomorrow." Those who have followed the history of the Anglo-French *entente* will have no hesitation to admit the truth of this statement.

In the chapter on the influence of commerce on international relations, we find the following: "Where a region inhabited by savage tribes or by a semi-civilized people is believed to be rich in any source of natural wealth, its possession is coveted by civilized states, and has often become a subject of strife between them.....some important oil-fields, such as those of Mexico and those of Persia, lie in regions whose inhabitants have neither the skill nor the capital nor the security for life and property that are needed to enable the natives of the country to develop them, so the foreign capitalist jumps in, a syndicate is formed, and some state standing behind the capitalist syndicate tries to back it up, because the Government of the foreign state wants oil for the purposes of war. Hence many complaints, many misstatements and misunderstandings, many intrigues, many efforts by means not always above suspicion to obtain the lion's share of the spoil. Thus ill-feeling may be created between states, because groups of private citizens seeking their private gain, and inducing their governments to press their claims do not care how much international ill-will they provoke." This, it will be seen, is written entirely

ly from the point of view of the exploiting states, among whom jealousy and friction is promoted by the cupidity of the concessionaires, but not a word is said from the point of view of the victims of such exploitation. We read of an extremely delicate instrument recently invented which reveals the subterranean mineral wealth of the world to the inventor in his laboratory in Paris at whatever depth from the surface and in whatever quarter of the globe it may lie hidden and this invention, while whetting the greed of the industrially organised white races, is sure to prove a source of further exploitation and impoverishment of the coloured and dark races, unless, as Lord Bryce fears, by promoting mutual rivalry and discord, it makes the strong nations of the west fly at each other's throats and thereby hastens their destruction.

The fate of the Tsar draws forth some reflections from Lord Bryce which are worth quoting. "I remember going to a religious service in the city of Tomsk in Siberia on the Name Day of the heir to the Russian throne. The whole official and university population of the town was gathered in the cathedral and the service went on for three hours.....and everybody seemed to be animated not only by piety but by a religious devotion to the Tsar and the Romanoff family. Less than five years from that date, at a town in the Ural Mountains on the confines of Siberia, the Tsar and his wife and daughters and the innocent little heir for whom the people in Tomsk prayed, were all barbarously murdered, and not a voice of pity, not a voice of anger was raised anywhere within the Russian empire. You may say that the masses were terrified, but what became of the loyalty? How easy it is to overrate appearances! Everybody believed that the Tsar occupied a semi-divine position in Russia, and that the empire of the Tsar was based, and solidly based, upon that feeling of religious devotion to his person. But all vanished and even the Russian church was not able to avert it."

Viscount Bryce thus sums up the chief causes of war in modern times:

"First. There is still, as there was two thousand years ago, the lust for territory, arising sometimes from a belief that the larger a state's area, the greater is likely to be its military power and general prosperity. This passion once strong in monarchs, can infect peoples, even the freest and the most enlightened. The old, unreasoning, violent impulses to self-assertion and aggression may blaze up as hotly in popularly governed nations as they did in savage tribes.....any pretext will do;—the protection of a native race, a large share in some natural product needed for warfare, a blessing to be conferred upon the world by the diffusion of a higher type of civilisation.

"Second. Religious hatred, potent in the past, not quite extinct in some parts of Europe.

"Third. Injuries inflicted on the citizens of one state by the Government or citizens of another. These, when not redressed, have often brought nations to the edge of war and sometimes pushed them over, but the establishment of Courts of Arbitration now goes some way to supply a safeguard. [ Does it? ]

"Fourth. Commercial or financial interests. These do not so often directly cause a resort to arms, but they create ill-feeling and distrust which make any passing incident sufficient to evoke complaints or threats.

"Fifth. Sympathy with those who are oppressed by an alien government, especially if the sufferers belong to a kindred race, is a more creditable motive for hostilities than the others I have mentioned, yet has sometimes been used as a pretext for war when justice might have been otherwise attained.

"Sixth. There are wars due to fear. A nation which sees its neighbour or neighbours growing in military strength, and finds reason to mistrust their purposes, is tempted to anticipate the dreaded attack by itself attacking. Wars thus arising are sometimes described as Preventive."

According to Lord Bryce the "idea of a super-state embracing the whole world, a federation of peoples ruled by Parliament of Man, appeals to the imagination. Its vast scale is fascinating. It holds out a hope of incalculable blessings. But it is a phrase, and only a phrase, a phrase which has no definite relation to anything in the actual world of our time."

Every political community, whatever its form, be it republican or monarchical, is in a state of Nature towards every other community: that is to say, an independent community stands quite outside law in relation to other similar communities, owning no control but its own, recognising no legal rights to other communities and owing to them no legal duties. Every state is a law unto itself, recognising no control or responsibility except that which the public opinion of the world imposes. Another fundamental proposition of international relations is "that the prospect of improving the relations of states and peoples to one another depends ultimately upon the possibility of improving human nature itself.....those who seek to improve human society must begin by working as individuals; not to throw the responsibility upon the communities, but to remember that the community is what the men and women make it." Progress in physical science and material well-being does not, the author warns his readers, necessarily mean that advance in intellectual and moral strength in which the true welfare of mankind consists. "Is there," he asks in another place, "anything in history more tragic than the fact that the power which our knowledge and mastery of the forces of Nature has given us can today be used to do far more to destroy human life within a given space

of time than any recent discoveries have enabled us to preserve it?" And what an appalling loss of lives is the world-wide devastation and ruin of the late war responsible for! "Ten millions of men have perished. In England and France half the flower of our Youth, many of whom would have been the leaders of the coming generation, minds that would have enriched the world in thought and learning, in scientific discovery, in literature and art, have been lost to us, a loss far greater than that of any material things." The prevention of wars is therefore in the interest of every country. "Good will sweetens life; nobody is so happy as he who rejoices in the happiness of others. Hatred has never brought anything but evil." The combination of peace-loving States has become absolutely imperative for the safety of this distracted world, lying under the shadow of a great catastrophe. We must remember that "under every political constitution that has been devised the Many are inspired and led by the Few." It is therefore for the leaders of thought and action in every state to take the lead in this matter and bring about the desired combination.

This is the note on which the book closes, but there is one weak link in the chain of arguments by which Lord Bryce would enforce his appeal and it is sad to reflect that even a man of his calibre is unconscious of it though it is fatal to the prospect of the world peace which he, in common with all other thoughtful men of the West, yearns for. That weak link lies in the historical fact that a mere combination of the strong can never last so long as it is meant to repress the weak, and prevent them from disturbing the peace of the world by a breaking out against their masters, under whatever specious name they may hold them under subjection. There is not a word in these lectures to indicate any sympathy for the weak and downtrodden races of the earth, no indignation at the treatment they have received at the hands of the strong powers to whom Lord Bryce makes his appeal, and no manifest desire to ameliorate their political condition or do them justice. Rather, there is too much of violent abuse of Turkey because she is weak and too much of flattery of the United States because she is strong. It is easy to see that whenever Lord Bryce refers to moral principles, they are intended

to apply to the white races as between themselves, and there is nothing to show that their application was meant to extend to the relations between the white and the coloured peoples. When, for instance, Lord Bryce says that hatred has brought nothing but evil, he evidently means the hatred of England by Germany, and not the hatred of the Colonial towards the Indian, nor the hatred of the American towards the Negro, though the principle applies equally in both cases. The result, it may be, is more palpable in the one case than in the other, owing to the weakness of one of the parties concerned, but God's mill grinds small, though it may grind slow. No combination of the strong would prevent mutual jealousies from breaking out for the fleshpots of Egypt if the latter are not considered as sacred as the home-lands of the ruling races themselves—thus ultimately leading to their own destruction. So long as the European politician closes his eyes to the unspeakable wrongs that are being done by the races of European origin to Asiatic and African races, and fondly believes that all will be well if only the strong white races hold together, there can be no peace in this world. Had men of the stamp of Lord Bryce felt as vividly as the truth of the case requires that moral principles are not limited by geographical boundaries but are of universal application, and that in the international relations of white communities their breach is not more fraught with danger to the peace of the world than in the relations between the white and the coloured peoples, diplomacy would have taken a higher and altogether different tone and the future would have presented a much more cheerful outlook. When even the best among the Western statesmen cannot transcend their narrow moral outlook, and can by no stretch of the imagination bring the non-white races within the scope of the international code of morality they would prescribe for themselves, and so long as the Great Powers continue to regard the weaker races as fair game for the play of all their lower instincts and propensities which they have perforce to keep in check in their mutual dealings with one another, the prospect of a new Heaven and a new Earth, of which Lord Bryce dreams, will remain as far off as ever.

POLITICUS.

## THE ARISTOCRACY IN THE MUGHAL EMPIRE

## I

EUROPEAN travellers were struck by a peculiar institution in the Mughal Empire, *viz.*, the seeming absence of hereditary property among the nobility. As Captain Hawkins remarked in 1608.

"The custom of this Mughal Emperor is to take possession of his noblemen's treasure when they die, and to bestow on his children what he pleaseth; but commonly he dealeth well with them, possessing them with their father's land, dividing it amongst them; and unto the eldest son he hath a very great respect, who in time receiveth the full title of his father." (Purchas, iii, 34.)

Here we must bear in mind that with the exception of vassal kings and zamindars there were no hereditary landholders in Mughal India. All the nobility were mere servants of the State and held their fiefs on service tenure—their lands, naturally, lapsed to State on their death. But why was their personal property escheated?

Bernier stigmatises this custom as barbarous and describes its effects thus:

"The barbarous and ancient custom obtains in this country, of the king's constituting himself sole heir of the property of those who die in his service." (P. 163.)

"As the land throughout the whole Mughal empire is considered the property of the sovereign, there can be no earldoms, marquises or duchies. The royal grants consist only of pensions either in land or money [*i. e.*, *jagir* and *tankha*], which the king gives, augments, retrenches, or takes away at pleasure. The *Umarahs* of Hindustan cannot be proprietors of land, or enjoy an independent revenue, like the nobility of France. Their income consists exclusively of pensions which the king grants or takes away according to his pleasure. When deprived of this pension they sink at once into utter insignificance." (Pp. 5, 65.)

"The king being heir of all their possessions, no family can long maintain its distinction, but after the *Umarah's* death is soon extinguished, and the sons, or at least the grandsons, reduced generally to beggary and compelled to enlist as mere troopers in the cavalry. The king, however, usually bestows a small pension on the widow, and often on the family, and if the *Umarah's* life be sufficiently prolonged, he may obtain the advancement of his children by royal favour." (Pp. 211-212.)

We find in the letters of Aurangzib such passages as the following, which may startle the reader unaware of the real state

of things in that age: "Amir Khan [the governor of Afghanistan for 20 years] is dead. I, too, shall die. Write to the *diwan* of Lahore to attach the property of the deceased with extreme diligence and effort, so that nothing great or small, not even a blade of grass, may escape. Get information from outside sources and take possession of everything found at any place whatever, as this is the rightful due of God's slaves." (*Ruqat-i-Alamgiri*, letter 99.)

There was a regular department of the State, called *Bait-ul-mal*, where the property of all persons dying without heir was deposited. The property of the nobles and officers of the State after their death was also escheated and kept in this department.\* The reason alleged for this act of seeming spoliation was that all officers were in debt to the Government, having taken money and things in advance or enjoyed the revenue of their jagirs, without clearing their account with the State by setting off against these advances the amounts earned by them by their services and the number and equipment of the men kept in arms by them for the Emperor. Such making out of military accounts was a very slow affair and was hardly ever completed in the life-time of any officer. Again, the exact salary earned by a general could be ascertained only after he had brought his contingent to the muster (*dagh wa tashih*), when the horses were passed and branded and the retainers were identified by their descriptive rolls (*chihra*). This took time and was never satisfactorily done except in peace time. We often read of officers being excused the *dagh*; *i. e.*, paid without the muster and inspection of their troopers, in times of pressing need or trouble.

Military accounts, especially in an age when wars are frequent, are naturally badly kept and take many years to be

\* The *Manual of Officers' Duties* mentions another department called *amual* for this purpose; but we cannot trace it elsewhere.



written up and audited. Even under the East India Company, as late as the middle of the 19th century, the salaries of the English soldiers who had taken part in the First Sikh War remained unadjusted for a long time, and they were paid in full only after three or four years. (Bancroft's *From Recruit to Staff Sergeant*, published in 1885.)

•In Mughal India the case was worse. The dilatoriness and dishonesty of the clerks of the military pay-office were the despair of the soldiery. Shihabuddin Talish, an officer under Mir Jumla and Shaista Khan in Bengal (1659—1695), draws a vivid picture of the trouble which the soldiers had to undergo on this account. He writes, "I strongly hope that some one would fully and freely report to the Emperor the distress among the soldiery and the fact of their being harassed and crushed by the oppression of the thievish clerks. . . The army is treated by the Hindu clerks and drowsy writers as more degraded than a fire-worshipping slave and more unclean than the dog of a Jew." Then follow graphic details of how the stipend-holders "had to flay themselves in the *kachari* before they could get their dues." Bodleian MS. 589, f. 129b-131a. :

Manucci illustrates the power and insolence of the clerks of the military pay-office by means of an anecdote :

"In Shah Jahan's time a soldier went to draw his pay and the official could not attend to him at once as he was busy. The angry soldier threatened him at once saying he should have to smash his teeth with his sword. The official said nothing, and paid him. . . . The sharp-witted scribe, to get his revenge for the menace, wrote in the book where was entered the soldier's descriptive roll that he had lost two of his front teeth. . . . Some months elapsed and the soldier appeared again for his pay. The clerk opened the book, and found by the description that he was not the man entitled to that pay, for he had two front teeth more than were recorded in the descriptive rolls. The soldier was put to confusion. . . . he was obliged to have two front teeth extracted to agree with the record, and in that way got his pay." (*Storia*, ii, 449.)

Thus the military accounts could never be cleared, and no officer's exact dues and liabilities to the State could be ascertained in his life-time and hardly even after his death. Under the circumstances the safest course for the Emperor was to escheat the dead man's property immediately after his death, and then think of settling his account with the Government Treasury.

Thus, Maharajah Jaswant Singh owed a heavy sum to the State, and in 1670, when he was appointed *subahdar* of Gujrat for the second time, it was stipulated that he would refund to the State two *lakhs* of rupees every year, till his debt was cleared. (*Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, 202.)

In 1678 the Emperor learned from the *diwan* of Bengal that Shaista Khan, the viceroy of the province, had drawn from the Treasury one *kror* and 32 *lakhs* of Rupees in excess of his pay for twelve months. The amount was ordered to be entered as a loan to him. (*Masir-i-Alamgiri*, 170.) Again, in 1683 the *diwan* reported that the Emperor had ordered 52 *lakhs* of Rupees spent in the Assam expedition to be recovered from Shaista Khan, but that nobleman had replied that only 7 *lakhs* were so spent and the rest of the amount was an advance for Bengal. The Emperor then modified his order, by demanding the refund of 7 *lakhs* only. (*Ibid*, 234.)

## II

Thus, we find that it was the invariable practice of the Mughal Government to confiscate to the State, at least temporarily, the property of every one of its servants immediately after his death. Though it was in effect an act of spoliation, the theory was not so shamelessly immoral. The Emperors never claimed to be heirs of any dead subject's property unless he died without leaving personal issue or legal heirs. [And even then, the property belonged to the Muslim community and not to the sovereign himself.] They only wanted to ensure the payment of their dues from the dead man, who had been their servant and taken advances and loans from them.

Among the twelve ordinances issued by Jahangir on his accession in 1605 was one to the following effect : "When any infidel or Musalman died in any part of my dominions, his property and effects were to be allowed to descend by inheritance, without interference from any one. When there was no heir, then officers were to be appointed to take charge of the property, and to expend it according to the law of Islam, in building mosques and sarais, in repairing broken bridges, and in digging tanks and wells." (*Tuzuk*.) But it is not clear from this whether he gave up the system of confiscating the property of deceased servants of the State, especially if they had running accounts with

the Treasury. Aurangzib's *farman* on the subject, dated 24th July 1666, is more explicit. He instructs the provincial *diwans* thus: "Whenever a servant of the State dies leaving no heir and owing nothing to the Treasury on account of advances (*mutt-liba*) made to him, deposit his property with the store-keepers of the *Bait-ul-mal*. If he owes anything to the State, then take only the amount due and place the rest of his property in the *Bait-ul-mal*. If he has left any heir, attach his property three days after his death. If the property exceeds the amount of his debt to the State, take that amount only and deliver the balance to his heir after the latter has legally established his right. If the dead man owed nothing to the State, give his whole property to his heir, after legal proof." (*Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, 281-282.)

This is a very upright and reasonable rule. Manucci, however, asserts that it was never really followed by Aurangzib. He says of this Emperor :

"He seizes everything left by his generals, officers, and other officials at their death, in spite of his having declared that he makes no claim on the goods of defunct persons. Nevertheless, under the pretext that they are his officers and are in debt to the Crown, he lays hold of everything. If they leave widows, he gives them a trill every year and some land to furnish a subsistence." (*Storia*, ii. 417.)

A careful examination of the records of Aurangzib's reign shows that Manucci's charge is not true. No doubt there was heart-breaking delay in adjusting and auditing the running account of every dead nobleman with the State, and during this prolonged interval his property was kept under lock and seal in the *Bait-ul-mal*, but not intentionally for ever nor out of an unjust love of spoliation. Thus, we read that when Shaikh Muhiuddin, the *Sadar* of Gujrat and *amin* of *jazia*, died, his property was not confiscated because his son Akramuddin stood security for his father's dues to the Public Treasury. (*Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, 336.)

That Aurangzib's ordinance of 1666 was not a false pretence, can be inferred from the fact that in the latter days of the Empire, it is stated among the duties of the *Bayutal* that he was the officer for attaching and making a list of the property of deceased persons in order to secure payment of the dues of the State as well as to safeguard the property for the heirs of the deceased.

\*Again, the *Zawabit* gives a list of the pro-

perties actually under escheat in the year 1691; and here we find only the properties of noblemen who had died within the preceding eight years and not earlier (694-716). This may be easily explained by the supposition that the accounts of these nobles had not yet been completely made up, and the escheat was therefore provisional or *pendente lite*.

### III

From a careful study of the Mughal practice of escheating noblemen's property after their death and Aurangzib's rules and actual practice in this matter, I am impressed by the belief that here we have the Quranic law of the sacredness of private property superimposed upon an older and alien institution, namely the communal ownership of all property among a nomadic tribe.

The Turks, as the so-called Pathan and Mughal rulers of Delhi really were by race, were originally a nomadic people and they retained the essential characteristics of nomads to the end, though thinly veiled under the pomp and institutions of empire. Such a tribe migrates from pasture to pasture, conquers fresh lands and accumulates plunder and slaves under the leadership of their chieftain and with the solidarity of a family and army in one. Their chieftain is the patriarch of the clan, and the individual members of the tribe (or, more correctly, the heads of the different families) are merely the limbs of the great trunk of the tribe. They derive their strength from the tribe and render up their acquisitions to it as the property of the tribe. The tribe might gain accessions to its number from outside by marriage (as among the Brahmins) or by the adoption of slaves, but the newcomers are made a part and parcel of the tribe as if born to it.

The most adventurous spirits among the tribe, when settled in a country like India, received an advance of men and money from their chieftain, carved out conquests or brought in plunder, and enjoyed these during their life time. But when they died, all their acquisitions legally lapsed to the Government, because they had really been the factors or *entrepreneurs* employed and financed by the tribal State. This practice and tradition of the homeland of Turan continued under the Mughal empire in India. There was no nobleman who was not a servant of the State, a holder of *mansab* or rank in

the army. He received advance of money (*musaidat*) and materials (*ajnas*) or other payment on account from the Public Treasury, and his business was to achieve fresh gains for the State by employing these means, and in the end he was to be rewarded by his grateful employer with a share of the profits. Therefore, all his acquisitions were legally bound to revert to the State, as the earnings of a Christian monk must to the order to which he belongs, and those of an *entrepreneur* of industry must to the treasury of the joint-stock company that he serves. By the essence and fundamental theory of the Turkish social and political organisation, private property on the part of a State official was as inconceivable as in a Catholic monk or a factory manager within the factory.

The whole history of the Muslim period in India—in the Deccani States as well as in the Delhi monarchy—illustrates the expansion of Islamic dominion through the individual efforts and initiative of private adventurers, financed by the State and backed by all its regular forces in the case of a reverse,—and not through the operation of the salaried servants of the Crown acting under the direction and control of the central Government.

Therefore, the State claimed what was left of a life's acquisitions due to its own sanction, money aid, and armed support. The Empire was communal property, and the Amir, Sultan or Padishah, as the Commander of the Faithful, was entitled to escheat all the earnings of the officers in this army of Islam. He was only the trustee of the rights of the Sovereign Congregation (*jamait*) of true believers, as the tribal patriarch had been in the days before their conversion to Islam. Whether the nomadic society was patriarchal (as before Islam), or theocratic (as under Islam), property was equally communal.

This basic idea of the Turkish State could not be reconciled with the more modern notions of the sacredness of private property and the responsibility of the king before God to see that none was robbed of his heritage,—which is a part of Islamic private law. And Aurangzib's regulations represent an attempt at a compromise between the two, and the final abandonment, in outward profession at least, of the nomad idea of communal property and the adoption of the modern idea of individual private pos-

sessions,—i.e., the conversion of mere agents of the State into private owners. It would, in my opinion, be unhistoric to suppose that these escheats were originally due to a wicked desire of the autocratic sovereign to seize his subjects' rightful property when they were no longer alive to defend it.

#### IV

Whatever the origin of the custom of escheat may have been in theory, its practical effect was, all the same, most harmful. It has been defended by a modern writer as, tending to keep up the efficiency of the Government by extinguishing a parasite class living on hereditary wealth, and forcing everybody to go through a struggle for the survival of the fittest. But a little reflection will show that this was not the case in reality. One effect of the escheat system was to induce the nobles to live extravagantly and squander their all on women, show and unproductive luxury during their life-time, as they knew very well that they could leave nothing to their family, and the Emperor alone would profit by their abstinence. The material waste and moral degradation of the highest class in society were, therefore, deplorable.

Again, the insecurity of the nobles' fortunes prevented the accumulation of private capital and the economic growth of the country which depends on capital. The general level of civilisation and culture, too, was lowered, because each generation had to work from the bottom upwards, instead of benefiting by the acquisition and progress achieved by its predecessor.

Sometimes, the people proved more than a match for the extortionate State. We read of certain nobles' personal property being secretly given away by them to their children or cunningly hidden before their death.

In the case of some others their effects were looted by their servants and neighbours before the Emperor's agents could come to attach them. We even read of Amir Khan's widow offering fight to the imperial officer who demanded the surrender of her husband's property.

The political effect of the escheat system was most disastrous. It prevented India from having one of the strongest safe-guards of public liberty and checks on royal autocracy, namely, an independent hereditary peerage whose position and wealth did not depend on the king's favour in every generation, and

## THE ARISTOCRACY IN THE MUGHAL EMPIRE

who could, therefore, afford to be bold in their criticism of the royal caprice and their opposition to the royal tyranny. It also made the Mughal nobility a selfish band, prompt in deserting to the winning side in every war of succession or foreign invasion, because they knew that their lands and even personal property were not legally assured to them, but depended solely on the pleasure of the king *de facto*. The baronage who extorted Magna Charta from King John, or cheerfully courted exile, confiscation and even death under the banners of King Charles I, was impossible in the Mughal Empire. Mediaeval India had no independent nobility or trading class to act as a barrier between the Emperor at the top of society and the poor peasants and common people at the bottom. Such a Government is most unstable and unsound, alike from the political and economic points of view.

The *Bait-ul-mal* was the Store Department where, strictly speaking, only the property of persons dying without heirs should have been kept, but where in actual practice, as we see from Aurangzib's regulations, the escheated property of noblemen was also deposited. In Islamic theory, this *Bait-ul-mal* belonged to God and its contents could be spent only in works of charity and not on the Emperor's personal expenses nor on the general needs of the Government.

As Aurangzib writes in one of his letters, "The Khalifa of the Age (*i. e.*, the reigning sovereign of the country) is the trustee [not 'owner'] of the *Bait-ul-mal*." [Rugat No. 107.] And, again, in two other letters, "It is my duty to increase the property of the *Bait-ul-mal*" and "All presents made (to the sovereign) appertain to the *Bait-ul-mal*." [I. O. L. MS.]

Practical effect was given to this theory late in his reign. We read that in 1690 he issued an order appointing the provincial *qazis* as the *amins* or trustees of the branch *Bait-ul-mal* of their province. Thus, the *qazi* of Ahmadabad was ordered to present to the *faqirs* and other beggars of the city 1500 coats (*qaba*) and the same number of blankets, priced Rs. 1½ and 8 annas respectively, every winter. (*Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, 356.) The amount of Rs. 6000 was spent on the clothing of the poor in that city; but there were other occasions for charitable gift out of this fund,

### V

The information at our disposal does not enable us to distinguish between the limits of work of the *Bait-ul-mal* and those of the other charity fund which the Emperor used to place in the hands of the *Sadar* or Civil Judge and Almoner. The *sakat* or tithe of 2½ per cent on the incomes of Muslims had to be devoted solely to pious works, such as maintaining Islamic scholars, students of theology, monks and beggars, giving dowries to maidens, &c. Strictly speaking, the *sakat* ought to have been paid into the treasury of the *Bait-ul-mal* because the king could not lawfully touch any portion of it for his own use. Manucci tells us that in the closing years of Aurangzib's reign, when the Deccan war had exhausted his treasury and he was beset by financial embarrassment, the Emperor at first wished to open and use the contents of the great store-houses filled with goods left by deceased persons, or with property collected in Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jahan's times from the men, great or small, who had been servants of the State. But afterwards he ordered these store-houses not to be opened—lest the officials should steal more than half of the things in his absence from his northern capitals. (*Storia*, ii. 255.)

The *Manual of Officials' Duties* clearly distinguishes between the *amual* or confiscated property of officers who died indebted (*mutalibadar*) to the State and which therefore rightfully belonged to the Public Treasury, and the *Bait-ul-mal* or store-house of the property of heir-less persons, which rightfully belonged to God and could be spent on charitable purposes only. But Aurangzib's extensive correspondence never mentions such a department as *amual* and only speaks of depositing the escheated property in the *Bait-ul-mal*. Moreover, the *Manual* shows that the three departments of *ajnas* (*i. e.*, Government stores kept for being advanced to the subahdars and generals on loan), *amual* (*i. e.*, the escheated property of such officers after death), and *bait-ul-mal* (or the effects of persons dying without any heir),—were placed under one superintendent (*darogha*) and one set of accountant, store-keeper and watchmen. Munitions were supplied to the officers from this department on account. Hence, it appears that the surplus powder, shot, lead and waterproofs (*mom-jama*) of the artillery department were kept in the *ajnas*.

The *Manual* (pp. 90-92) instructs a newly appointed darogha of this store-department as to his duties.

## VI

The sovereign had another hold upon the nobility in Mughal times. The peerage consisted largely of able adventurers from Central Asia and Persia and a few from the Turkish empire. The persons were most highly valued for their polished manners, literary ability and capacity for managing the finance and accounts. There was always a keen desire on the part of the Mughal emperors to seduce to their service the higher officers of the Shah of Persia and the Sultan of Turkey, because, as Aurangzib frankly says, the Persians were intellectually far superior to the Indian Muhammadans, while the western Turks brought with them something of European culture and science. For such officers, when they fell into disgrace in their homeland or dreaded the wrath of their native sovereign, a flight to India opened a road to honour, power and wealth far surpassing what they had enjoyed at home. This stream of recruits, who contributed much to the success and glory of the Mughal Empire,

naturally dried up on account of the increasing anti-Shia spirit displayed by Aurangzib in his later years and the preponderant Sunni majority of the Indian Muslim population, and partly also on account of the rapid decay of the royal power and civilisation of Persia under the later Safavi Shahs at the end of the 17th century. But so long as it lasted, high-born Persian and Arab refugees in India were welcomed and the Emperors were glad to marry their sons and grandsons to the daughters of these newcomers.

The latter, however, had to give hostages for their fidelity to their new master. No Persian or Turkish refugee was confirmed in any high post or promoted to independent command, so long as he did not bring his family from his native land and settle them in India, for that was the surest means of preventing their escape from this country. They had also to place one of their sons as their representative (*wakil*) at Court, really as a hostage for their good conduct during their absence in the provinces. The Hindu Rajahs had to do the same.

JADUNATH SARKAR.

## MUKTA-DHARA

## A BERLIN REVIEW.

THE following review of the Poet Rabindranath Tagore's new play has recently appeared in the leading Berlin newspaper, called the 'Vossische Zeitung', in the 26th May, 1922, edition. [It is interesting to note that the newspaper is now sold for 1 mark in Berlin itself and for 2 marks in the provinces.] The Editorial note was as follows.

"Our contributor, Dr. Hellmuth Von Glasenapp, lecturer in Berlin University and wellknown as a translator of Rabindranath Tagore's works, reports to us about a new work of the Indian poet which he has not published in any European tongue. He has sent us the following account:—

## A NEW PLAY BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE

"The monthly review called Prabasi, (The Wanderer) which is published in Calcutta, gives in its April number the original Bengali text of a new drama by Rabindranath Tagore.

"The drama is called Mukta-dhara, that is to say, 'The Free Current',—this being the symbolical name of a large waterfall, which is the centre of the action of the play, and round which all the scenes group themselves.

"The story which forms the foundation of the Poet's drama is this:—

"Bibhuti, the Engineer of King Ranajit of Uttarakut, has finished building (after

twenty-five years' work) a large embankment which makes it possible to keep back the waters of Mukta-dhara, so that they cannot reach the lower territory of Shiu-tarai. The people of Shiu-tarai are in subjection to Uttarakut, but often mutinous and rebellious.

"The King Ranajit hopes to be able, by keeping back the waters of Mukta-dhara, to force the tribes of Shiu-tarai into obedience. The celebration of the completion of the machinery of the embankment for restraining the water is about to be held. A great inauguration festival is to be kept on that very day in a temple of the God Shiva, which is situated in the immediate neighbourhood of the waterfall Mukta-dhara.

"While the monks of the temple sing a hymn of praise in honour of their God Shiva, different characters come on the stage and exchange their opinions about Bibhuti, the engineer, and his work, which is called the Machine.

"Some praise him as a great genius and sing a solemn hymn in honour of the Machine. Others try to belittle his merits, and recall to memory the multitude of human lives that have been lost in the process of building the embankment. Some people, belonging to the King's house, try to induce Bibhuti not to complete finally this plan of stopping the water, which would prove so destructive for the inhabitants of Shiu-tarai. But these people have no more success than the deputation of citizens from Shiu-tarai itself, who, under the leadership of the ascetic, Dhananjay, appear in numbers before the King.

"But it is in the person of the Crown Prince, Abhijit, himself, that the monarch encounters the strongest resistance of all. This young prince is a farseeing friend of humanity. He cannot admit the idea, that all the population of Shiu-tarai shall be sacrificed to the immediate political advantage of the State of Uttarakut.

"The Crown Prince, Abhijit, had been sent by his father, King Ranajit, to this subject country of Shiu-tarai. When he was there, as Viceroy, he had tried to

act for the benefit of the people of the land rather than for his own people. In so doing, he had caused a passage, which before had been closed, to be opened in the Nandi Pass, through which trade might flow freely. Ways of access were opened out during his rule, which would be of the greatest benefit to the subject State,—tortured as it was by famine,—but which might economically be to the disadvantage of the ruling State of Uttarakut.

"The motive, which induces Abhijit to insist on the destruction of the Jantra-*raja's* (Machine King's) work, is not merely humanitarian. It has something in it which is mystical. The Crown Prince has heard by chance, that he is not in reality the son of Ranajit at all. He learns that he had been found by the King, when a tiny child, near the waterfall called Mukta-dhara. King Ranajit had adopted him, because he had found, on this baby's body, the marks which proved that he would, when grown up, become World Emperor.

"The Crown Prince feels himself to be the son of the rushing water. The Water-fall has a kind of fascination for him. He believes in a close spiritual relation between the Water-fall and himself. The life and current of Mukta-dhara are, therefore, for him the source of his own life. Consequently he imagines it to be his sacred duty to see that all men should enjoy the power of the Water-fall's current.

"By order of King Ranajit, the Crown Prince is arrested; for the King supposes that if he is punished, he will amend. Meanwhile, the people of Uttarakut are getting restless. Some of the citizens wish to punish the Prince for siding with the people of Shiu-tarai against his own people of Uttarakut. Others wish to set him free. But at last, a fire, which has been intentionally caused, breaks out. The Crown Prince, Abhijit, is thus enabled to regain his freedom. He departs, to do what he has made up his mind to do.

"He enters by stealth the machine-works, at the head of the embankment, and sets the levers at work, which make the water rush out in torrents and thus

bring about the destruction of the Machine. He himself meets his own death in this heroic act. He had contemplated death. In setting the Water-fall's current free, he had found his own freedom. He returns to the womb of his mother, the water-fall Muktheadhara.

"The tragic fate of the Crown Prince Abhijit is the key to the comprehension of the symbolism of the whole drama. Human progress is only possible, when men lift themselves high above narrow and selfish prejudices; when those who are the chosen leaders of humanity do not hesitate to renounce all earthly goods and to sacrifice life itself for the ideal. The fight between an exaggerated nationalism, (which tries to reach some merely temporary political success by injuring others) on the one hand, and the idea of the brotherhood of all men, on the other, find in several episodes in this drama a precise and perfect expression.

"For example, as a representative of a cheap form of patriotism, we see a school-master appear on the stage with his pupils. He has made these pupils learn a pompous hymn of praise to the King Ranajit. By this method, the school-master hopes himself to get a higher salary. He has also inflamed his boys with a fanatical hatred against the people of Shiu-tarai, because "they have a bad religion." He finds that their noses are not of the same curvature as those of their loftier neighbours of Uttarakut.

Therefore they must be "inferior". In his "over-zeal" he assures his pupils that the aim of all history is to secure the empire of the world for the dynasty of Uttarakut. He puts forward the divine right of the royal house of Ranajit to pursue this course of oppressing other people by all the means in its power, as a fact grounded on scientific data.

"The opposite view to this is expressed by the ascetic Dhananjay. His teaching does not meet with much success or understanding, but he tries to show that it is necessary to endure evil *till it ceases by itself*. Retaliation, or resistance of evil by evil, only provokes fresh evil.

"The figure of Dhananjay, the ascetic, bears a certain resemblance to the national leader of India, at the present moment, Mahatma Gandhi, who was recently arrested and imprisoned. But the Poet himself remarks in a note that he had already presented that figure of the ascetic, and many of the aphorisms he uses, in his play called 'Prayaschitta' (Expiation) nearly fifteen years ago.

"Rabindranath Tagore's new Bengali drama is thus rich in solemn episodes and spiritual allusion. The prose of the drama is often interspersed with songs in rhyme.

"In the present political circumstances of Indian life, the play of Mukta-dhara is certain to be received, in India, with a vivid interest. Only the future can determine to what extent it will be effective on the stage.

## LICHEN

Lichen to the cherry tree  
Clings like mournful memory.  
Pale the lichen as a face  
Seen when levin lights a place.  
Feet of lichen slowly climb  
Going their way apart from time.

Lichen owns a lineage  
Older than the Golden Age.  
When the world is doomed at last  
Lichen will be clinging fast.  
How looks it, brother cherry-tree.  
The lichen that has covered me?  
E. B. SPRIGHT.

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

[Books in the following languages will be noticed: Assamese, Bengali, English, Gujarati, Hindi, Kannarese, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Punjabi, Sindhi, Tamil, Telugu, and Urdu. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text books and their annotations, pamphlets and leaflets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., will not be noticed. The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged, nor any queries relating thereto answered. The review of any book is not guaranteed. Books should be sent to our office, addressed to the Assamese Reviewer, the Hindi Reviewer, the Bengali Reviewer, etc., according to the language of the books. No criticism of book reviews and notices will be published.—Editor, M. R.]

## ENGLISH.

**THE WHEEL OF FORTUNE.** By Mahatma Gandhi. Ganesh & Co., Madras. 1922. Price Rs. 1.

Both in conception and design, this collection of the Mahatma's Essays on Swadeshi, the boycott of foreign cloth, hand spinning, and the use of Khaddar must be pronounced to be admirably adapted to the purpose for which it is intended. The design on the cover, which is 'clothed in Khaddar', is a spinning wheel, and on the back is an extract from the Mahatma's message from Sabarmati Jail, with the headlines: 'Use Khaddar. Save sixty crores annually.' The book is nicely printed in bold type and well bound and in 160 pages. It gives the whole theory and practice of handspinning. Srijit Dwijendranath Tagore, in his introduction, says: "Many critics and some friends of Mahatma Gandhi have found fault with his desire to introduce simpler methods of spinning and weaving and to do away with much of the complicated machinery of modern civilisation. ... Every civilisation in the history of man has reached a certain point after which there has been one possibility only for it and that was absolute relapse into semi-darkness in order to give place to a new and higher civilisation now with regard to modern civilisation all the signs of the times show that it has tailed lamentably and is gradually tottering to a dishonoured grave. In order that the spiritual civilisation of the future may have a real chance of growing in an atmosphere congenial to it, Mahatma Gandhi's demonstration of the right path should be welcomed. His emphasis on simplicity of life and on the simplification of the machinery of living must be realised as a supremely essential condition of the coming of the new era."

**TO MY COUNTRYMEN:** By Deshabandhu Chittaranjan Das. To be had of the Ahimsa Asram, Triplicane, Madras.

Mr. C. R. Das's presidential address and other messages given about the time of his incarceration.

**INDIA ON TRIAL:** Published by the Ahimsa Asram, Triplicane, Madras. Price Rs. 10.

This is a collection of some of the Mahatma's messages culled from the *Young India* and the *Navajiban* and written on the eve of his arrest. The proceedings of his historic trial have also been given in full, and two appreciations by 'Pussyfoot' John-

son and by the Rev. J. H. Holmes, who calls him the greatest man of the world today, have been printed at the end of the book. It is neatly printed and must be considered to be remarkably cheap at the price at which it is offered for sale.

**GANDHI AND TAGORE:** Seshadri & Son, 12, Venkataram Street, Madras. 1922. Price As. 4.

This is a study in comparison, reprinted from the *Standard-Bearer* of Chandernagore and believed to be from the pen of Aurobindo Ghosh, and certainly in the high literary quality and critical ability which it reveals, quite worthy of him. The writer has seen neither of the two heroes of contemporary India, but "Every day I catch the inspiring echoes of their hallowed existence." "We cannot have Tagore for our-elves only. He is a gift of the gods to humanity. Mahatma Gandhi is India's own saintly son. His soul is made of selflessness. Service is his daily bread, sacrifice his guiding star." "The idea that he has uttered cannot be arrested... Great men perish, but greatness never." "Gandhi is good: Tagore is transcendental." "By the truth of his love has the Mahatma won the heart of his country. There we all acknowledge defeat at his feet" is Tagore's homage to Gandhi. According to Gandhi, the hungry millions of India must learn to live before they can aspire to die for humanity. One stands for India in transition, the other for India's culture soul. The concentration of all the available energies of the entire people in a vast and whole-souled national yoga, and not renunciation merely, is Tagore's solution of the problem of attaining Swaraj. "There are no two persons in the world whom I revere so much as Tagore and Gandhi. Long live Gandhi! Long live Tagore! I look up and see Tagore. I look ahead and see Gandhi. Glory to the land in which they are born. Vande Mataram."

**WHAT THE STUDENTS OF OTHER COUNTRIES HAVE DONE (RUSSIA):** Saraswati Library. 9, Ramanath Mazumdar Street, Calcutta. 1922. Price As. 4.

This neatly got up pamphlet gives us the story of how Russian students organized themselves actively for political and economic freedom, and cheerfully sacrificed their young lives for their ideal, the fruition of which was thereby rendered inevitable.

**FOR INDIA AND ISLAM:** By Ali Brothers: Saraswati Library. 9, Ramanath Mazumdar Street, Calcutta. 1922. Price Rs. 1-8.

This closely but neatly printed book of 120



pages contains all the important speeches of the brothers Ali, and a full report of the proceedings of their trial at Karachi. It is a good compendium of the Khilafat cause, but if one may be permitted to venture a remark on this remarkably able presentation of the movement by its most prominent protagonist, Islam is much more in evidence here than India, and one wonders how far the extra-territorial and religious patriotism of Islam can be harmonised with the national patriotism of the Hindus for building up the India of the future of which we have all been dreaming dreams.

**KRISHNA'S FLUTE:** By Prof. T. L. Vaswani. Ganesh & Co., Madras. Re. 1-8. 1922.

This is another book from the prolific pen of Prof. Vaswani. He takes up detached passages of the *Gita* as his text and expounds them in his own way. "Krishna the hero was essentially Krishna the lover. His love was given to all humanity. I look for the day when our 'nationalism' will be filled with this aspiration: 'When shall our race be one great Brotherhood?' As love of the family must fulfil itself by growing into love of the nation, so must 'nationalism' fulfil itself by growing into humanism. This note—the note universal—is sounded again and again in the Bhagavad-Gita."

**APOSTLES OF FREEDOM:** By Prof. T. L. Vaswani. Ganesh & Co., Madras. Price Re. 1. 1922.

The author takes as his text some of the pioneers of the noble band of men who have advanced the cause of freedom, e. g., Guru, Nanak, who preached the brotherhood of Hindus and Muslims, Abraham Lincoln, the emancipator of the Negro, Tolstoy, who laid down the law of non-resistance, Tilak, the Indian apostle of Swaraj (the chapters on Tilak, are the best in the volume), a Japanese patriot, and some Irish idealists, e. g., Pearse and Macswiney. Needless to say that the volume is full of inspiration for young and old alike and is sure to command a large sale. The printing, binding and general get up, as usual, are excellent.

#### POLITICS.

**INDIAN CURRENCY AND FINANCE:** By Mr. K. C. Mahindra, B. A. (Cantab.): S. Ganesan & Co., Madras. Rs. 3 and Ans. 8.

This monograph secured the Bomanji prize, offered by the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau of Bombay. Unlike an ordinary prize essay, it is a valuable contribution to one of the most difficult branches of Indian Economics. Mr. Mahindra is not satisfied with barren criticism of the currency policy of the Government but sets forth a constructive scheme of monetary reform.

Our author has done well in emphasising at the outset a fact which is often forgotten by the public that "the concrete in the foundations" of our currency structure has up to this time been "Government convenience." (P. 9.) "The conversion of international currency into Indian currency and *vice versa* did not effect itself automatically at the desire of the holders but rested upon the convenience of the Secretary of State for India" (P. 8.) The main problem of Indian currency is, in our author's

opinion, the problem of good money, i. e., a currency which satisfies the condition of stability and elasticity.

Now, the stability question has an internal as well as an external aspect. The internal stability means the stability of purchasing power "in terms of the local commodities in general" (p. 31), whereas external stability simply means stability of exchange. It is true that there is a very intimate relation between the two aspects of the stability problem; and in these days of inflated paper currencies when the old mint pars of exchange have become matters of mere antiquarian interest in many countries, the relative purchasing power of the currencies of different countries determines their rates of exchange. But Mr. Mahindra has clearly shown that to a country like India the stability of the purchasing power of currency is far more important than mere stability of exchange.

Unfortunately the spirit of John Company still seems to sway the minds of our currency experts who look at the question from the standpoint of the export and import merchant rather than of the Indian ryot.

It is true that the ryot's interest is often made a convenient peg to support their arguments but the exchange problem which looms large before our currency authorities affects the ryot for good or for evil far less than is ordinarily supposed.

We fully endorse our author's remark that "stabilising the rupee in terms of commodities is the real problem; stability of exchange is a minor issue." (P. 105.)

While we agree with our author so far, we doubt whether it is now desirable to adopt his scheme of stabilization. Mr. Mahindra claims no originality for his proposal, which is based on the principles laid down in Prof. Fisher's *Stabilizing the Dollar*. There is now in America "a gold dollar of constant weight and varying purchasing power." Prof. Fisher wants to introduce "a dollar of constant purchasing power and therefore of varying weight."

Some of the necessary requisites of the scheme are—

(1) The withdrawal of gold coins from circulation, the circulating medium consisting only of paper money.

(2) An accurate index number of prices;

(3) An impartial and efficient body of government officials having a thorough grasp of the theory and practice of the monetary science.

The first requisite already exists in our country. On account of the recent fall in the price of silver, the rupee has again become a note printed on silver. But the determination of an accurate index number of prices is beset with many difficulties.

The Government of India has recently expressed its inability to construct an all-India index number to solve industrial disputes. Our main objection is that under Mr. Mahindra's scheme we shall purchase theoretical stability of our standard money in relation to goods at too high a price. We shall introduce a new element of instability in the gold basis of our currency.

The scheme would not check, as Prof. Fisher himself admits, violent fluctuations in prices, but small fluctuations which the scheme wants to remove.

does not cause serious inconvenience in our economic dealings.

Another objection to Mr. Mahindra's scheme is that it will leave the control of our currency in the hands of officers, many of whom are mere novices in currency management. The work in the currency department often forms a small link in the long chain of the official career of the Civil Servant. As soon as an I.C.S. officer has acquired sufficient experience in currency matters, he may be transferred to some other department where his experience will be of little use while his successor may have hardly any knowledge of even the theory of currency. It is not, therefore, surprising that our currency authorities should commit egregious blunders.

The ultimate control over Indian currency is also "in the hands of those whose outlook is Imperial rather than Indian." As Mr. Mahindra aptly observes, the charge of 'Heads I win, tails you lose' against the India Office wherever Indian and English—or even Colonial—interests come into conflict is not an empty one despite vehement assertions to the contrary." (P. 10.) The sale of Reverse Councils from January to September, 1920, in spite of strong and repeated protests of the Indian public, shows the dangers of leaving the management of our currency in the hands of officials who are not amenable to public opinion. So long as our currency is not managed by real experts, solely in the interest of India, the less managed it is, the better for us.

In order to reduce governmental interference to a minimum, we suggest that the rupee should be made completely a token coin, valued at one-tenth of a gold sovereign and should remain a legal tender, say up to £1 while our standard currency should consist of gold sovereigns and gold notes, the latter issued, not by the State but by the Imperial Bank which should be more Indianised and made more responsive to Indian public opinion. State-managed currency may, under proper safeguards, be a step towards ideal currency, but when these safeguards are wanting, gold currency, involving less official interference, is preferable.

Though gold has lost its old stability of value it is not impossible to restore that stability by an international agreement. One objection against gold currency is the loss involved in the actual circulation of the yellow metal. Prof. Keynes tells us "that it is extravagant to use gold as a medium of exchange," but in a country where more than half the revenue of the central government is spent in maintaining not a very efficient army and where crores have been and are being spent in playing the Great Mughal at Delhi, a little "extravagance" in currency matters may be easily pardoned. If proper facilities for convertibility into gold are given, the circulation of gold notes is also bound to increase, reducing the actual use of gold as a medium of exchange. The danger of the gold in circulation being hoarded to a large extent, is also quite imaginary.

Those who object to gold currency on the ground of economy should note that a single official blunder in a managed currency may cause greater loss than the loss due to the actual circulation of gold coins. The sale of Reverse Councils in 1920, apart from the loss of about 36 crores of rupees (the proceeds of the sale of £55,382,000 Reverse Councils in 1920 amounted to Rs. 46,93,55,857 only) to the

Government itself, is, to a great extent responsible for the present slump in our trade and the ruin of many Indian merchants. The persistent demand of the Indian public for gold currency is therefore not so 'foolish' and 'unreasonable' as it appears from the standpoint of economic theory.

It is not possible to examine in detail all the problems, especially the elasticity problem of Indian currency discussed by Mr. Mahindra. We congratulate him on his scholarly production which, we hope, will meet with the recognition it deserves from all those who are interested in Indian currency.

J. C. SINHA.

DRAMATIC DIVERTISSEMENTS: By V. V. Srinivasa Iyengar, B. A., B. L. Everyman's Ltd. Rs. 2.

The art of social portraiture has never been a conspicuous feature of Indian Drama, romanticism having always exercised a profound fascination on the Indian dramatist to the exclusion of everything else. The royal author of *Mrichchhakatika*, it is true, portrayed with admirable vividness the pulsing life of the ancient city of Ujjain, but it is unique in the annals of Sanskrit literature and the tradition never struck root in the land. The theatrical companies of to-day in the country have unfortunately not made much of an advance in the matter and we must therefore extend a specially cordial welcome to this volume of bright social sketches of South Indian life. The author is a well-known figure in the social life of Madras, and is one who for the last two decades has laboured hard for the resuscitation of Indian Drama through the premier dramatic association of the Southern Capital, the Suguna Vilasa Sabha. The sketches reveal keen and penetrating powers of observation: a sense of subtle humour expressed with an almost Meredithian refinement—though he has also occasionally sought delectation in farce—and also a certain underlying profundity of outlook on the social problems of the day. One of the most serious obstacles which the Indian dramatist has to face in the delineation of the social environment through the medium of English is with regard to the incongruity of making his characters speak the foreign tongue in circumstances in which one is almost certain that the language spoken could not have been English. Mr. Srinivasan has minimised such incongruities to the utmost, and what is more interesting, while the conversation of his characters is in racy English, it also seems to come out most naturally from their lips. This writer would like to mention the interesting fact, not so much for recalling a personal reminiscence, as for complimenting the sketches on their dramatic qualities that he has seen most of them acted on the stage with remarkable success—the volume is therefore not only for the appreciation of the student in the closet, but also for the play-goer and stage-manager. We have great pleasure in recommending the volume to educated Indians all over the country and to foreigners who wish to have glimpses of Indian social life. The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Couts-Trotter of the High Court of Judicature, Madras, writes an appreciative foreword to the book.

A SOUL'S POSEY: By Zero. Panini Press, Allahabad. 8 as.

A small pamphlet of reveries and reflections in poetic prose. P. SESHADRI.

**BAHAI: THE SPIRIT OF THE AGE:** By Horace Holley. Approved by Bahai Committee on Publications. Published by Brentano's, New York. Pp. 212. Price not known.

"In 1844 a Persian named Mohammed Ali, then twenty-four years old, announced publicly that he was the forerunner of a Manifestation who, after a certain interval, would declare himself to be that 'Ancient', that 'Lord', that 'Alpha and Omega' foretold by all the prophets and that from him would emanate a new cycle of spiritual civilization encircling and uniting the world.

Nineteen years later, in 1863, Hosen Ali, a Persian prince of purest Aryan lineage, announced himself as the Manifestation declared by Mohammed Ali. The title by which Hosen Ali has since been known is that of Baha' O'llah, or the Glory of God. The title of Mohammed Ali is that of El Bab, meaning the Door, or Gate.

Baha O'llah passed from the flesh in 1892 at the Turkish prison city of Acca, Palestine, leaving as the last of his works a covenant or Testament, designating his eldest son Abbas Effendi, as his spiritual successor among men responsible for and able to carry on his function and purpose in the world. Since that date, Abbas Effendi has been known by that title of Abdul Baha or Servant of the Glory. (Pp. 26-27.)

The book is divided into three parts.

The first part, The Cosmic Trinity, deals with the source of Bahaism in its three founders. The brief chapters concluding the first part have special references to the relation of Bahaism to some established body of opinion, such as Christianity, Judaism, Christian Science and to current problems under the head of Science, Politics and Economics.

Part two is a compilation from the utterances of Baha O'llah and Abdul Baha, selected from every possible source.

Part three contains two important Bahai documents. In conclusion, a Reading List is added which includes all books known to the author as being strictly Bahai in origin or theme."

The Bahai movement is full of meaning. The Spirit of the Age is manifesting itself in many ways and who will deny that it is a manifestation of the same spirit. The movement is deserving of an attentive examination.

We have read the book with interest.

**POSITIVE RELIGION:** By J. C. Ghosh, M. A., B. L., M. L. C. Published by H. L. Banerjee at the Calcutta Law Press, Bhawanipur. Pp. 676. Price not known.

The book is divided into 15 chapters under the following heads:—(i) Introduction, (ii) Examination of different systems of Religion, (iii) Philosophy and Religion, (iv) Science and Religion, (v) The Mystery of Pain, (vi) The Mystery of Evil, (vii) The Evolution of the Good, (viii) Definition of Positive Religion, (ix) God and Self, (x) Prayer and Worship, (xi) Mysticism, (xii) The Positive Rule of Right Conduct, (xiii) Woman and Positive Religion, (xiv) Religion and Common Life and (xv) The Life Eternal.

Our author's Positive Religion is to be sharply distinguished from Auguste Comte's Positive Religion which he considers to be a "travesty of the name". He has "laboriously gone through the objections of philosophy and science to the belief in personal God

and religion and" has "found that God and the close relationship of man and God are real and that man feels the necessity of worshipping and loving the Father and the Lover above all lovers. Such belief and consciousness of such relationship constitute religion. It has been attempted in these pages to prove that they are based on sure foundations of the facts of life and of science and not on revelations, fancies and specious arguments. A religion having such a foundation can surely be termed positive" (p. 429).

The book is written in non-technical language by a man of wide reading and liberal ideas, and will be profitably read by a wide circle of readers.

**A SHORT HISTORY OF THE ORDER OF SAINT JOHN OF JERUSALEM:** By E. M. Tenison. Published by the Society of S. S. Peter and Paul, 32 George Street, Hanover Square. Pp. 119. Price 5 shillings.

It contains a history of the order from its earliest foundation in A. D. 1014 to the end of the Great War of A. D. 1914-1918.

**GOSPEL OF GANDHI:** By T. C. K. Kurup, M. A., LL. D., Bar-at-Law, Editor, Madras Review. Published by the Madras Review office, Madras. Pp. 135. Price Rs. 2-8.

The book is divided into sections under the following headings—Introduction, Gandhi's Personality, Philosophy of Life, A Christ-like Life, Love of Humanity, Philosophy of Jail Life, Satyagraha or Truth Force, Passive Resistance, Conception of Duty and Conclusion.

The author differs "from Mahatma Gandhi wholeheartedly both on politics and on economics" and has "avoided in this book all reference to politics."

According to him "Mahatma Gandhi is the greatest teacher that descended on Earth since Gautama Buddha and Jesus Christ" and "the basic principle of Mahatma Gandhi's teaching is Renunciation in Action."

**THE GAYATRI:** By P. T. Srinivasas Iyengar. Printed by Srinivasa Varadachari & Co, Madras. Pp. 43. Price 1s 6.

The booklet deals with the text of the Gayatri, its authorship, meaning and uses, rival Savitri mantras, the Sandhya rite, the Gayatri Vidya, etc.

**THE BUDDHA'S PATH OF VIRTUE: A TRANSLATION OF THE DHAMMAPADA:** By F. L. Woodward, M. A. With a foreword by Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam. Published by the Theosophical Publishing House, Madras and London. Pp. 102.

There are 423 verses in the Dhammapada but in the translation, the last verse is numbered 421. It is due to the fact that the verses 360 and 361 of the original have been numbered 360 in the translation and the verse 380 has not been translated. These mistakes have been corrected in the "Errata."

The translation is metrical and fairly accurate.

**IN THE SIKH SANCTUARY:** By Prof. T. L. Vaswani. Published by Ganesh & Co., Madras. Pp. 95. Price Re. 1-8.

Author's political ideal preached through Sikhism.

**MESSAGE OF THE BIRDS:** By Prof. T. L. Vaswani. (My Motherland series.) No. 2. Pp. 48. Price Re. 1.

"The Message of the Swaraj movement," published on the 18th May, 1922 (the Gandhi Day).

**THE PLANNING AND FITTING UP OF SCHOOL LABORATORIES.** (BUREAU OF EDUCATION, INDIA. OCCASIONAL REPORT, No. 9) : By M. C. S. Ananta-padmanabha Rau, M.A., L. T. Published by the Superintendent of Government Printing, India, Calcutta. Pp. 40 and 18 Plates. Price Re. 1-4.

There are nine sections under the following headings : (1) Introduction, (2) Accommodation of General Science, (3) Elementary Laboratories, (4) Laboratory Accommodation, (5) General Description of Rooms, (6) Details of Working Benches, (7) Lecture-room and Fitting, (8) Details of Special Fittings, (12 subsections) and (9) Care of Laboratory Fittings and Furniture, and an Index.

It will be useful to those who are engaged in the planning and fitting up of laboratories.

**भक्तिवर्धिनी (BHAKTI-VARDHINI) :** By Srimad Bhallabhacharyya. Published by Mulachandra Tulsi-das Telivala, Vakil, High Court, Khakhar Buildings, C. P. Tank Road, Girgaon, Bombay. Pp. iv+100. Price Rs. 2.

This book contains the text of the *Bhakti-vardhini* and 14 commentaries. The whole book has only 11 verses and is considered, by the *Vallabha* sect, as the foundation of *Bhakti Marga* (Path of Devotion). A summary of the book has been given in English in the "Editor's Note" (page 99).

**"TO MY COUNTRYMEN" :** By Desha-bandhu Chitta Ranjan Das. Published by Vande-Mataram Karyalaya, Vellore. Pp. 58, Price As. 8.

The undelivered presidential address intended for the Indian National Congress, 1921.

**NOTES ON ELEMENTARY SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY AND THE DUTIES OF GOOD CITIZENSHIP :** By J. W. de Tirol, A. M. Inst. C. E. Pp. 48. Price Re. (Published by Newman & Co., 4 Dalhousie Square, Calcutta.)

Elementary lessons on social and political virtues : intended for the use of schools.

**NITYAHNIKAM (THE DAILY RITES OF EVERY BRAHMIN) :** Edited and published by R. Subrahmanya Vadhiar, Kalpathi, Palghat. Pp. 127 (Pocket Edition.) Price Eight annas.

Intended for orthodox Brahmans.

**THE ARYAN IDEAL (My Motherland Series No. 1) :** By Prof. T. L. Vaswani. Published by Ganesh and Co., Madras. Pp. 96. Paper. Price Re. 1.

The Hindu Ideal is well depicted. Our author's language is eloquent. The book is worth reading and worth buying.

**THE DRINK AND DRUG EVIL IN INDIA.** By Badrut Hassan. With Foreword by Mahatma Gandhi. Published by Ganesh and Co., Madras. Pp. vi+161. Price Rs. 2. (Foreign 5s.)

The book contains 12 chapters and 5 appendices under the following heads :—

(i) In ancient India ; (ii) The Influence of Buddhism ; (iii) Under Muslim Rule ; (iv) The various Systems ; (v) The Policy ; (vi) Sources of Revenue ; (vii) Excise Revenue ; (viii) Consumption ; (ix) and (x) Opium ; (xi) Hemp Drugs and (xii) The Prospects and Conclusion and Appendix : (a) The

Story of the Jar (A Pali Jataka) ; (b) Statement showing Excise Revenue ; (c) Statement showing Provincial Revenue ; (d) Statement showing Opium Revenue and (e) Statement showing number of shops.

In this book the author has traced the growth of the drink and drug from the Vedic time to the British Period and this he has done without any partisan spirit. The ways and means suggested by the author are sane, practical and worthy of consideration.

The book is recommended to our countrymen.

**"THE BOOK OF THE RELIGION OF LOVE, THE WORD OF LOVE" :** By Mahendra Pratap (Raja). Pp. 89.

Claims to be "the new Bible, the new Koran, the new Veda, the new Dhampad, in fact new common holy book for the whole world."

**PROGRAMME OF THE HAPPINESS PARTY :** By Mahendra Pratap (Raja).

The object of the "Party" is "to establish and work for happiness throughout our human race".

All communications should be addressed to the first secretary of the Happiness Party, Potsdamer strasse, 26A III, Berlin, or Rudols-strasse, 4 III, Leipzig, Germany.

MAHES CHANDRA GHOSH.

HINDI.

**CHIN KI RAJYAKRANTI :** By Sampurnananda Barma, B. Sc., L. T. Published by the Pratap Pustakalaya, Calcutta. 1921. Pp. 192+VII. Price Re. 1-8.

Mr. Barma, surely to be congratulated for presenting to us in a very lucid style and interesting way the main incidents of Chinese Revolution of 1911. Both the historical perspective of old-day China and the occurrences of recent history are as charming as works of fiction. How the sons of Han awoke after age-long stupor and inaction, and how, as a writer said, in the "Christian Register" of Boston "At last our self-complacent dream of superiority has been shattered by the exhibition of mental sagacity, moral power, and admirable self-control in a nation that was supposed to be fettered and shackled by superstition, formalism, and a tyrannical ruling class"—are but most wonderful facts of modern history, and we thank Mr. Barma for this most readable work. The facts are mainly compiled from English sources, and the sympathy and power of the author make them interesting. The incidents recorded by Dr. Ramlal Sarkar from personal experiences (published in the "Modern Review" of 1912) have been incorporated in this work. The four appendices add to the utility of the book.

This work of Mr. Barma cannot but show how little we do and care to know of China, which was connected with India from very ancient times. The history of China of all ages is replete with wonderful facts, e. g., the silk industry, the mariners' compass, Confucius' doctrine, the Great Wall, Chinese Buddhism, the art of printing, the pigtail, the peasant-soldiers, the river-telegram, etc., etc. The proclamation of Emperor Kwang-hsu, issued in 1898, which says, "With death, I shall be worthy of my 400,000,000 subjects"...and "I saw no other course but to risk

my life on behalf of the Empire" is the charter of new life for China. It may not be out of place here to remark that few modern literatures of India possess useful information about modern China, so this well-written work will be welcome to the public.

UCHCHHWAS : By *Satranandan Pant*. *Scottish Mission Industries Company Limited, Ajmere. 1922, Pp. 15.*

This book contains two poems on "Sawan" and "Bhago." It is not everyday that we get such nice poems in modern Hindi literature for review. Both the style and sentiments of the poems, and specially those of the former one, are a great advance on the ordinary Hindi poems which are almost invariably of the old type. The flow and rhythm of the poems mark the charm and freshness of all these but two poems. The get-up of this little work gives credit to the publishers.

SWAMI RAMTIRTH. PT. I : Published by the *Ramtirth Publication League, Lucknow. 1919. Pp. 108 + XIV. Price As. 8.*

Some lectures and conversations of Swami Ramtirth, the great Vedantist of Northern India, are published in this volume. It will be welcome to the adherents and admirers of the Swami whose memory is perpetuated in this fitting manner.

RAMES BASU.

### SANSKRIT.

CARUCARITAVALI : By *Pandit Siddhagopala Kavyatirtha, Halber Bijnor. Pp. 14 + 163. Price Rs. 1.*

In this volume in Sanskrit prose the author has presented us with the life-sketches of seven of the great religious teachers of the world, viz., Buddha, Sankaracharya, Christ, Mahammad, Kabir, Guru Nanak, and Dayananda Saraswati. Indeed, this is a new departure in Sanskrit literature and so the attempt of Pandit Kavyatirtha is commendable, no doubt. But we are afraid, he is not successful. The book is not free even from grammatical inaccuracies.

VIDHUSHIEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

### TELUGU.

We have received a copy for review of 'HEROES OF ANDHRADESA, PART I' by Mr. Somasekhara Sarma. The appearance of such a work satisfies a long felt want. This part contains the lives of some Andhra Emperors and a great Queen. The author has used all the informations available on his subjects. He commands a good style which would show greater strength and vigour on a more sparing use of ornamentation. The author, who is very promising, would we hope give in future some more works on Andhra History and Biography. Mr. Chilukuri Narayanarao, M. A., L. T., has written a very useful work on ANCIENT SEATS OF LEARNING, in Telugu. It is a scholarly production, full of interesting and useful matter which the author has gathered from various sources and he has treated it in a scientific manner. His appendices are really interesting. We hope it would be widely read throughout the Andhradesa

particularly in these days when people are very busy about the reformation and organisation of education in the land.

[Both the above works are published by *Fateeya Sarasvata Nilayam, Rajahmundry. Price Rs. 1 each.*]

X.

### KANARESE.

MAHATMA GANDHI YAVARA CHARITRE, PART I : By *K. N. Karaguppi-Kar and G. B. Hukkeri. Published by Karmaveera Press, Dharwar. Pp. 1-80. Price 12 as. (1921.)*

This book is intended to be a biography of Mahatma Gandhi. It is proposed to complete the life-history in three volumes. The first part under review deals only with the great man's activities in South Africa; nearly half the book is devoted to this topic. The other half gives a brief glimpse of parentage, childhood, boyhood, education and foreign travel. The arrangement of the book is quite good. The language is lucid and clear. There are hundreds of incidents in Mahatma's life from which we can conveniently take a lesson; we wish the authors would add a few more, as that would enhance the value of the work. Let us hope that the second edition would be made more attractive in every way.

KARNATAKA RASHITREEYA VIDYALAYADA VARSHIKA VARADI, DHARWAR. Printed at the *Karnataka Printing Works, Dharwar, and Published by S. S. Desai at the National School, Dharwar.*

This is a report on the working of the National School at Dharwar. The chief points to be noted are the working hours of the school and the insistence of the vocational education along with the literary training. The morning hours are devoted to literary subjects and the afternoons to vocational ones.

The climatic condition in India need a change in this direction in all schools national or otherwise. It is no matter what the season of the year is, the student can always read or be taught best in the mornings. The authorities have done well to adopt the more natural method. The vocational subjects are:—(1) Spinning and Weaving (2) Carpentry (3) Tailoring (4) Art Drawing (5) Medicine (6) Printing (7) Gardening (8) Singing (9) Commerce (10) Soap-making. It is proposed to add a few more to the list if circumstances permit. Time is the sure test of progress. Let us hope that a Presidency, which could bring into existence a Fergusson College, will be equally successful in making a national school of the right type a reality.

JAIMINI BHARATA KATHA SANGRAHA, PART I : By *R. Rama Rao of the Mysore Archaeological Department. Printed at the Guruvilasa Press, Bangalore. 1920. Price 8 as. Pp. 1-120.*

We are very much indebted to the author for publishing a prose version of one of the most famous works in Kannada language. Till very recent times, say 1900 A. D., the work was being read very widely. It was not an uncommon scene to find in those days even the illiterate peasants listening with great attention to a schoolboy reciting the verses from

this book. Thanks to the present day system of education, we have forgotten our own mother tongue. Jainini Bharata is a classic of our literature. It teaches the reader how devotion to the Almighty Sree Krishna will enable one to surmount all difficulties, what real heroism means and wherein consists true valour. It is a book full of good sayings and is best fitted for imparting religious and moral instruction not only to the young but also to others.

It was really a treat to go through the work. The language employed is most apt and deserves commendation. The size of the work permits its being used as a text-book for the Intermediate and B. A. Examinations. We wish the author every success in bringing out the further Parts.

DESABANDHU C. R. DAS, LIFE HISTORY: *By Ganapatrao Rama Rao Masura. Printed at the Sree Rama Krishna Printing Works Ltd., Kumata, 1922. Pp. 1-94. Price 8 as.*

The author deserves our thanks for the trouble he has taken in collecting the informations from different sources. He is at times carried away by volence. The matter is jumbled up. In some places the language employed looks pedantic. We hope the author will rectify these in his next editions. The book is quite valuable and interesting.

NARAKA YATANA RAHASYA DARPANA: *By Krishnappa. Printed at the Kodandarama Press, Mysore, 1922. Price 8 as. Pp. 1-17, & 1-91.*

We appreciate the author's keen desire to inculcate moral principles by pointing out what punishment one would have to meet for one's misdeeds. We are doubtful about the utility of the book so far as intellectual classes are concerned.

P. A. R.

## URDU.

SUBHE WATAN: *By "Suddarshan". Pp. 192. Price Re. 1 (Paper) and Re. 1-8 (Cloth).*

A collection of twelve stories, each of them being very entertaining and highly inspiring. A vein of patriotism runs throughout the book. A worthy task has been performed in a splendid way. The author has admirably succeeded in keeping the language pure even while depicting love scenes. The last story which is in the form of a drama and deals with the reformation of a public woman is not an exception to the rule. The book can safely be commended to our young boys and girls, and is likely to induce in some of them, at any rate, a keen sense of patriotism, of social service, of Hindu-Muslim unity, of national self-respect and of real sacrifice. The get-up is excellent.

HONORARY MAGISTRATE: *By "Suddarshan". Pp. 10. Price As. 4.*

A humorous, yet very true, pen-picture of the mentality of our fawning countrymen and of their relations with the official classes—from the District Magistrate down to his peon. The dramatic form of the story is its lent additional life and vivacity.

TANZIB KE TAQYANE: *By "Suddarshan". 1p. 112. Price As. 12.*

This 'Scourge of Civilisation' is a collection of eighteen stories by Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, translated from Bengalee into Urdu by 'Suddarshan' of Lahore. Bankim Babu's name is too wellknown to need an introduction. His aversion to the imposition of foreign culture on India was as deep and thorough as was his insight in human nature. His exposition of European diplomacy, Western morals and of English manners is very penetrating, and his witticism has made this work of criticism alluring to a degree. The translator has to a very large extent succeeded in maintaining the charm and exquisiteness of the original.

All these three books are published by Ram Katio Book Depot, Lahore.]

A. M.

## GUJARATI.

1. RASHTRA GITA: *Collected By J. K. Yajnik and Published by the Rashtriya Sahitya Karyalaya, Ahmedabad. Printed at the Vasant Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Paper Cover. Pp. 290. Price Re. 9-10-0 (1922).*

2. ATITHI TO JANAO (आतिथी तो जाओ): *By Narhari Desaiadas Panchhi. Published as above. Printed at the Jyoti Mandir Press, Ahmedabad, Paper Cover. Pp. 99. Price Rs. 0-6-0 (1922).*

The two books represent the activities of the National Literary Karyalaya at Ahmedabad, which has till now published about a dozen books. The collection of songs (1) has run into a second edition in a very short time, and the editor has availed himself of the opportunity to bring out a fresh edition by adding to the number of the songs. We have already noticed this first edition sometime back and are glad to see that a second one has been called for in so short a time—a sure indication of its popularity. The title of his second book is very expressive. It means "This much at least you must know." It tells in a popular form, how we are situated at present, politically and economically. Its closing pages, describing the prosperity of the Indian weaver and artisan, a century ago, and the deliberate policy of the East India Company to kill the trade of India, should not be missed.

3. SUMAN GADYAVALI (सुमन गद्यवली): *By Dikshit Kesarlal Nanavati, B. Sc., and Trishit Hari-Kant Nanavati, B. A., of Baroda. Printed at the Laxishan Electric Printing Press, Baroda. Thin Paper Cover. Pp. 128. Price Re. 0-1-0 (1922).*

A series of short essays, trying to point out the way in which our society can be reformed all round. The book is the result of the joint labour of the two brothers, and is published in memory of their Sister Suman. As a first attempt they have turned out creditable work.

4. PARAKRAMI POWRAY YANE BHARAT NUN GOWRAY (पराक्रमी पौरव याने भारत नुं गौरव): *By Professor J. C. Sawani Narayan. Printed at the Diamond Jubilee Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Thin Card-board Cover. Pp. 108. Price Re. 1-7-0 (1921).*

This is a spirited play in three acts. It recalls the days of Alexander's expedition and the bold stand made against him by Porus. The author has worked

on a sure historical back-ground, and woven imaginary incidents round about it, all to the credit of Indian ladies. Women like Kalavati, Sarla, and Ilakumari, have from times immemorial typified the courage, chastity and patriotism of Indian womanhood, and the parts they play in their several characters are indeed admirable. The play is written with a view to remind us of our glorious past and it fulfils its purpose entirely. The preface is very well written and furnishes a key to the understanding of the several events narrated in the play. An otherwise good diction is however spoiled by the use of such unclassical phrases as "Punjab Mail" to represent speed, "upper garret lost" to represent foolishness or brainlessness and so on. These expressions jar on the ear.

**NAVAGIT (नव गीत) :** By Gokaldas D. Raichura. Printed at the Natwar Printing Press, Bombay, Thin Paper Cover, Pp. 35. Price Rs. 0-6-0 (1922).

Mr. Raichura is a constant contributor of his short poems to Gujarati monthlies and dailies. They are all connected with recent national movements, and this book contains thirty such (selected) poems. The author says that some of them have become very popular and that little children even sing them.

**VIJAY DIWAS (विजय दिन) :** By Ratipatiram U. Pandya, B. A. Printed at the Suryaprakash Press, Ahmedabad and published by Jivanlal Amarshi Mehta, Ahmedabad. Cloth Cover. Pp. 96. Price Rs. 0-8-0 (1922).

This is not exactly a translation but a book written largely on the lines of James Allen's *Life Triumphant*. We wonder whether it would become popular with the masses, as both its style and subject seem to be over their heads.

**HASYA KATHA MANJARI (हास्य कथा मञ्जरी) :**

Part I: Published by Jivanlal Amarshi Mehta, Ahmedabad. Printed at the Ambika Vijaya Press, Ahmedabad. Cloth Cover. Pp. 217. Price Rs. 2-0-0 (1922).

Gujarati Language does not boast of a large volume of humorous literature. Whatever little it possesses, is due in a large measure to Parsi writers, and even in that community, the number of such writers can be counted on one's fingers. Amongst Hindus, there is no towering personality excepting R. B. Ramabhai, and in this collection therefore would be found humorous and witty pieces of various shades as his work is excluded. Whatever the quality, the publisher has certainly done well in collecting such scattered writings and bringing them out in book form, so that they might be found handy for those who feel inclined to extract delight even from an emaciated kind of humour.

**HRISHIKESHA CHANDRA (हृषीकेश चन्द्र) :** By Ramprasad Kashiprasad Desai. Published by Jivanlal Amarshi Mehta, Ahmedabad. Printed at the Union Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Cloth bound. Pp. 334. Price Rs. 3-0-0 (1922).

This is the first part of a novel in which the author has tried to present the picture of a Gujarati Hindu's domestic, social and religious life as lived to-day. It is not a simple life, but full of several complex problems, and we like its language and the way in which he has described those problems and the many phases of our life, which is still greatly under the influence of western thoughts and ideas. It has got one or two bright chapters.

K. M. J.

## TAGORE'S MESSAGE TO THE WORLD

(As proclaimed in his latest book "Creative Unity.")

By JAMES H. COUSINS.

**I**N his latest book, "Creative Unity" (Macmillan, New York), Dr. Rabindranath Tagore throws a bridge across the gulf that Western criticism has set between the function of thought and the function of expression, between philosophy and literature. He has given to the world a volume which, by virtue of its transcendent qualities of utterance, takes rank among the masterpieces of world-literature; a volume which, at the same time, sets the profoundest thought close to the world's vast problem of disease and agony to-day, and out of an unflinching but compassionate diagnosis, prescribes for temporal ills the heroic but only

availing remedies of the pharmacopia of eternal Truth. He has thus rendered a signal and far-reaching service to both literature and philosophy by giving his unique gifts of brilliance and astonishment of idea, of splendour and vividness, of figure and phraseology, to the expression of an urgent, moving and world-embracing purpose; and by releasing philosophy from the bare prison of textualism and scholastic history, and setting it to the testing of the activities of life with the warning, pleading, counselling trumpet of high literature at its lips. He has made it impossible for any who have ears to hear the resonant and shining message.

of this book to acquiesce any longer in the indolent and uncritical acceptance of literature as the polite mental libertinism of humanity, and philosophy as its medicine and penance.

Before a book such as this, criticism of the negative order lays aside its microscope and scalpel—or expends itself in a feeble reference to the merely external fact that the essays included in "Creative Unity" were written under a variety of circumstances and without immediate organic relationship to a single central theme. What is vital to the world is not the question of the mechanism of these essays or their connection with former presentations of their substance in their author's books on Personality and Nationalism, but the fact that they present adequately and maturely their writer's plea for the establishment in human relationships of a unity which, by participating in the Divine function of Creation, attain's peace and joy: a 'creative unity' in contradistinction to the present world-wide religious, racial, and social disunity which, because it is essentially uncreative, and merely productive and destructive, is vowed to spiritual abasement, intellectual poverty, and physical misery.

Such is, in brief, the message of "Creative Unity" and of Tagore to the world. To realise its full significance, it is necessary to understand the implications which the author puts on the words 'creative' and 'unity' and on the words 'nationalism' and 'internationalism' which, to Tagore, stand for the organised expression in human society of the opposed forces of destruction and creation.

There is a rough and ready idea in the popular mind of the West that 'creation' means the making of something out of nothing. The subtler mind of the East postulates a Creative Power, and a Substance which, in being capable of response to the Creative Power, has within itself the principle of creation. All activity of a creative kind is seen as the making (Sanskrit, *kri*, to make) of new combinations within limited are as of the (to us) unlimited sphere of possible variation in life, substance, and form. Creation, therefore, in this sense, is not simple reproduction or multiplicity, but the setting up of a process which draws around a special centre of energy certain related expressions in substance and quality, and by 'making' some new object of art, thrills the maker and the beholder with joy in the disclosure through the finite of the wonder and beauty of the Infinite. Artistic creation is possible only through acts of unification in materials and qualities; social creation (instead of the vast antagonistic proliferations of to-day) is possible only through acts of unification in the thoughts and feelings. He aims and movements of human beings. Says Rabindranath,

"We feel that this world is a creation" (in the sense that has just been set forth); "that in its centre there is a living idea which reveals itself in an eternal symphony

played on innumerable instruments all keeping perfect time. We know that this great world-verse, that runs from sky to sky, is not made for the mere enumeration of facts: it has its direct revelation in our delight. That delight gives us the key to the truth of existence: it is personality acting upon personalities through incessant manifestations."

When a great seer and sayer points his finger towards "the truth of existence," it behoves those who have set out with open eyes on the Great Exploration for that very Truth, to pay close heed to all that is involved in the crucial statement that "the truth of existence" is "personality acting on personalities..." This full-minded attention is all the more necessary here because it happens that, through the exigencies of a language in which the mental and material solidity of the Greek genius is predominant, the only word personality that Tagore could find for the full expression of that ultimate Being, or Life, or Consciousness, within which 'our little systems' and the incalculable universes revolve, is commonly regarded as meaning just the reverse. And this work-a-day reading of the term has come down through two thousand years of verbal custom from the days of the theatre of Greece and Rome, when (as in Japan today) the actor hid himself behind a *persona*, or mask, the thing through which he spoke (Latin *per* through, *sono* to speak). In the vocabulary of "Creative Unity" the derivation of 'personality' is taken further back, from the thing spoken through, to the living speaker: and this deepening of meaning refers not only to the personalities that are as cells in the body of the Great Personality, but also to the Great Personality itself. Within the totality of existence, and within its details, there is consciousness, feeling, activity. No one of these terms gives full expression to the Entity in whom these functions are co-ordinated and given unity of life. The word 'personality' is taken as coming (despite its limitations) nearest to adequacy of meaning.

In the exercise of consciousness, feeling and activity, there arises a sense of satisfaction beyond the immediate pleasure of thought, of sensation, or of movement. This deeper pleasure is the *ananda* (bliss) of Eastern thought that is the response between one person and another and between the nominally separated personalities and the Personality of the whole. "The Spirit himself beareth witness with one spirit," as the Christian scripture has it; "and that immediacy of intercommunication arises out of the simple inescapable fact that there is no getting beyond that totality; that there is nothing but that Being, that Life, that Divine Personality." This, according to Tagore, is 'the truth of existence.' It is also the justification of all those efforts to express in terms of race and place some apprehension of the Divine Personality which have been called anthropomorphism and idolatry.



It is obvious that a mind to which this 'truth of existence' (the Divine Personality acting on human personalities) is not merely a literary idea but the very breath of its nostrils, cannot but look with disapproval on any human activity whose tendency is towards exclusiveness or the building of barriers against the flow of the Universal Life. There is within each human being the impulse to creative unity. Says Rabindranath,

"It is the object of this Oneness within us, to realise its infinity by perfect union of love with others. All obstacles to this union create misery, giving rise to the baser passions that are expressions of finitude, and of that separateness which is negative and therefore *maye*."

Now the word 'love' used in the foregoing paragraph is not a mere evaporation from the surface of a fluid sentimentality. It is the poet's expression of the truth that in the Universal Life there is a principle of cohesion through which it maintains its identity and continues its activity. Separate any branch absolutely from the tree of life, and it will die—but the assumption of such separation is an impossibility; were it possible the universe would collapse. Take away the cohesive principle ('love') from the Universal Being, and it would disintegrate into nothingness—but the notion is absurd, for Life and Love are fundamental: you cannot get around them, or behind them, or through them, or beyond them. For which reason Rabindranath says,

"In love we find a joy which is ultimate because it is the ultimate truth."

Love, too, was the ultimate truth to the great seer-poet, Shelley. It was love that released the chained Prometheus, and with him set free the suppressed powers of nature and humanity. It is characteristic of the different approach of West and East to 'ultimate truth': that to Shelley love was the key of liberation, while to Tagore it is the cord of binding. Yet both are, in the end, the same. The freedom that Shelley dreamed of was freedom for love to find its full expression and voluntarily to seek its affinities; the binding that Tagore affirms is the voluntary merging of the self of illuminated human beings with others in love. The one dreamed of love attainable; the other affirms love present and invincible if put into action. The Western poet, from the side of humanity capable of Divinity, says, 'We must be free in order to love.' The Eastern poet, from the side of the Divinity in humanity, says, 'We must love, in order to be free.' It is characteristic, also, of the contrasted but complementary points of view of West and East, that, while both poets regard human unity as the essential condition of true creation in the arts and sciences (Shelley in the great chant of the Earth at the end of 'Prometheus Unbound,' Tagore in 'Creative Unity') the Western poet sees the attainment of world-comradship as an event

beyond the victory of the chained Titan over the tyrant Jove; and the Eastern poet affirms the essential unity of humanity as existence here and now, and its recognition as the measure and test of all movements that take to themselves the sacred name of Freedom.

We have said 'the measure and test'—not the denial. It is just here that the contact of the message of Rabindranath Tagore with the national movements of the present day has been subject to misinterpretation. Years ago, when the writer of this article was doing his share of work on the literary side of the national revival in Ireland, the word 'international' was as a red rag to a bull; it drew upon it a fierce opposition with lowered horns and dilated nostrils. There are those in India to-day who, in their zeal for their country's welfare, set themselves against the world-wide appeal of Tagore. To his 'internationalism' they oppose their 'nationalism', and do not realise (as the writer failed to realise years ago) that they are setting the part against the whole; asserting the fallacy that the interests of a constellation are opposed to the interests of any of the stars which compose it, lifting a rebellious hand to do hurt to the body of which it is a member.

The real enemy of nationalism is itself, in its imposition of narrowness and exclusiveness on its own aims and methods: for these cut it off from the flux of the Divine Life, turn creative energy into destructive fever, and set up antagonisms which breed antagonisms. The enemy of Indian nationalism is not internationalism, but an alien nationalism. The "plantations" of English settlers in Ireland and the coming of the "John Company" to India were not international movements but predatory excursions from the lair of nationalism with intent to bring back to the lair as much and as good prey as might be snared or pounced upon.

Against the whole spirit and operation of burglarious nationalism Rabindranath sets his condemnation and prophecy in speech that is kindred to the lightning which (as Paul Richard puts it in *The Scourge of Christ*), if it does not illuminate, slays. "The wriggling tentacles of a cold-blooded utilitarianism," says Rabindranath, "with which the West has grasped all the easily yielding and succulent portions of the East, are causing pain and indignation throughout the Eastern countries"—and causing it nowhere more strongly than in the heart of the great patriot who hung away title in rebuke of sin against the spirit of internationalism in the barbarities inflicted by the agents of one nation on another. One feels the flame of noble scorn in his condemnation of foreign rule that holds itself aloof from the people it rules. He says,

"You must know that red tape can never be a common human bond; that official sealing-wax can not provide means of human attachment; that it is a painful ordeal for human beings to have to receive favours

from animated pigeon-holes, and condescensions from printed circulars that give notice, but never speak."

But this condemnation strikes no more strongly at a foreign bureaucracy than at an Indian bureaucracy if it assumes the method of the machine. Organisation, Tagore admits, is necessary. It is when the spirit of the machine assumes ascendancy that it becomes not only obnoxious to the elastic and expansive spirit of humanity, but dangerous to the machine itself: for "the repressed personality of man generates an inflammable moral gas deadly in its explosive force."

Here we are at the central point of Tagore's message to the world in its application to the world-struggle now going on: the point which, if deeply pondered, would banish from criticism of his utterances the false antithesis of nationalism and internationalism. The real struggle at every stage of human history, whether between or within nations, has been, he tells us, "between the living spirit of the people and the methods of nation-organising"; between the expanding soul of humanity (Indian or English) and mechanical limitations that refuse to adapt themselves to that expansion. We must take care, however, not to look upon the protagonists of this struggle as external enemies, one of whom must achieve victory by the annihilation of the other. The spirit of expansion and the spirit of organisation are not foes, but partners in one operation, and each achieves victory by making just sufficient concession to the other to permit the expression of the Divine Personality. There must be growth, says Rabindranath, but "growth is not that enlargement which is merely adding to the dimensions of incompleteness", it is "the movement of a whole to a yet fuller wholeness," which implies flexible organisation at every stage of the process; and there must be the shaping service of a limitation that is yet free from rigidity, "some spiritual design of life" which curbs the activities of the peoples of the earth, and transforms the peoples into an 'organic whole.' The symbol for 'nation-organising' should not be red-tape, which must be cut or loosed, but an elastic band capable of infinite expansion.

In this co-operative struggle the human spirit has the force of evolution with it, driving it forward by necessity, calling it onward by idealism, towards the freedom of voluntary association. When its demands and methods are in line with the spirit of harmony, it succeeds but if its demands and methods are set towards power, it suffers frustration until it learns the better way. Harmony is the condition in which man's true nature, which is spiritual, finds adequate and appropriate expression, for harmony is the medium whereby personality communicates fully and joyfully with personality and ends the high way and communication with the Divine Personality—which is "the truth of existence." But power, personal or national,

can only be generated through restriction and suppression which, carried beyond a certain point, brings about its own destruction. The living air is universal, harmonious, beneficent; but capture a portion of it in a receptacle and subject it to pressure, and you produce an elastic, expulsive force which will submit to the pressure just to a point of balance between its own resistance and the resisting power of the agent of pressure. If and when explosion comes, it is not the air that is shattered, but the things that compress it. The yielding air, that the bird of gentle wing hardly ruffles in its passage through it, becomes the ruin of that which presses it beyond endurance.

There is safety only in harmony. The political leaders of the great nations see this truth, but only give it half allegiance. Today they are seeking safety in a *harmony* artificially produced by a balance of power. They might as well try to simulate the harmony of the world-encircling ocean by making an alliance of icebergs. They will only sink with their own weight, collide with their own mass-attraction. If they want real harmony they must melt—melt out of "the exclusive advantages which they have unjustly acquired" through the exercise of frigid power. Instead of this, "they are concentrating their forces for mutual security;" and in this concentration Tagore sees trouble, for the strong think only of the strong, and ignore the weak, wherein, he says, lies the peril of their losing the harmony at which they aim, and collapsing in a welter of still greater destruction than that from which they are blindly trying to extricate themselves. Tagore throws his conviction on this matter into a figure of speech which is supremely Indian, intensely vivid, and conclusive.

"The weak are as great a danger for the strong as quicksands for an elephant. They do not assist progress because they do not resist; they only drag down."

The League of European Elephants is on the edge of the Asian Quicksand—"Yet in the psychology of the strong" no account is taken of "the terribleness of the weak." The 'powers' on both sides of the Pacific have made a pact safeguarding them from one another: but Japan has under her feet the dangerous weakness of Korea.

This is the perilous position in which humanity stands to-day. It is summed up in a passage in "Creative Unity" which is not only literature at its highest (feeling and thinking with intensity), but is an admonition carried to the height of prophecy that cries on behalf of the repressed of all lands and ages, the doom, sooner or later, of the one enemy of the human spirit, the spirit of greed which incarnates in the rapacious nations:

"Politicians calculate upon the number of mailed hands that are kept on the sword-hilts; they do not possess the third eye to see the great invisible hand

that clasps in silence the hand of the helpless and waits its time. The strong form their league by a combination of powers, driving the weak to form their own league alone with their God. I know I am crying in the wilderness when I raise the voice of warning; and while the West is busy with its organisation of a machine-made peace, it will continue to nourish by its iniquities the underground forces of earthquake in the Eastern continent. The West seems unconscious that Science, by providing it with more and more power, is tempting it to suicide and encouraging it to accept the challenge of the disarmed; it does not know that the challenge comes from a higher source."

What is the way of escape from the universal catastrophe that is inherent in these circumstances? It has moved by implication parallel with the foregoing considerations. The solid clear-edged path of constructive idealism is under every step of the poet's criticism—though with the sensitiveness of the artist, he refrains from didactic summarisation of the obvious. He says,

"I have often been blamed for merely giving warning, and offering no alternative. When we suffer as a result of a particular system, we believe that some other system would bring us better luck. We are apt to forget that all systems produce evil sooner or later, when the psychology which is at the root of them is wrong... And because we are trained to confound efficient system with moral goodness itself, every ruined system makes us more and more distrustful of moral law. Therefore I do not put my faith in any new institution, but in the individuals all over the world who think clearly, feel nobly and act rightly, thus becoming the channels of moral truth."

Tagore's message, therefore, as summed up in this book, is addressed neither to thought which stultifies itself in systems nor to feeling which circumscribes and artificially intensifies itself in exclusive movements, but to that share of the Divine Being which every man and woman possesses in his and her personality. But the ends of personality are not fulfilled in appropriation and accumulation: these frustrate the purpose of life, the interplay of Personality on personalities.

"For us the highest purpose of this world is not merely living in it, knowing it and making use of it, but realising our own selves in it through expansion of sympathy; not alienating ourselves from it and dominating it but comprehending and uniting it with ourselves in perfect union."

Two means at hand to this end are education and art; in the first but in a different form and spirit from that obtainable in India today can be found a meeting ground between persons and groups of persons "where there can be no question of conflicting interests," but only a common pursuit of truth and a common sharing of the world's heritage of culture; in the second is the means of attainment of expression, which is fulfilment.

"In everyday life our personality moves in a narrow circle of immediate self-interest, and therefore our feelings and events, within that short range, become prominent subjects for ourselves. In their vehement self-assertion they ignore their unity with the All. But art gives our personality the disinterested freedom of the eternal, there to find it in its true perspective."

## AN EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMME FOR BENGAL

### I

**D**URING the last eight years, education in England has gone through, what may be called without exaggeration, a new birth. The revolution in English social life caused by the war and those still mightier disturbing factors, the economic collapse and financial cataclysm of after-war Europe, have not been able to shake the broad foundations of the new educational system of England, because it has been organised on an enduring basis, according to a carefully thought out, consistent and methodically pursued plan, which can defy the changes of time and personality. England owes

this marvellous achievement to the genius of her Minister of Education, the Right Hon'ble Mr. H. A. L. Fisher, supported by the unselfish and energetic educated public opinion of the country.

In India, the value and permanence of our advance in all departments of life, —political, economic, social and military, —depend entirely on the reorganisation of our children's education on a modern and progressive basis, casting off the cherished shams and shibboleths of old, the dead weight of convention and custom, which have ruled us so long. Our new educational system must 'come to grips' with the facts of life; it cannot any

longer afford to doze philosophically in the dreamland of Laputa. Its strength, nay, its very life, will depend on its whole-hearted recognition of reality and merciless rejection of all sham and show, 'window dressing' and newspaper advertisement. In proportion as it is real and sound, it will stimulate the nation's energies and succeed in adapting itself to changes in circumstance; it will easily find the means of its support in the national resources (in men and money) improved by it; it will, by its normal daily operation, work off the inertia of time and the invisible deadening effect of custom. The test of our educational system will be the character of our educated countrymen and the altered life and resources of our country, —not the tons of printed parchments distributed to droves of youngmen fantastically dressed in mediaeval monkish costume.

## II

For achieving this result, two things are necessary: (a) We should adopt a *clearly thought out plan* of educational reform and reorganisation, *considered as a whole*, with correlated parts which change and advance in constant reference to one another. (b) A wise and public spirited Minister of Education to carry the plan through the Legislature and give effect to it through the academic Executive. Remember that the other provinces of India are not standing still in this matter. Wake up, Bengal! You require a Fisher; but unless your public opinion is trained and organised to support him, even a Fisher will be powerless; he will be a voice crying in the wilderness, a prophet breaking his head against a stone wall.

The recent educational advance in England has set to itself the following aims:—

(i) Strengthening the foundation by making *primary* education really efficient. The means adopted are improvement of the quality of the teachers by increasing their *pay* and making it regular (on a graded scale) and free from uncertainty.\*

\* The teachers' contributory pension (improvement) scheme is now before Parliament.

(ii) Extending the range of national education by making *secondary* education almost universal. To this end, the age of compulsory attendance at schools has been raised so as to include "young persons" between 12 and 16; and the number of secondary schools and secondary school-teachers will be steadily increased in order to supply the need created by this policy of expansion. Only a greatly enlarged grant from the State and local bodies can make this expansion possible. The economic distress of the country after the war is retarding the full enforcement of this scheme.

(iii) Securing greater *efficiency in teaching* by means of conferences, commissions and reports on the best methods of teaching specific branches like English, modern languages, the classics, Science, etc. 'The Parrot's Training' is at a discount *there*.

(iv) Greater co-operation and *division of labour among the Universities*, so as to economise expenditure and prevent the over-lapping of effort.

(v) Where practicable, the *reform of University constitutions*, so as to give the public an effective interest in the University and a voice in shaping its policy and aims and choosing its executive,—by means of a Court elected on a wide popular and diversified basis, while leaving purely academic questions to be dealt with by a body of academic experts. No University can now afford to remain a narrow oligarchy,—still less an autocracy.

## III

The most crying need of Bengal today is the improvement of Secondary education. It is the key-stone of our educational arch, and the entire system, Primary and University, depends upon it. If our secondary schools are made really efficient, they will, on the one hand, send forth capable teachers to our primary schools and reliable workmen into various walks of life (with the exception of the few learned professions), and, on the other hand, they will turn out (a select body of) students really able to profit by University teaching and prevent the present economic waste of our Colleges doing

what is really school work during the first two years of their course.

Our growing educational expenditure will be justified only if our sons become better fitted for the struggle of life in consequence of it, and not if they repeat the parrot's training imbibed from the black-board of a silent lecturer or the type-written "lecture-notes" of a teacher who did *not* teach that branch. Merely stamping them with two letters of the alphabet by some rapidly-operating multiple-action machine, cannot increase their survival value in the modern world, however much the machine-owner may blow his own trumpet.

It is admitted on all hands that our high schools at present turn out students whose education is too literary and too narrow to enable them to join any business, technical or professional school without further *preliminary* teaching,—which evil the school-leaving test is elsewhere designed to counteract; at the same time even this "literary" education is not sufficiently sound and high to enable them to pursue immediately the literary education imparted by the Colleges. Business employers, technical teachers and College lecturers alike have been complaining of the unsatisfactory quality and daily *decreasing* (average) intellectual equipment of our Matriculates. Therefore the Matriculation teaching and examination should be taken out of the hands of the University and placed under the control and guidance of a Secondary Board composed mainly of business men, actual teachers and the educated public (representing society and the guardians), with the necessary leaven of higher educational experts.

#### IV

They should first improve the pay and qualifications of the H. E. School teachers and the equipment of the schools;—not buildings at present; do not lock up too much money in brick and mortar. Then the *standard* of the Matriculation can be easily, almost automatically, raised to what it was till about 25 years ago, (remedying, however, the narrowness of

range and inelasticity which marked it in those early times). The deplorable lowering of the standard in order to bring more students to the higher University examinations which in recent years, has made the Calcutta Matriculation the laughing stock of the rest of India and fill the adjoining Universities of Dacca and Patna with bewilderment and Bengal teachers and employers with despair, should be firmly checked. When a really sound and fairly high *general* education is at last secured by the reformed Matriculation, it will be the gateway to professional and technical institutions, to many of the services and to business employment. Our young men, thus educated, will be able to earn their bread after only two years of special training and derive the fullest benefit from such training. To take one example only; the low quality and poor success of Bengali short-hand reporters (with a few honourable exceptions) is rightly ascribed by their examiners and employers to the very defective general education and extremely poor knowledge of English with which they now leave our High Schools. A few enterprising spirits among them, no doubt, teach themselves privately while at work, and thus improve their chances in life, in spite of our schools. Madras reporters, on the other hand, are man for man better hands by reason of their superior general knowledge and keenness at work. Here, as in all other departments, success in the modern world depends on efficiency and real ability and not on University degrees, grace marks and "moderated" results. It is the interest of every employer, every guardian and even every student, in Bengal that the final examination of our school course should be taken out of the hands of a cumbrous overgrown inefficient machine chained to Calcutta, whose main occupation and chief interest lie in something else, (*viz*, "higher" studies), to whom the Matriculation is only a money-bringing instrument, and which has succeeded in causing the collapse of our entire educational system by rendering the Calcutta Matriculation of recent years ridiculous.

Our secondary schools and school-masters having been improved, the Secondary Board will then apply itself to making the School Final examination a test of sound general knowledge, a working mastery of English, and character. This examination should not be, like the present Matriculation, a predominantly literary test, with a curriculum formidable on paper (which renders cram inevitable), while the actual examination is a farce. A real working knowledge of modern English prose—and not philology nor rhetoric nor the acrobatics of grammarians, which disfigure Matriculation papers,—should be the first thing aimed at. This can be easily secured if the other subjects are taught through the vernacular, with the gain of discounting unintelligent memory work and finding a place for science and “modern knowledge”. School teachers and the general public co-operating on this Board will keep the course and standard constantly in touch with modern requirements and save them from becoming a dead routine.

#### V

When this first requisite of reform from the bottom upwards has been secured, the next step in advance will be taken by following the recommendations of the Haldane Commission and raising certain select well-equipped schools to a standard two years' higher than that of the present Matriculation class, without however calling them Intermediate colleges and thereby bringing on them the indescribable confusion (already experienced at Patna) of control by two diverse authorities (the University and the Board) with their two diverse ideals and standards. These will be perfected schools, doing (with greater efficiency and less noise, show and cost) the work of our Intermediate college classes. No difficulty will be found by their passed students in joining medical, engineering or commercial colleges. Their literary qualification will be no less, and their mental breadth and alertness, habits and physical training distinctly better than those of the present I.A.'s and I.Sc.'s.

This improvement will remove one of the saddest sights of Bengal,—young men in thousands going up blindly, mechanically, from school to college, receiving the same ‘general’ (or literary) education till at the end of their college career they run against a blind wall and find that they have learnt to be nothing except school-masters and clerks,—and not even ‘trained’ school-masters and ‘stenographer’ clerks, who are more highly paid than the general run of these two classes. The deplorable spectacle of passed Matrics in their thousands fighting for admission to our overcrowded colleges (giving the same ‘general’ education as the schools) and of inefficient ill-equipped colleges springing up (or older colleges opening branches of a similarly poor quality) to catch these young men, will, it is hoped, be a thing of the past.

Our colleges will benefit in two ways from the proposed reform: (a) All and sundry will not enter the colleges after the Matric, but only those who have the means and capacity to pursue a University course; hence there will be no inefficients to retard the progress of the whole class and drag down the level of examinations. (b) The colleges will get students who can really follow the lectures of the professors in the class and can supplement these lectures by guided private study in the library,—the two things essential in a true college student. The under-graduate course can then be reduced to three years (from the four of the present arrangement), leaving to those who elect it, two years more for postgraduate work. With keener and better educated freshmen to start with, our colleges will be able to discard their present lower two years of school work, keep a smaller but more highly qualified staff, and (with smaller numbers to handle) put their resources to the best use by following a scheme of co-operation, each college specialising in a particular subject or group of allied subjects, instead of diffusing its energies over all of them as now. There is no reason why the five large private colleges in Calcutta should be as like each other as eggs, or why there

should be two colleges doing exactly the same kind of work so close together as, say, Krishnagar and Berhampur.

#### VI

The basis of our educational system having been thus made sound and suited to modern requirements, and a wide door opened from the reformed schools to the professions (except the very learned), the next step will be the reform of the constitution of our University. The evil of the present regime is felt throughout the country and public opinion has been clearly pronounced against its continuance. All that is now required is to frame a definite scheme of reconstruction adapted to our needs and the altered conditions, political and economic, of the after-war world. It will be the business of the Legislature to prepare such a scheme and of the true leaders of the nation to push it through. I can here suggest only a few lines of advance :—

The electorate for the Court (old 'Senate') should be as wide as the graduate community, so that it may truly reflect national feeling and ensure national control over the policy and activity of the University and the selection of its executive Council (old 'Syndicate'). It should be guarded against the risk of falling into the degraded and demoralising state of a narrow oligarchy, dividing the "spoil" among its members or clientele or registering the edicts of one man. *Public* opinion should be made to prevail in its deliberations.

As a means to this end the franchise of the Court should be thrown open to all graduates on a nominal registration fee of one Rupee (and not the present income-tax of Rs. 10) a year, with special electorates for college teachers, graduate school teachers, certain learned bodies and commercial interests. A minimum number of Mohammedan members should, at the present stage of our political growth, be secured by law, and whenever this number is not reached through the general constituencies, the special Muslim electorate would come into operation to fill up the deficiency.

Certain precautions should be provided for specifically in the Act. Incidents of recent years which have been the talk of society in Bengal and even in other provinces, show that it is not safe to leave purity of administration to chance. Without going into the details of this unsavoury subject, a matter of public notoriety already, we may demand—

(a) Secrecy of voting in the elections to Court, Council and Boards,—no person interested personally or through any relative being given access to the voting papers. Certain rules for preventing bribery and influence at elections already adopted by the Madras and Dacca Universities.

(b) The reign of law, as opposed to personal consideration, in the distribution of academic titles, rewards and honours. One rule for all men and for all years, operating of itself and not requiring to be set going by an individual petition.

(c) Anonymity of the candidates for examinations, and a wide selection of external examiners to prevent any "domestic arrangement".

(d) The laying down of clear *general* principles binding the examiners as opposed to the "simple ignoring" of a paper by the unreasoning show of hands, 14 against 2. Wherever you may draw the boundary line between a First class and a Second, or a Pass and a "Fail", you are sure to have some candidate immediately below the line. The law should take away from the examiners the temptation—and take away the examiners from the pressure—to boost up that somebody on the ground that he is just short by 4 or 5 per cent, either without re-examining his papers or examining them with a biased mind and on a lower standard than in the case of the other candidates. If you boost up, have an open general rule for all years and all such cases.

(e) Publicity of transactions and the recording of reasons for every breach of law or morality, instead of the bare final result (often in cryptic language). Keep the original mark-sheets.

(f) Clear division of responsibility.

The University in its operation should be an organism, each limb having life and action of its own, and not a mechanism, moved by the power transmitted from one central dynamo and dead when that centre stops working.

## VII

Reform will be hopeless unless the University chief of the future and his responsible associates have a true orientation of aims, unless they look forward to the future of the country and not to the immediate present, unless they lay to heart the old old theological maxim, "Cupidity is the root of all evils," and fight against tempting schemes for bringing grist to the University mill and securing press applause by means of 'petty shifts and temporary expedients.'

Such a reform, if it can be safeguarded against perversion to personal (or family) ends, oligarchical "law"-lessness and "special cases" will result in introducing a new element of purity, efficiency and genuine light into our national life in its highest aspects. It will teach our teachers to be worthy of their task of national uplift and guidance of national thought, instead of raking in the muck for a few additional examinerships and extra pay for the supposed teaching of additional subjects. It will enable our sons to stand in the open competition of the world. The reign of impersonal law and the clear division of responsibility in the conduct of University business will assure its future students that they will reap rewards in strict proportion to their honest labour, without owing anything to chance or favouritism, without losing anything through the intervention of the private coach or the near relative. Career (in the University) will be open to talent without requiring the arts of the courtier and the literary puff. The same rule will apply to all. All disheartening distinctions will be things of the past. Nobody will care to ask whose son is he? or who is

the author of this (unexamined) competitive thesis?

Students will flock to University lectures in the full assurance that they can have there what cannot be had elsewhere, —not "type-written copies of (undelivered) lecture-notes supplied out of the fee-fund," not the rapid improvisations of any tired Alipui *mokhtar*\* or Sealdah *sokhtar* labelled as "higher study" lectures, nor the abstracts of text-books and plots of modern novels written on the black-board by a "lecturer" who is physically incapable of 'lecturing',—but the life's work of a staff devoted to their respective sciences, who had garnered knowledge single-mindedly, tirelessly in the past and are still garnering it,—who scorn riches gained by the arts of the courtier or the hack,—a staff smaller certainly than now, but less bizarre and more efficient, more averse to defend themselves by claiming analogy with Oscar Wilde, more keenly bent on developing *character* in their pupils by their own example and precept, and more constant to the University because assured of security of tenure, open treatment and honourable conditions of work. The University chief, by wise economic reform, will prove that there is no real cause for despairing of the adequacy of the University's existing resources to all its legitimate reasonable ends, and that the present policy of alternately whining in the streets and snarling at the custodian of the public purse is as unnecessary as the starving of its paid servants and the demand of "patriotic (money) sacrifices" from them. He will not delight in the title of *Nabob-maker* because he will know that the Nabobs of the post-graduate department will end by making him 'The Emperor of the Saharas.'

JADUNATH SARKAR.

\* In India certain members of the indigenous *avocassaire* class are permitted to act as solicitors, when they are called (*am*) *mokhtars*.



## SPONTANEOUSNESS

(A study of the art of Sunayani Devi.)

THE plant does not know when it blooms. Nor do birds sing deliberately. They are active with their whole and inmost being and need no reflective intellect. Sunayani Devi paints her pictures in the same way. She was never taught how to draw, and so her untouched spontaneousness directly blooms in colours and sings in lines.

Her pictures have no design, for they have grown. Unbroken and unswerving is the flow of lines, for no hesitation deflects them from the course they take as they well forth out of her very nature; they surge in grave tranquillity and clasp groups and figures; they are forceful and languid, self-asserting and full of surrender; their curvature is the same which the passing breeze gives to the heavy ears of corn; all the warmth and light which surrounds ripe fields shines forth from these lines.

Vigorous fatigue, the relaxation of a fully grown, fully ripened life, clings—dark red, dark green—round girlish faces. Their sarces are not made of cloth, but of some tender mood,—so expressive are they. They protect their wearers with a wide and generous flow. They are no longer garments, but cradles which rock with motherly solicitude the pensive, mysterious being of young girls who have learnt the secret before it is told. Therefore their eyes do not look about; they know where they are; they are messengers from the world within, the world veiled by the sweep of red and green sarces. It is through these eyes, long and steady, yet alert like wagtails, that their thoughts and feelings are sent out and enliven the picture.

In this way the paintings gain a two-fold rhythm: that calm and sonorous swing which pervades them as the wind



THE VILLAGE MAID.

By Sreenati Sunayani Devi.

pervades the fields, that grave flow which organises the picture and gives it stability: and the other movement which counteracts it,—alert, sharp and light it flashes through the eyes and hurries over the broad masses of colour, itself colourless, thin, nothing but pure movement. That is how eyes and mouths and hands become one expressive gesture, which flits across the composed flow of the composition, quick like the flight of birds.

Thus the fleeting expression of the moment and the everlasting state of soul are visualised in a poise of perfect equilibrium. This simultaneous manifestation of life's duality, whose melody is at the same time fugitive and eternal, is



BAUL OR THE WANDERING MINSTREL.

By Sreemati Sunayani Devi.

the vital essence of Sunayani Devi's art. It is a direct growth out of the Indian Spirit, which takes up without effort the unbroken tradition of Ajanta. That Moghul painting attempted to make Indian art smaller (in size, vigour and experience) is forgiven and forgotten. Unconscious, yet sure, the pure Indian curve unfolds its calm and elegiac melody.

Probably no man of the present age could create so spontaneously and yet with roots fastened so deep in a tradition of about 2000 years. It needs all the instinct of a woman, the sensitiveness of her hand, her innate sense of security that the chain of life, of which she feels herself to be a link, is never broken. Do we not see in Indian *ālpana*-drawings how the edgeless, flowing movement of round lines,—the life movement of the art of

India,—is reborn again and again in its unknown simple village girls of our own day?

Sunayani Devi belongs to a family of artists. Some of her brothers painted long ago the caves of Ajanta, and others worked later on in Italy, as for instance, Margaritone d' Arezzo and Guido da Siena, by whom the spirit of St. Francis found visualisation. None of this fraternity, however, imitated any of the others, nor could they have been mutually influenced in any other way, for none of them even knew of the others' existence. But such is the law of creation that all human inner experience, which is moving in its own particular direction, cannot but find expression, whatever be the time or place, in similar forms (cf., the almost verbal identity of the recorded experiences of mystics of all ages and countries). The same unhesitating sureness, which guides the sweep of her brush, makes Sunayani Devi select the colours



THE VOTRESS.

By Sreemati Sunayani Devi.



ARDHA-NARISWARA.

By Sreemati Sunayani Devi.

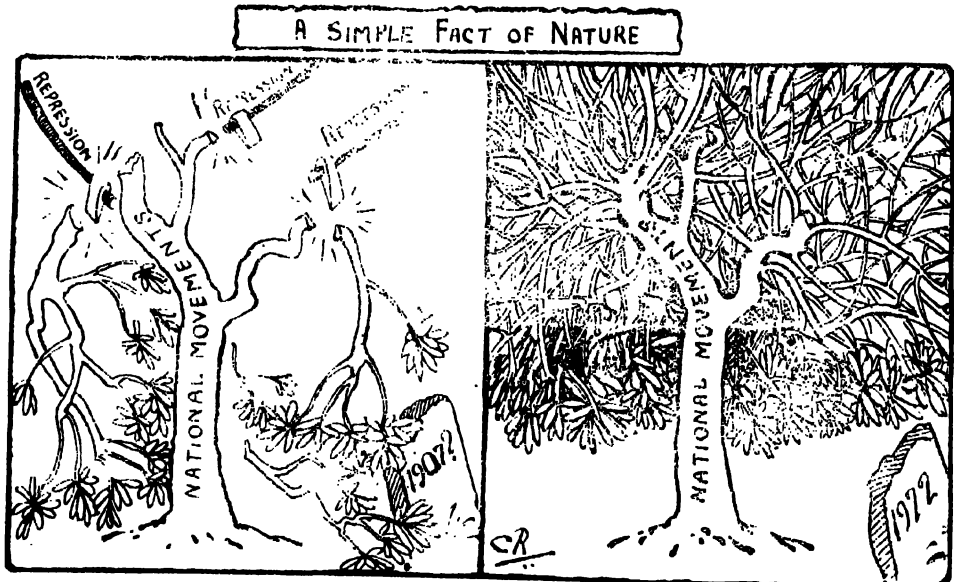
red and green. Solemn in its monotony is her unvaried colour-scheme. Gold and black, economically distributed, give relief and depth, while the red and green

are displayed on one level with soft greys and browns of complexion, walls and curtains.

The intensity of such an art, purely instinctive because it follows an inborn tradition, necessarily is confined to itself. No learning, no outside influences whatsoever, can develop it. These, on the contrary, are bound to distract it from its root, to dissolve and to destroy it. There is another danger, which sometimes menaces Sunayani Devi and that is the interest she takes in life and in stories. The creative source may get choked up with things seen and imagined if descriptive illustration claims the tools by which creation used to manifest itself. The alertness of eyes and movements then becomes predominant, and from the busy play of feeling and action the calmness of her inspiration has to withdraw.

Sunayani Devi has all the wealth of the artist within her own self. She need do nothing else but listen to the secret song of the guardian of her treasure, in order to create master-works.

STELLA KRAMRINCH.



By the courtesy of the artist Mr. Charuchandra Roy, B.Sc.

## HARRY THUKU AND THE 'NATIVE RISING' IN EAST AFRICA

## I

IN a recent number of the *Modern Review* I gave my own impression of Harry Thuku, whose sudden deportation, without any trial or warning, excited the Africans in Kenya to such an extent, that they marched forward in large numbers into Nairobi with a threatening attitude, and after refusing to disperse were shot at by the police and military with many casualties. There has come to me by the *African Mail* to-day (June 21st) a full account of what occurred from those whose word may be trusted, together with very important evidence about Harry Thuku. To recall what I had previously recorded,—Harry Thuku was a young African Christian, who had taken up the cause of his fellow countrymen. The things that he had specially brought forward, in a perfectly constitutional manner, by means of petitions and resolutions passed at public meetings, were as follows:—

(1) The terrible abuse of flogging practised by settlers. The weapon used was the *kiboko*, or rhinoceros-hide lash. The use of this, to an almost unlimited extent, had again and again, I was told, nearly brought about a native rising on a small scale. The best settlers were altogether against it, but they could not restrain the worst.

(2) The continual attempt, countenanced by the European Convention of Associations, to force a pliant government to encroach still further in the 'reserves' which are the only soil left to the original inhabitants of the country; for the Africans are not allowed to own, or buy, agricultural land in the Highlands, outside these 'reserves'.

(3) To claim that a fair proportion of the revenue collected, by means of the hut tax, from the Africans should be returned to them in grants for the

education of their children. I cannot remember the exact figure spent on education out of the seven to eight hundred thousand pounds, annually collected in taxes from the natives, but it was disgracefully low. There has been a very slight improvement lately.

(4) To prevent young girls and young women being enticed or forced out of the reserves for labour purposes. The immorality, which regularly followed such female labour recruitment, has been explained by Dr. Norman Leys, who was a medical officer in the British East Africa Protectorate in the days before it was made Kenya Colony. One of his sentences I remember, in which he speaks of the practices of the recruited men.—

"They are paid their wages by the month, and they marry by the month. The system fits the life."

## II

It must be remembered that these African natives are absolutely at the mercy of the ruling race. They have no representative of their own on the Council; no education to speak of; only about one in ten thousand can speak English; and there are very few English indeed who can speak the different native languages. The usual mode of intercourse is a smattering of *Sorahili*,—the coast language with Arabic roots. They have had all their lands taken away from them in the Highlands except certain reserved areas; and everything has been done to get them out of the reserves for cheap labour purposes. It is quite easy for settlers to combine and keep the prices of labour down, and therefore their wages on the farm are always disgracefully low. More than 600,000 of them were 'recruited,' I was told, in labour corps, during the war. We, in India, know what that word 'recruiting' meant, from our

experiences in the Punjab. The *Fellahin* of Egypt also could tell a story about it!

In South Africa, I had many long talks with a British Officer, who was pay-master of certain native labour corps, employed in German East Africa. He was a university man,—I think from Oxford,—a gentleman in every sense of the word. He told me that he was haunted day and night since the war by the sights he had seen,—the way the natives were treated, on the forced marches, in pursuit of the enemy. One figure in rupees sticks in my memory to this day. He said that, in the final settling up of accounts, *Six million rupees was never claimed at all*, and no one could tell anything about the men, who had earned it, or their dependents. It simply went back into the Treasury 'unclaimed'.

Those who read what I am now writing have to get the background of it all before they can understand Harry Thuku and his fate. He was one of the infinitesimally small number of East Africans who could speak English fluently and think in modern ways. He, and a very tiny group of like-minded persons, had formed an East African Association through which they hoped, with a pathetic faith and confidence (which we in India know so well), to get their people's grievances righted by petitions and to receive justice from the King. Their whole work, as I saw it being carried on in my own presence, was done by holding meetings and passing resolutions and sending in petitions. But this, from the first, appeared highly dangerous and offensive to the European settlers.

### III

Then followed attempt after attempt to get Harry Thuku punished, or checked or reprimanded, by the ruling chiefs belonging to his tribe. Here again the similarity to Indian conditions shows itself. For the tribal chiefs have been pampered and bribed and flattered by the ruling white race; they have become so utterly dependent on this ruling race for their position and credit, that a hint from the

rulers is enough for them to act upon at once. They dare not refuse.

But Harry Thuku appears to have been able to escape from the terrors of tribal discipline. He remained in Nairobi. There his intimate friends were members of the Indian Community, who sympathised with him in his efforts to win freedom for his people. He was allowed to keep his office close to the office of the Indian Association; and in every petition he wrote or resolution which he framed, he used to receive their help. I used to meet him there every day on my way to the office of the Indian Association.

It is an exceedingly common charge brought against the Indian community, that Indians have done nothing to help the African natives. In this instance of Harry Thuku we find real kindness shown by the Indian community to the one or two educated African natives, who could best of all help their own countrymen to resist oppression by constitutional means and stand up for their rights. There, when *this* kind of help is given, at once the cry is raised, that the Indians are teaching the natives to be seditious! As a matter of fact, the one thing that the average European is constantly afraid of, as he looks to the future, is lest the Indians should become too 'friendly' with the natives, and should take up the position of 'agitators' for the rights of the natives.

### IV

I now come to the evidence, which lies before me, in Harry Thuku's own case. The first point to notice is, that although the judge, in any event, would have been a European, who might be expected to deal severely with an actual case of sedition, if the evidence for such existed, *no evidence whatever was brought before any court*. Harry Thuku himself states that, after his deportation, he was told by the Senior Commissioner of Kismayu (the place to which he was deported) that there was no particular information available affecting himself, but if any was afterwards available he would be told. That was all that was said officially.

We have further the direct evidence of Mr. F. Dracott, Bar-at-law, whose own clerk, George Mugekenji, appears to have been arrested at the same time as Harry Thuku. Mr. Dracott is evidently somewhat nervous at taking up this case at all. He states at the beginning of his application to the Governor,—“At the outset, I would beg to state, that I have undertaken this work on the very definite understanding, that all I would do for my clients must be on absolutely constitutional grounds and with a view, if possible, to get the Government of Your Excellency to show some clemency to my clients.”

‘Clemency’ is a strange word for a practising barrister to use, who is taking up a case where no evidence whatever has been given to form that his clients are guilty!

Mr. Dracott then goes on to show, that the Act, under which Harry and George were deported, lays down very clearly how, before deportation, there should be sufficient evidence *on oath* to satisfy the Governor of the genuineness of the charge.

“As far as I am instructed,” he goes on to say, “neither of my clients have the slightest notion, what the evidence against them amounts to, or by whom it was given, or in what manner.”

He then explains to the Governor, that ‘evidence on oath’ according to the Indian Evidence Act, which is in force in Kenya, means statements of witnesses made on oath, in their examination in chief, and includes statements made by them in cross examination and re-examination.

Mr. Dracott shows from the example of his own clerk, George, who was deported along with Harry, how impossible it was that any such process of taking of ‘evidence on oath’ could have been carried out. George had been in Mr. Dracott’s office for several days beforehand, and was evidently absolutely unconcerned about any action Government was taking against him. This appeared to Mr. Dracott (to quote his own cautious words) “clearly to show a certain



Harry Thuku and Prince Sunnu Uganda.

amount of innocence.” George was therefore not aware of any evidence having been recorded against him, and was given no opportunity of cross examination. It was the same with Harry Thuku. Mr. Dracott, as a barrister, knowing the country and the difficulty of reaching the truth, then says,—“I feel that the value of evidence given on oath, but not subjected to cross examination, is particularly little, or nothing”...“Entirely relying on such evidence constitutes a grave danger to the public, particularly to the native, who after all, being thoroughly ignorant, should be given much greater latitude and opportunity of defending himself, especially as Your Excellency’s orders are final and without any appeal.”

His Excellency, Sir Edward Northey, replied to this appeal, through his Private Secretary, as follows :—

"His Excellency is advised that the evidence, on which the removals of Harry Thuku and George Mugekenji were made, enjoys the highest privilege; and he is therefore unable to supply you with the information you request."

It is clear from this, that the '*lettre de cachet*' system, which filled the Bastille with prisoners and led to the French Revolution, is not out of date in a British Colony.

# V

The pity of it all is, that this Governor in question, Sir Edward Northey, is a nerve-racked man, who has been through the war and has never had any real rest since; who has been wretchedly ill and has had to undergo an operation, while he was Governor, losing one of his eyes; who is unfit, even under normal conditions, to stay on year after year as Governor in the Kenya Highlands, which are admittedly injurious to the nerves of Europeans, when they are already affected.

Such a man might, in a moment of nervous depression, be swayed by any plausible evidence, given in secret and under the strict seal of secrecy. He need not bring it out into the open. He need not even tell his own Ministers. All he has to do is to sign a paper,—a '*lettre de cachet*'. And from that moment a man, like ourselves, with family ties and human affections, is suddenly taken off, hundreds of miles away, to a desolate spot where no one can visit him.

Furthermore, if that, which Harry Thuku himself relates, is true, the un-English character of such an act as this has in his own case been greatly increased. For, in his letter to Mr. Desai, he states that he is only allowed *four annas a day*. Nothing is granted for his family, or relations, who were dependent on him. Only the kindness and generosity of his Indian friends has prevented hardship.

Santiniketan.

C. F. ANDREWS.

## CORRESPONDENCE

### Calcutta University Affairs,

"Boosting up and Nepotism."

[As our object is, on the one hand, to afford members of the public opportunity to set right what is wrong by exposing irregularities, &c., and on the other, to give opportunities to whomsoever it may concern to correct wrong statements made in the course of such exposure, and as in the present case this object can be gained without giving more publicity to the names of individuals than is strictly necessary, in our last issue we omitted the names of the persons concerned, giving only their initials. In the present issue, too, we have followed the same principle. For this reason, we have also omitted a subordinate clause in the third sentence of the first paragraph of the letter printed below. This clause did not contain any refutation of the allegations of "One Who Knows," from whose rejoinder, too, some passages have been deleted in pursuance of the same rule.—EDITOR, THE MODERN REVIEW.]

To The Editor,  
The "Modern Review".

Sir,  
My attention has been drawn to two paragraphs in the June Number of the Modern Review, pages

739 and 740, in which, a correspondent, writing under the pseudonym "One Who Knows", makes some serious allegations against my son. As he is away in England, and, as such, unable to defend himself, I am compelled, most unwillingly, to send a reply which, I hope, you will kindly publish in the next issue of your Journal. In my capacity as a parent, I feel it my duty to point out the untrue statements made by your correspondent.

P. 739, 11 (1). "One Who Knows" says: that (1) my son "fell short by a considerable number of marks, after the final tabulation, to enable him to secure the position he eventually attained at the M. A. (Econ.) in 1918", that (2) "One of the friendly examiners had very obligingly given him half a dozen extra marks before he submitted his mark sheet", that (3) "the remaining examiners were sounded as to whether they would allow some extra marks each to the candidate in question", that (4) "as they showed reluctance on the ground that, besides marking the papers quite liberally, they had already given, on revision, ample grace marks, it so happened that the marks that were still wanting to make the candidate first in first class were allowed by way of grace straightway."

Each one of these allegations is false. My son obtained 498 marks, i. e., 18 marks more than

the minimum required for a First Class. He was also the only First Class man in his Group. No Examiner gave him any extra marks. Neither is it true that any grace marks were given to my son.

P. 740, III. Your correspondent says that "directly" my son "came out first in first class in the way mentioned above, he was put on the staff of the Post-graduate Department on a salary of Rs. 200 a month". This is not true. After passing his M. A. Examination he was appointed Professor in the Scottish Churches College, where he served for nearly a year. One of the Post-graduate Lecturers, Mr. Durgagati Chatteraj, resigned his post and my son was appointed to fill up the vacancy on Rs. 200 a month, the usual minimum salary for full-time teachers in the Post-graduate Department.

Your correspondent says my son "was elected for the Guruprasanna Ghosh Scholarship to proceed to Europe to study for the B. Com. in the London University in supersession of the claims of a number of bona fide Science students, for whom particularly the Scholarship is intended." "One Who Knows" insinuates that my son was not eligible for the Guruprasanna Ghosh Scholarship. I would draw the attention of your correspondent to the following extracts from the Calendar (vide pp. 283-85, Calendar, 1920 and 1921), the first from the will of the Donor and the second from the Scheme framed by the Senate to give effect to his wishes.

"The said University shall, out of the income thereof, send every year or as often as funds will permit either together or alternately pure natives of Bengal to study in Europe, America or Japan the Arts, Sciences and Industries of Europe and America."

"The application of every candidate must set forth precisely the Institution in Europe, America or Japan in which, if elected to the Scholarship, he intends to study, as also the particular branch of Agriculture or the Arts, Science and Industries of Europe, America or the East, in which he desires to specialize."

Your correspondent evidently does not know that my son passed the Intermediate Examination in Science with Physics and Chemistry before he went over to the Arts side, in this way fulfilling the conditions of the Guruprasanna Ghosh scheme as adopted by the Senate. I may add that the Selection Committee for the Guruprasanna Ghosh Scholarship for that particular year consisted of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, Dr. P. Bruhl, Rev. Dr. W. S. Urquhart.

Your correspondent further says: "Favouritism did not stop here. He was allowed to draw an outfit allowance of Rs. 800—a thing unheard of in the case of such Scholars and quite unprovided for in the terms of the endowment." "One Who Knows" is not aware that this sum of Rs. 800 was paid not for "outfit allowance" as he says, but for passage money (vide Part III, P. 101, item 84, Minutes of the Syndicate, 1920). Such an allowance is not unheard of, for, in the past, whenever the state of the funds permitted, Scholars have been helped in paying their passage and occasionally an allowance for return passage has also been given. Among the scholars who thus received an allowance in addition to the Scholarship may be mentioned Mr. Probodh Kumar Dutt, Mr. Birajmohan Das, Mr. Sadhan-

chandra Roy, Mr. Samarendra Maulik, Dr. Surendranath Dhar, Mr. Rabindranath Chaudhury, Dr. Meghnad Saha.

It is not correct to say that this is "quite unprovided for" in the terms of the endowment. In this connection, para. 8 of the Guruprasanna Scheme will bear quotation.

"The Syndicate may contribute towards the expenses of the passage of the selected Scholar such amount as the state of the funds may permit. The Syndicate may also, whenever practicable, contribute towards the return passage of any Scholar who has specially distinguished himself in his studies."

I regret exceedingly that such serious allegations are made by the gentleman hiding under a pseudonym and further that they should be published in the Modern Review without enquiry.

Yours faithfully,

J. C. G.

The 7th June, 1922.

### Rejoinder by "One Who Knows."

The Editor of the *Modern Review* has sent me the letter which Mr. J. C. G. has written to him in refutation of the charges that I brought against the University in reference to the position which his son, Mr. M. K. G. attained at the M. A. Examination and the mode of his securing the Guruprasanna Ghosh Scholarship for 1919. As he has chosen to do so, it behoves me to explain as far as possible all the facts and incidents that relate to the statements I have made.

With regard to how the position was acquired by Mr. M. K. G. at the M. A. Examination, I would refrain from dragging the names of my informants into this controversy, lest I should imperil their worldly interests. If I could have counted upon their assistance, the matter could have been explained quite convincingly. But at a time like this they may falter and hesitate, plead forgetfulness or deliberately shrink giving out the truth. Men do sometimes remain silent, prevaricate, or even tell lies, but facts generally do not change complexion. I shall, therefore, rely upon some facts, which, I believe are not subject to change. I mean I shall take my stand upon the marks sheet of Mr. M. K. G. at the M. A. examination. I assert, subject to correction by the Controller of Examinations, that the marks obtained by Mr. M. K. G. are as follows:—

	First half	Second half,
First paper .....	20 out of 50	35 out of 50
Second " ..	16 " "	30 " "
Third " ..	27 " "	20 " "
Fourth " ..	27 " "	35 " "
Fifth " ..	10 " "	30 " "
Sixth " ..	07 out of 100	
Seventh " ..	81 " "	
Eighth " ..	67 " "	
Total	498	

I wish to draw attention to a few points in connection with these marks. The first is, that their total is the same as that mentioned by Mr. J. C. G.

The letter of "One Who Knows" published in our last issue, and these marks, reached our hands at the same time.—Editor, *M. R.*



The second is that in the first halves of the first five papers, the marks are not high: in fact, in the first half of the second paper, the candidate failed to obtain pass-marks, and in the first half of the fifth paper, he barely passed. But in the second halves of four out of five papers, he has obtained high marks. How is it that in the first halves of *all* the five papers, the candidate invariably obtains low marks, and in the second halves of all but one of the same papers *on the same Subjects, he equally invariably gets high marks*? Does not this fact betray manipulation of the marks or the marking of these papers? Stress may be laid, in reply, on the fact that in the third paper the marks assigned to the second half are almost equal to those given for the first half; but may not this be justly interpreted as a cleverly-kept loop-hole of escape from what would otherwise have been an irresistible conclusion that the marking or the marks of these papers had been manipulated in some way? I now come to the third point, which is, that in the sixth, seventh and eighth papers, the candidate has consistently and invariably obtained higher marks than in the two halves combined of the first five papers. Does not this fact also indicate manipulation? The fourth point is, that in the two papers on International Law, *viz.*, the sixth and the seventh, the candidate shows unequal proficiency of a marked character, obtaining 67 in one paper and 81 in the other. Standing by itself, this fact might not have been of any significance, but taken along with the other facts, it looks suspicious.

In the above paragraph I have drawn certain conclusions from the marks obtained by Mr. M. K. G. If Mr. J. C. G. can give a more *reasonable* explanation, I am prepared to be convinced.

Mr. J. C. G. has been pleased to proclaim that his son got 498 marks—18 marks more than the minimum required for a first class. I was perfectly aware of the fact when I noticed his son's case. I can only say in reply that if the total marks obtained by Messrs. Birendranath Datta, Sudarsan Maitra and Rameshchandra Ghose, the three Economics students, who all beat Mr. M. G. in the B. A. Economics Honours, and each of whom got a first class in Group A at the M. A. and maintained their respective positions *in order of merit* at the latter examination, were available to me I could have given a clincher to Mr. J. C. G. as to the real significance of "498". In *their absence* and failing to refer to the answer-books submitted by Mr. M. K. G. and his three formidable competitors, I am not in a position to explain the underlying significance of that figure of three digits (498). Also for the same reasons I am unable to prove conclusively whether any examiner or examiners or somebody else other than a examiner did give grace marks to Mr. M. G. or not. Mr. J. C. G. is really anxious to vindicate the achievements of his son, let him apply to the university authorities to place his son's answer-books at the M. A. before an impartial committee and see if my allegations are not proved to the hilt.\*

\* Additional information relating to this matter emanating from two different sources, has been voluntarily given to us recently. At present we do not think it necessary to use it. Editor, J. R.

I am sorry I have not been quite precise in using the expression "directly" in regard to the period of Mr. M. G.'s service in the Post-Graduate Department. It is undoubtedly a fact that Mr. M. G. was for a few months on the Economics staff of the Scottish Churches College where he was getting Rs. 120 per month (Rs 80 less than his starting salary at the University). My reason for not referring to that short service put in by Mr. M. G. at the Scottish Churches College are first, because his name does not occur in the "*Description of Affiliated Institutions*" among the teaching staff of the Scottish Churches College in the Calendars either for 1918-19 or for 1919-20, although we find in both the volumes the name of his former competitor Mr. Birendranath Datta on the staff for economics; secondly, it is only recently that I have found that the only place where his name does find a place is in the tabular statement of the teaching staff in July 1919 appended to the Inspection Report of the College for 1919-20 dated 7th January 1920 and set out in the *Minutes*, part III, 20th August 1920, pp. 275-305. There he is mentioned as one of the teachers on the Economics staff who delivered altogether *eleven* lectures, but there was simultaneously the remark that he had already resigned, although *the statement is altogether silent as to the date of his appointment in the college in the usual column therefore,—an omission not observed in the case of any other appointment.* Mr. M. K. G. really, as stated in this application for the G. P. G. scholarship, joined the Scottish Churches College in November 1918 and continued up to the beginning of the long vacation (April) in 1919; for Mr. J. C. G. says he joined the Post-Graduate Department on the resignation of Mr. Durgagati Chattoraj, which event took place on or about 18th July, 1919. Does this period constitutes "nearly one year"? Taking all these facts into consideration, it strikes one that Mr. M. G.'s service at the Scottish Churches College was a sort of stop-gap measure.

I have never intimated that Mr. M. K. G. was ineligible for the Guru Prasanna Ghosh scholarship, in view of the indisputable fact that he passed the I. Sc. "with Mathematics, Physics and Chemistry as his optional subjects" and "stood *ninth* in order of merit and *first* in Physics and obtained the Duff Scholarship and the Sarada Prasanna prize in the subject". But surely Mr. J. C. G. need not be told that "eligible" does not mean the same thing as "most eligible"! May I also incidentally observe that Mr. J. C. G. must feel ashamed that his son, who could secure the first position in Physics at the I. Sc. (at which his own father as Head Examiner in both the Physics papers undoubtedly saw to it that no partiality was shown to him) and stood ninth in order of merit at that examination should all of a sudden lose his uncommon proficiency in the Science subjects, so much so that he eventually gave them up and had recourse to purely arts subjects in his B. A.? Again, the very outstanding fact that Mr. M. K. G., the first in Physics and ninth in order of merit at the I. Sc., threw up his scientific pursuits at the end of the I. Sc. for some occult reason and took to purely arts course in the B. A., sufficiently disqualified him for the G. P. G. scholarship, the sole purpose of which is the study abroad of some subjects of technical Arts, Science or Industries. I

can justly and rightly contend, therefore, that there was nepotism and that Mr. M. K. G. was awarded the Guru Prasanna Ghosh scholarship in supersession of the claims of a number of deserving and out and out science candidates, such as, Messrs. Bijoy Kumar Basak, M. Sc., Biraj Mohan Gupta, M. Sc., Sudhakar Chakrabarti, M. Sc., Kshitish Prasad Chattopadhyaya, B. Sc., Nalini Mohan Basu, B. Sc., Sudhabindu Biswas, B. Sc., or bona fide technical students, like Messrs. Pratap Chandra Basu, Jiterdra Nath Das Gupta and Jiban Krishna De, B. Sc., B. E., and this may have been done with a far-sighted and ulterior object in view, namely, to enable Mr. M. G. to qualify himself for a Commerce Degree abroad so that he might on his return claim to get into a nice berth in the newly-created Commerce department in the Post-Graduate section on a fat salary.

The real object of the donor is quite clear from Rule 3 of the scheme adopted by the Senate for giving effect to his wishes. It is laid down there that "If an applicant has not already passed the Intermediate Examination in Science of this University or the final examination of a recognised School of Arts or Technical or Agricultural College, he must produce with his application proof that he has attained a knowledge of English and Mathematics up to the standard of the Matriculation Examination and of Physics and Chemistry up to the standard of the Intermediate Examination in Science". As Schools of Arts teach some fine or industrial arts, the word 'Arts' here does not refer to history, philosophy, literature, economics, etc., which are vaguely termed *Arts* as distinguished from the *Sciences* in University curricula. So, candidates must be either science candidates, or technical or agricultural or "arts and crafts" candidates. It may be conceded that by virtue of his having passed the I. Sc. examination Mr. M. K. G. was a science candidate. But as he did not keep up his science studies after passing his I. Sc. it should be clear to the meanest intelligence that his claims as a science candidate were inferior to those of all those candidates who were M. Sc.'s or even B. Sc.'s. A hurried glance at the list of candidates shows that there were among them eleven M. Sc.'s and one M. A. in Physics. The M. A. stood first in the first class of his year. The number of B. Sc.'s was much larger. It is a very significant fact that in the "*Statement showing the names and qualifications of the applicants for the Guru Prasanna Ghosh Scholarship for 1919*", printed by the University, the qualifications have been numbered, the marks obtained in a particular subject mentioned and the striking points italicised only in the case of Mr. M. K. G., similar consideration not being shown to the other 43 candidates, among whom, too, there were professors. Why and by whom was this done?

Mr. J. C. G. evidently tries to create some effect

by saying that the committee for the selection of the Guru Prasanna Ghosh Scholars for that particular year consisted of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, Dr. P. Bruhl and Rev. W. S. Urquhart, apparently meaning thereby that the members made the selection with great discretion and impartiality. ....! Here followed in the manuscript a detailed examination of the claims of these three persons to be considered impartial and independent judges of merit. We have omitted it as not necessary, though quite reasonable.—Ed., *M. R.*

I owe Mr. J. C. G. an apology for wrongly stating that the allowance of Rs. 800 paid to Mr. M. G. as passage money was for his outfit and that such a grant was a thing unheard of and unprovided for in the terms of the endowment. By a curious association of ideas I mistook one thing for the other. What I really intended to refer to in that connection was the grant of two instalments of the scholarship *in advance* to Mr. M. G. besides the passage money, (vide *Minutes*, part III, 6th August 1920, item 96, at page 218), as also certain other things. Such a grant was to my limited information a thing unheard of and unprovided for. Will Mr. J. C. G. cite another such instance or refer me to any portion of the donor's will or to any part of the scheme which empowers the syndicate to make such a grant? Is it not a fact that ordinarily no grant out of the scholarship is made till the scholar gets abroad and reports his arrival there? Then, even the grant of the passage money is more or less a matter of favour with the authorities. That is why out of 19 scholars sent up to 1919 Mr. G. could name only seven who got the passage allowance. I know of a scholar's case I mean that of Mr. Nripendra Kanta Nag, B. Sc. (not an M.A., as shown in the recent calendars), who was not favoured with any passage money although he applied for it. The other things that I wanted to refer to are that Mr. M. has been allowed to continue as a member of the Provident Fund, and that he has been granted study leave for 3 years, probably (as to this I am not yet sure) with an allowance of Rs. 100 a month to supplement his scholarship. This allowance was prayed for at the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Council of Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts held on 7th August, 1920, its consideration being "deferred until further orders." Is it usual or regular either to pray for such an allowance or to grant it?

It was stated in Mr. M. G.'s application that he intended to study for the degree of Commerce at the Victoria University, Manchester. Why has he gone to London instead? And will Mr. J. C. G. say what progress his son has been making according to the certificate of the Institution where he prosecutes his studies (according to rule 10 of the scheme)? For "the continuance of the scholarship shall depend upon the regular production of such certificate".

"One Who Knows."



## COMMENT AND CRITICISM

[ This section is intended for the correction of inaccuracies, errors of fact, clearly erroneous views, misrepresentations, etc., in the original contributions and editorials published in this Review or in other papers criticising it. As various opinions may reasonably be held on the same subject, this Section is not meant for the airing of such differences of opinion. As, owing to the kindness of our numerous contributors, we are always hard pressed for space, critics are requested to be good enough always (to be brief and to see that whatever they write is strictly to the point. No criticism of book reviews and notices will be published.—Editor, "The Modern Review." ]

### "The Present State of the Calcutta University," in the light of facts.

An attempt has been made by Professor Surendra Nath Sen in the June number of the *Calcutta Review* (a paper purchased some time ago by the Calcutta University) to controvert Prof. Jadunath Sarkar's article in the April number of the *Modern Review* examining the present condition of that University and laying down the broad lines of reform. I shall not tire the readers by adverting to Dr. Sen's opinions and profuse quotations of vague general import, but examine the *facts* put forward by him, so that the public can judge of the truth for themselves. Minor points are necessarily omitted for want of space.

On the subject of the salaries of University lecturers, Prof. Sarkar's contention is borne out by the very statistics quoted by Professor Sen. A newly passed first class M. A., if he can enter the Post-graduate department as a lecturer starts on an initial salary of Rs. 200, rising by regular annual increments of Rs. 25. But if he enters a private College his starting salary is (as shown by Prof. Sen) never more than Rs. 170 and sometimes as low as Rs. 100. Several of these colleges have no progressive scale of pay. First class M.A.'s (of the inflated post-1914 post-graduate nickel mintage) have been known to go abegging for posts in private Colleges on Rs. 125 a month, and one of them has entered a school in Calcutta on Rs. 50. Take a single instance. A Professor served for a few months in the Scottish Churches College on Rs. 120, but he got appointed on Rs. 200 at the University. Here the advantage is all on the side of the University lecturer. The case of older and experienced teachers is quite different. Special pay is offered to them by the Colleges, or has been reached by them by reason of length of service; even the University gives such men an initial salary considerably higher than the sum of Rs. 200 a month.

Let me take a concrete case. Dr. Harendra Coomar Mukherji was serving in the City College on Rs. 250; he is taken into the University service on Rs. 400. Add to this big jump, that he is thenceforth made a multi-examiner, not only at the M.A., (which might be reserved for the post-graduate staff) but also at the B.A. (the highest examinership open to mere College lecturers); he is in addition given Rs. 2,000 as fee for the herculean labour of clipping leaves out of the printed Bible (with the learned assistance of two veteran heads of Colleges) and sending them to

the press. Dr. Surendra Nath Sen himself was a multi-examiner in 1921-22. How many different papers are given by the University to any mere College lecturer who passed in the same year with him?

Regarding the practising lawyers among the Calcutta University lecturers on ordinary Arts Subjects (not the Law College), Prof. Sen remarks, "Practising lawyers, however, should be appointed only in unavoidable cases, as for example in the case of Dr. Suhrawardy and Mr. Khuda Bukhsh, when no scholar familiar with the original sources of Islamic History was available."

This learned Vakil for the Calcutta University is discreetly silent as to whether this wise rule is at the bottom of the appointment of certain other practising lawyers as History or English lecturers, such as Mr. Pramatha Nath Banerji, Mr. Rama Prasad Mukherji and Dr. Gauranga Nath Banerji (before his translation to the wealthy repose of Post-graduate Secretaryship). These, we knew, ARE *unavoidable cases*; but we have yet to know of what original sources these three young lawyers were the indispensable and sole repositories. Why does Dr. Sen flinch shy of even naming them?

Dr. Sen says, "if we had similar agricultural and commercial institutions in Bengal, students would have eagerly flocked to them in large numbers." Have students flocked in large numbers to the Agricultural class started with the help of the Khaira Fund? He thinks "courses of guided self-training" would be too costly. Certainly not too costly for the resources of the University if there were no thoughtless expansion. He says that at Robertson College his lecture work was reduced by 4 hours a week in consideration of his research work. But he omits to mention how much lecture work he had still to do. *Was it twenty periods a week?*

Prof. Sen should know that the organisers of the Bhandarkar commemoration volume published it with money raised by them for the purpose. But the organisers of the Ashutosh Commemoration volumes were not the University: they got it (or rather their hero got it) published at the expense of the University, which had not raised any funds for the purpose.

Prof. Sen writes:—"Government service offers still greater charm than service under the Calcutta University since the abolition of competitive examinations for the recruitment of executive officers. A lucky man, if he plays his cards well, can easily secure one of those much-coveted appointments for a son or

a son-in-law and thus establish an *ijāra* right over the public services of the country."

Is Professor Sen really ignorant of a place where a chief gives appointments under him to brother-in-law and son-in-law (plural number), brother-in-law's son-in-law and son-in-law's brother-in-law? But these are, no doubt, cases of the Nair law of succession and are therefore rightly excluded from Prof. Sen's list of *ijāra* rights. Has Prof. Sen never heard of a wicked place, far away from the pure serene of the Senate House, where the Boss sent up the name of his favourite's son-in-law (a third class M. A.) in preference to many first class M. A.'s for one of these very "much-coveted appointments in the executive service" of Bengal, and the *ijāra* was secured for this young man the next year, though the father-in-law was a University servant and not a Government servant? Has he never heard of a class of hereditary bondsmen who have been serfs to the father, are serfs to the son, and will be serfs to the grandson, if they live so long? Does he not know how a faithful vassal was pressed to vacate his seat in the Syndicate to make room for the heir-apparent who had just entered the Senate? But these are instances of academic villainage, and not of *ijāra* rights, and therefore they do not excite Prof. Sen's indignation.

Prof. Sen writes:—"Prof. Sarkar might have assisted [the Sadler Commission] in their arduous task by placing his views before them but he found himself unable to co-operate with the Commission at that time. For the same reason, he failed to attend a single meeting of the Board of Higher Studies in History and lend the weight of his experience and wisdom to the deliberations of that body when he was co-opted a member in 1917."

What are the facts of the case? Professor Jadunath Sarkar had been in sole charge of the University M.A. classes in History at the provincial centre of Patna (then under the Calcutta University) for eight years; but his name was carefully excluded from the list of witnesses submitted to the Sadler Commission for examination. The "hidden hand" in this clever manoeuvre can be easily detected by the reader. In 1917-18, when he was University Professor at Benares, Prof. Sarkar was for one year only co-opted a member of the History Board at Calcutta. Of all the Universities of India, that of Calcutta alone refuses to pay the travelling expenses of its examiners and co-opted members of Boards. This University has money to pay Mr. Pramathanath Banerji Rs. 70 for "distributing among his students of the 6th year [M. A.] class type-written copies of his lecture-notes;" it has money to present Rs. 6,000 to three learned gentlemen on its staff for cutting leaves out of the Bible and the Authorised Commentary and sending them to the press, though one of these three declared that Rs. 1500 would have been quite enough, (he swallowed the golden pill, however); it has money to spend Rs. 1200 on modifying Palit's Ballyganj house to suit Mr. Bhandarkar and charge him only Rs. 100 a month, although the fair rent of such a flat in that quarter and with its extensive grounds is Rs. 400 a month. But it has no money to pay a single second class fare to its mufassil examiners and co-opted members to enable them to attend meetings at Calcutta. In fact, the attendance of mufassil examiners and co-opted members is considered

undesirable, as they are likely to introduce an element of independence and freshness of outlook and mar the placid harmony of the Calcutta post-graduate coterie. One University has been known to offer a second class fare across the length of the Indian continent from Darjeeling to Lahore and back, in order to enable an examiner to attend a meeting for discussing question-papers. But the ideals of the Calcutta University are diametrically opposite to this.

Prof. Sarkar, then a University lecturer under Calcutta, had sent his views on the general principles of reorganisation of post-graduate instruction (without going into details, which would have been premature then) but they were quietly burked by the President. [We published them in our columns at the time.—Ed. M. R.]

With regard to the case of creating first-classes and Firsts by manipulating the marks, which Professor Jadunath Sarkar cited, Dr. Sen attempts a long and laboured defence, and questions the accuracy of Mr. Sarkar's figures. A few facts will show what a shameless case of boosting up it was.

(a) The candidate in question had, as the result of the marks submitted by the original examiners, secured second-class Honours. Then came the manipulation of results (euphemistically called 'moderation' at Calcutta). Two papers\* out of the six were ordered to be re-examined by his private coach, who had before this examined a third paper at the same examination, and thus finally he became the arbiter of half the entire course (three papers out of six). The moderation was so immoderate that in the result as moderated, no loophole was left for any risk or chance, and the private coach's private pupil was boosted up to the first class with a rear-guard of three other boys,—all originally 2nd class men.

(b) At the M. A. examination two years later, fair half the entire Course (four papers out of eight) was *ab initio* given to this candidate's private coaches,—examiners in some cases are promoted with their pupils from the Matriculation upwards. Nothing was this time left insecure; he got the first place in the first class in the combined result of the eight papers†, though he had failed to gain the top mark in some of the other papers, and in one or two cases even the first class minimum.

Dr. S. Sen rightly appeals to the records of the Calcutta University in support of his statement. But it is a rule with law courts that a 'record' to be held judicially valid must be the original document signed and submitted by the persons concerned (here the examiners), and the great public Judge outside should have the right to examine the date, character and condition of these "records." Does Dr. Sen accept this test of the reliability of "documentary evidence"?

Prof. Sen tries to defend this result by refer-

\* One of the original examiners whose work was thus thrown over-board was Prof. Keith of the Rangoon College. Is it contended that he did not know his subject or was a careless dishonest examiner?

† His thesis, which secured from his coaches 90 p. c. of marks in one-fourth of the entire M. A. course, was afterwards read by an Englishman (an experienced and able professor) who called it a *tour de force* attempted without real knowledge and a mere "catalogue of characters from Browning."

ring to the fact that he himself gained a second class in his B. A. and a first class in his M. A. How many *private* coaches-examiners could he afford to keep? He forgets that in the case of the candidate under discussion, the full brigade of private coaches was pushing him from behind, at both the examinations, and the only difference lay in this that in the original deal of examiners in the B. A. his *private* coach had only *one* paper out of six to examine, but in the reshuffling for "moderation" as many as *three* were given to him; while at the M. A. *four* papers out of *eight* were given to his coaches *ab initio*. "Moderation" of the result in the latter case would have been a superfluous labour.

On p. 416 Professor Sen sophistically confounds the *private coaches* of this particular candidate with University tutors, who are a public and legitimate body. What University tutor teaches any other candidate in the latter's house?

The artificial creation of *seventeen* first class M. A.'s in English at last year's examination, when only *three* had really qualified for this class, has not been denied and cannot be denied, because the records are still fresh and preserved in the original. The case is instructive and arguments adduced to defend it are illustrative of the present-day ideals of the Calcutta University. One young man was boosted up to the first class, necessarily with *thirteen* others above him, who were all short of a first class by marks ranging up to 35 in a paper carrying a total of 100 marks. It was the paper on Chaucer, who is admittedly the most difficult and most antique in style among the various authors to be studied for the A or non-philology group in English. It stands to reason that general students of English would score less in Chaucer than in Shelley or Scott. The examiners of the Chaucer paper were the very gentlemen who had lectured to *all* the candidates on this paper; their competence to examine and their impartiality as examiners cannot be doubted for a moment. They were two experienced teachers of the Presidency College, with very high academic qualifications and commanding a greater independence than the short-term direct servants of the University. Nobody has suspected them of lunacy or dotage. They have participated in the highest examinations of this University for years past. And yet their judgment was this year and in this paper thrown overboard. They challenged their brother

examiners (the "majority of fourteen") to look at the answer-papers of the candidates and say whether they could honestly give more marks for that sort of stuff. But this request was not acceded to; the answer-papers on Chaucer were not re-examined, not even looked at by the Board. They were simply ignored; because it was necessary to boost up 14 boys, and cancelling the Chaucer-paper-result was the shortest way to achieve this end. It was certainly examination by count of head (14 against 2); but not examination of *candidates*; it is the diametrical opposite of the Oxford method.

Dr. Sen writes:—"Prof. Sarkar is entirely wrong when he thinks that moral bankruptcy necessarily implies intellectual insolvency. Dryden was a moral bankrupt, but who will deny to him or Oscar Wilde or Jean Jacques Rousseau an exalted place in the intellectual aristocracy of the world.....But I will and do admit that a moral bankrupt should on no account be appointed a University teacher, and I therefore most respectfully request Prof. Sarkar not to try to lower the University teachers in the estimation of their pupils."

None of the contributors of this Review, least of all Prof. Jadunath Sarkar, has gone so far as to compare any University teachers to Oscar Wilde or (in matters spiritual) Dryden. Dr. Surendra Nath Sen speaks of them as if they were of the same type, for which we doubt not they will thank him. He forgets that genius is a heavenly gift, while scholarship is an acquisition. Even genius produces its highest possible only when it is moral. With the scholar, however, character is everything, especially if he is a teacher of youth. The Calcutta post-graduate students form their estimate of their teachers from the *character* of the latter as displayed by their independence in voting, their attitude towards additional sources of University income, and the method pursued by them in research work (in the case of those who are continuing research after winning their degrees). No "libel" or journalistic criticism is half so damaging as what the boys say about some of their teachers in their messes and round the Goldighi, and what the better type of University lecturers reveal under the vow of secrecy. University reform does not require time or even money so much as *character* and public spirit.

Dr. Sen defends sham in the Calcutta University in the year 1922 by saying that Oxford was not an ideal seat of learning *half a century ago*. Evidently, according to him the blunders (*not crimes*) of Oxford should be faithfully imitated by the Calcutta University as a "fundamental essential" of its growth today. Well might Oxford reply to him in the words of a mightier thinker than either Pollock or Bryce: "When this child of ours wishes to assimilate to its parent and to reflect with a true filial resemblance the beauteous countenance of [Oxford scholarship], are we to turn to them the shameful parts of our constitution? Are we to give them our weakness for their strength? Our opprobrium for their glory?"

Among the earliest crude prototypes of the steam engine is the aeolipile of Hero of Alexandria (c. 130 B. C.). Will the manufacture of an apparatus like it *now* by someone told to produce a modern steam engine be defended by Dr Sen?

As for the management of University finances, the points pressed by Prof. Sarkar and this Review are clear and remain unassailed:—(1) The accounts

\* Dr. Sen will next time argue that Presidency College Professors have "a queer kink in their nature." Yes, they have. They never can look eye to eye with some University servants. For example, a student who headed the list in the University at the intermediate, escaped plucking by the skin of his teeth at the test examination of the Presidency College held three months before. It is possible for a boy to stand first in a subject at the University examination and gain the Duff scholarship and yet get low marks in that very subject in his class exercises at the Presidency College. Is there no means by which the Presidency College Professors can be "simply ignored" during the remainder of the present régime, as their Chaucer paper was ignored? It ought not to be beyond the brain of the Indian Lincoln and the principles of the Indian Washington. Shivaji would have done short work of them.

of the university should be published and published immediately after the expiry of the financial year. (2) The accounts should be got ready for auditing immediately after the expiry of the year and the audit notes published. (3) The University Budget should be passed by the Senate before the year begins, and every large deviation from it should be covered by sanctioned reappropriation. (4) The audit to be of any real use should be held immediately after the financial year and the audit notes sent to the Chancellor (with the University's explanations, if any) for action. Audit notes have been known to accumulate unanswered for years, in spite of reminders from Simla. The audit papers of 1920 had not reached the Bengal Government even in May 1922. (5) At present the Government has only the right to demand an audit at the end of the year. But to safeguard the University Funds it is necessary to have throughout the current year *ad interim* audits and right of inspection before any incurable mischief has been committed. The University for its own good ought to have continuous audit from day to day. (6) The trust funds of the University should be lodged with the Public Trustee. (7) The University Press should show a clear account of actual sales and expenditure year by year, and not merely report "the market value of work done", or disguise the loss (due to reckless printing) by crediting the income from compulsory text-books and wisely selected theses. The public ought to know how the business and research sides respectively stand financially at any time. (8) There should be definite leave and pension rules for the servants of the University. (9) No chair should be created unless there is a sure income to support it year after year, or, in other words, no new department should be opened in the hope of something "turning up." Any self-respecting employer would feel ashamed of himself if he has to leave his servants in arrears of pay for months, or call upon them to take only part payment, for reduce their salary for no fault on their part. A University has no body to be kicked or soul to be blessed: still, it ought not to forfeit the respect of decent people by its reckless financial mismanagement.

Professor Jadunath Sarkar has been laying stress again and again on certain facts, namely, that there are some very sound scholars and earnest students in the post-graduate department, and many who are not: that if the Calcutta University really wishes to get good value for the enormous money it is spending and make a true advance towards the Oxford standard, its chief (and his silent supporters) must set their faces sternly against the sham and reward and strengthen the hands of the good teachers, develop the sense of responsibility and initiative in the teachers and future heads, pursue the right method of teaching in scorn of all temptation to gain temporary popularity for the University or its newly-started departments and degrees, and above all things to scrupulously avoid the manipulation of examination-results to serve special cases. The promotion, honour and power given to the

undeserving, break the hearts of the truly good teachers and students alike and drag the University down.

It is convenient to Dr. Sen to ignore these points and make a general accusation of lack of appreciation, unreasoning prejudice and malicious hostility against those who are pressing for reform. He talks glibly of his chief in the same breath as Abraham Lincoln. Has he cared to inquire what soft job Lincoln gave to his son Ted, or his son-in-law (if he had any), or whether gossip was busy with Ted's career at Harvard, supposing Ted was there? Capturing the caucus and beating the big drum in a hired press cannot make a Lincoln, any more than long-windedness and rhetorical clap-trap can make a Jessel.

A. B. C.

### Mr. S. Maulik's Qualification.

In the course of a Note in our last number we wrote that Mr. S. Maulik, late professor, Calcutta University, was not a graduate. Mr. R. Maulik, orally, and Mr. D. Mukherjee, by letter, have pointed out to us that he is an M. A. of Cambridge. We are very sorry for this mistake, which was due to the fact that in the Proceedings of the Governing Body of the University College of Science, dated the 28th March, 1922, from which we made an extract in the aforesaid Note in our last issue, whilst Mr. S. N. Bal's name is printed with the letters indicative of his degree, Mr. S. Maulik's name is printed without any. As regards the remark we quoted from Nature, March 18, 1920, p. 64, viz., "it leaves more than an impression that the author lacked experience to begin with, and had not quite mastered his subject," Mr. R. Maulik and Mr. D. Mukherjee have told us that Mr. S. Maulik "is considered an authority on the subject he has treated of", "demonstrated by the fact that he has again been permitted by Dr. Shipley (Editor of the *Fauna of India* Series) and the Secretary of State for India to contribute another volume. He is at present engaged in writing his second volume."

EDITOR, MODERN REVIEW.

### Indian Member of League of Nations Intellectual Co-operation Committee.

A correspondent tells us that an Indian member of the Council of the Secretary of State for India was ultimately responsible for the nomination of the Indian member of the League of Nations International Intellectual Co-operation Committee, not the person named by the Calcutta correspondent of *New India*, whose information was quoted in our last issue.

EDITOR, MODERN REVIEW.

## GLEANINGS

**America's First Automobile—And Its Giant Offspring!**

The honour of building the first automobile of America is claimed for Gottfried Schloemer who drove a strange, tiny "horseless buggy" of his own design and construction through the streets of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, in 1889.

From this inventor's crude "freak" of 33 years ago—the probable progenitor of the modern high powered motor car—has developed a gigantic industry in which \$1,204,378,642 of capital is invested.

Mr. Schloemer's machine was hardly a car at all as we use the word today. Not until years later were the steering-wheel, pneumatic tire, and radiator invented.



First Automobile.

Today the auto industry is so vast that it is hard to comprehend. In the United States alone are registered 9,000,000 pleasure cars and 1,000,000 trucks. If these cars formed a procession, radiators against rear wheels, the line would extend over 16,000 miles. Half the population of the country could go auto riding at once, for there is a car for every ten people; but on all the state and national highways there would not be room for such a crowd.

Eighty-three per cent of the cars registered in the world are owned in the United States.

**Relieving City Traffic.**

To relieve the congestion of city traffic in America, it has been proposed, that the main

arteries of travel may be double decked. Suggestion has also been made to cut new streets or to tunnel through blocks of buildings forming arcades. Such arcades would be elevated, not interfering with the cross streets.



Double-decked Street, Planned for American Cities.

Endless moving sidewalks running at two, four, and six miles an hour and bordered by seats moving at a greater speed have already been planned for New York.

**Tele-Vision.**

It will soon be possible to see as well as hear by means of electricity. "Television" will be employed as generally as telephoning. As one listens to a voice at the other end of the line, he will also see every expression of the speaker's face.



Tele-Vision, or the apparatus for seeing as well hearing, by electricity, from a distance.

It will be possible to see as well as to hear either by the wireless telephone or over the regular wire circuits. There will be no limit to the distance of such transmission, so that we shall be able to talk to a person in any part of the world and watch his face at the same time.

In a general way the instrument used for television will closely resemble the mechanism of the human eye. Success in transmitting vision depends upon four things, and of these the famous engineer and discoverer Nikola Tesla claims to have already perfected two.

### The Wind Will Play Real Tune On A Flute.

The wind can play a real tune when assisted by a strange flute recently demonstrated. When the triple mouthpiece of this flute is held to face



Flute played by the Wind.

the wind, the air blowing through the instrument can be controlled to play a scale of eight notes.

### Sculptors, Replacing "Upholsterers," Re-Create Animals For Museum.

Under the tanned skin of the life-like wild animal in a modern American museum is a statue created by a sculptor. Mounting of animals is no longer a task for an upholsterer, but for a sculptor-scientist.

There was a time when a skin was sewed into a bag over a framework of sticks, and crammed as full as possible of hay or curled hair,

but now American museum groups are genuine works of fine art.

The first step in mounting an elephant skin is to make a clay statue of the animal in a natural pose copied from photographs. This model is life size and it is finished with such attention to detail that it might conceivably be exhibited in a museum of art. Its purpose, however, is to provide a perfect body for the skin.

The hide is stretched over the clay and pressed firmly into the wrinkles until it fits as closely as the skin of a living animal. Then a heavy coating of plaster is placed on the outside of the skin, arranged in three sections to form a mold. When this plaster hardens, it is removed with the hide, and all the clay scraped away from the inside, leaving only the skin covered by its heavy coat of plaster. Inside the skin is then built a firm shell, hard as granite, made of layers of wirecloth, papier-mache and shellac, exactly similar to the original clay statue. Over this the skin is again stretched, the plaster removed—and



Animals being Recreated for American Museums.

the stuffed animal appears as real as a living elephant, but light enough to be moved by hand.

For long-haired animals, such as Rocky Mountain sheep, a slightly different method is adopted, since it would be almost impossible to clean the plaster out of the coat if it were poured directly upon the hide. Here the animal is modeled in clay and a coat of plaster placed directly over the clay model. This mold is cut apart in sections, the clay removed, and a permanent model of papier-mache built up inside. Over this the skin is stretched.

### Thrills in a Tire.

Looping the loop in an old auto tire is the latest game.

The youngster clings to the inside of the tire, while some grown-up sets the tire on edge





Looping the Loop in a Tire.

and gives it a shove. Carried heels overhead a dozen times a second as the tire rolls along, the child loops the loop with as many thrills as he would receive in an elaborate amusement park.

### Hot Lunch on the Run.

Ordering a quick, hot lunch in Java is no trick if you can catch up with the restaurant, for the quick lunch proprietors travel the

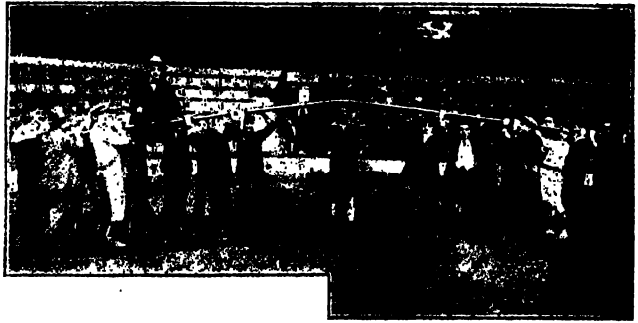


Hot Lunch on the Run in Batavia.

streets of Batavia with cookstove, tables, service, napkins, and all, slung over their shoulders. The meals are said to be well cooked.

### The Strongest Skull.

The strongest skull and the stiffest neck on record belong to a man named Siegmund Breitbart, known as the "Iron King", who supports a three-inch iron pipe on his head while the pipe is bent by 20 men. The pressure



The Iron King with His Load of Twenty Men supported on the Skull.

on his skull is more than 150 pounds to the square inch.

### Bees Will Not Sting.

Bees will not sting while they are swarming, and will alight on almost any object. To demonstrate this, the veteran beekeeper shown below offered his chin to a swarm and



Bees do not sting while Swarming.

several thousand bees affixed themselves to his face. To induce the swarm to gather, the queen bee was placed in a little wire cage under the keeper's chin.

### Keep Blossoms Fresh in a Potato Vase.

Potatoes are excellent receptacles for the stems of cut flowers, permitting the arrange-

ment of bouquets in ways that often cannot be obtained with the usual china flower-holders. The holes to receive the stems may be bored in the potato with the point of a paring knife. It is claimed, although upon what grounds it is not known, that if the stems of cut flowers are placed in a potato, they will remain fresh longer than those kept in water.

### Newest Orchid Is Worth Thousand Dollars.

One thousand dollars for a single flower! This is not too high a price to pay for a new variety of "educated" orchid, declares V. Ferraria, of San Francisco, who has just developed a flower unlike all others in form and color.



Orchid worth a Thousand Dollars.

New varieties of orchids require painstaking cultivation and cross fertilization by expert gardeners. Long experiment with many kinds of orchids was necessary before this new hybrid could be produced.

### How Did the Ichthyosaurus Live?

No other prehistoric creature now extinct is receiving as much consideration to-day as the Ichthyosaurus.

In view of the wealth of fossil material available for investigation and comparison, the scientist was enabled to study every detail of the bodily structure of this sea-monster. The scientist was also enabled to determine to a large extent its habits of life by means of a comparative study of existing creatures, whose



Ichthyosaurus.

bodily structure resembles that of the Ichthyosaurus.

The Ichthyosaurus appeared chiefly in the Jurassic and Cretaceous formations in Europe, as well as in the Upper Jurassic strata of America to Greenland in the North, and likewise in the Upper Triassic formations of Europe. Individuals 10 meters long were then a common occurrence, lived exclusively in the sea, and consequently might be considered to have adapted themselves to this life to a very high degree. Undoubtedly they were descendants of some land-monsters, although their bodily structure shows they were utterly incapable of moving about on land, but spent their lives exclusively swimming about in the water. In addition to their bodily characteristics, which show adaptation to an aquatic existence to a high degree, their method of reproduction is evidence of this fact. Sufficient proof exists that they were born alive. A total of 14 bodies of Ichthyosaurus were found with young ones in their bodies.

The Ichthyosaurus possessed a longtailed head, which was joined to the spindle-formed torso practically without a neck, a fact which enabled the monster to skim through the water with practically no resistance. Undoubtedly, through bodily structure and limbs they must have been the best swimmers among the sea-animals of that time.

They lived chiefly on cuttle-fish (Belemnites) and fish. In the upper Jurassic formations we find forms equipped with considerably fewer teeth. This reduction in the number of teeth is unquestionably due to the increasing numbers of soft-shelled cuttle-fish which developed at that time and which formed their main diet.

The skin of the Ichthyosaurus was completely naked, being an adaptation to its aquatic existence and its swift movements, and in order to overcome the resistance offered by the water. Nevertheless, there are traces of armored limbs (Panzarresten) to be found on the front and hind fins, which give proof of the fact that its land predecessors were armored.

In their outer appearance the Ichthyosauri remind one very much of the Delphine mammals. This correspondence can only be accounted for by necessary adaptation to a similar mode of living. Among other characteristics its simple vertebral head bespeaks its monstrous

nature. Bony ventral ribs covering its thoracic cavity, unquestionably enabled it to take in large quantities of air in diving into the depths, for one must assume that breathing took place through the aid of the lungs.

This reptilian family flourished in the period of the Liassic Formations, the most important feature of which is the large number of

different specimens of Ichthyosaurus and other reptilian remains. In the Upper Jurassic strata they become rarer, and rarer still in the Cretaceous rocks. Not a single Ichthyosaurus remains from the Tertiary Period. It must accordingly be assumed that this reptile became extinct in the Upper Cretaceous formation.

## INDIAN PERIODICALS

### Indian India.

In the *Hindustan Review* for June, Mr. St. Nihal Singh says in a telling way what may be said in favour of Indian India, by which he means the states under the ruling princes of India. In two pre-factory paragraphs he says :—

A correct measure of the intellectual slavery bred in us Indians, as the result of political serfdom, is furnished by our attitude towards Indian India. Instead of deriving satisfaction from the fact that something like one-third of our country (about 700,000 square miles) and one-fourth of the total population (about 70,000,000 persons) have managed to escape foreign domination, perhaps not entirely, but to a greater or smaller degree, many Indians show a disposition to imitate the foreigners and to decry and to belittle Indian rule.

It often happens indeed, that the Indian critics go far beyond the alien critics, and can see no good in Indian India. They make out that the Rajas are inefficient, or indolent, or both, that they are no respectors of personal or political freedom and that the Indian States are, in consequence, back-waters of reaction.

He does not pretend that Indian rule is perfect.

It has its defects—and serious defects at that. I admit that the standard of administration in many places in Indian India is low, the rate of progress slow, and the sense of duty far from quick. These evils are partly the result of Indian indolence and inaptitude, and are partly due to the fact that, in the last instance, the Rajas are creatures of a system not of their own making.

This last point he amplifies thus :—

In view of the so-called education which our Rajas, in their boyhood, are compelled to receive, I often wonder that a single one of them ever amounts to anything. Whether they

attend the "Colleges", maintained out of funds subscribed by Indian States but not, in any real sense, controlled by them, or study at home under a British tutor or governor, they come under the influence of persons who have little knowledge of Indian culture and less reverence for it—men who, as a general rule, have grown up in an atmosphere of racial arrogance and who insist upon subordinating Indians at every turn. Love for hunting, sports, drinking, smoking and the like are more easily learned from them by the Rajas than consideration for their subjects and the art of just, humane, progressive administration.

Our people complain that modernised Indian Rulers are neglecting their States—that they are constantly running away to European capitals and there squandering money extorted from their subjects. To me it is a wonder that any of them does anything else. Does the education they receive teach them to love India and to devote themselves wholeheartedly to the improvement of the conditions in which their subjects live and work?

The British Resident at an Indian Court is also responsible for inefficient administration in the Indian States.

The Rajas are brought up and work under a system which gives them small chance to develop a sturdy sense of manhood or a conscientious conception of their personal responsibilities for the good governance of their State. The British Resident at an Indian Court, instead of fulfilling his original function and serving merely as a channel of communication between the Government to which he is accredited and his own, quite often constitutes himself into a super-Raja. He encourages the subjects of the Indian Ruler—especially the feudal barons and courtiers—to bring complaints to him against the state officials, and, sometimes with reason and sometimes quite arbitrarily, intervenes in their behalf. The Raja is, in any case, humiliated in the sight of

the very men who should be taught to look up to him—to go to him for redress of their grievances.

Administration under such a duality of control can never attain the maximum of efficiency. Half the troubles in Indian India are attributable to the assumption by the Resident of functions which, under existing treaties and undertakings, lie entirely outside his province, but which he arrogates to himself, with at least the tacit assent of his own Government.

One outstanding merit of the Indian States is then pointed out.

Whatever the faults in Indian India, whatever their causes, however, it must not be forgotten that it is only under Indian rule that the sons of the soil have the opportunity of rising to the highest office. No one has ever heard of Indian occupying, in British India, the highest position under the Crown. Even the Governorship given to one Indian was not handed over to another when he resigned.

In Indian India, on the contrary, no post is too good to be given to an Indian. To a truly self-respecting people that one fact should outweigh all the disadvantages which may mar Indian rule.

Such non-Indians—Europeans and Americans alike—as are employed in various parts of Indian India occupy the status of servants, and not of overlords. They may inwardly chafe against that position, and may occasionally act in a churlish manner. As, however, the standard of self-respect is rising, the Indian Rulers are more and more insisting upon their Western servants observing a more decorous mode of conduct, and it is becoming more and more difficult for them to exhibit boorishness.

Since in respect of its services Indian India is practically self-sufficing, except in isolated exceptions, it is saved the drain from which British India suffers. Salaries paid to officials remain within the State, or, in any case, within India.

There is, therefore, economic as well as political gain. Above all, the opportunity to rise to the highest post under the crown serves to stimulate the ambition of the youth in school and college.

Some of the evils complained of in Indian India exist in British India, too.

The Indian glamoured with the West will say, however, that persons who work under a personal Ruler have no security of tenure, that they are liable at any moment to be thrust into the shadows, even exiled; and that at every turn they find themselves victims of an undisciplined will. As if rule by a bureaucracy though supposedly impersonal, cannot be arbitrary! The only difference between the two is that a personal Ruler does not gild the pill, while

the bureaucracy invariably does. The one issues a mandate, the other camouflages the executive action under a section of the Penal Code, or an Ordinance of which any civilised government would be ashamed.

Persons are deprived of their freedom without charge or trial in British India as well as in Indian India. In neither case is there the slightest pretence of ordinary legal process. Compared with the number of men kept in durance vile without charge or trial in British India, the number of those who have suffered from deportation and seizure of property in Indian India is a mere bagatelle.

Some of the obstacles which are deemed insurmountable in British India have been surmounted in this or that part of Indian India. For instance, free or compulsory education in Baroda and elsewhere, higher education through the medium of a vernacular in the Nizam's Dominions, measures of social reform in Baroda, Indore, &c., prohibition by the Nizam of Hyderabad of the sacrifice of cows on the occasion of the *Id*, separation of the judicial and executive functions in Baroda and the Nizam's Dominions, and the like.

It is a matter of common knowledge that if scarcity comes, the occupants of Government land in Indian India are able to secure remissions of revenue much more easily than is the case in British India. In the one instance personal rule is elastic, in the other, bureaucratic rule is mechanical and relentless.

Some of the writer's concluding observations are important.

Apart from considerations of social progress and administrative reform the Indian courts, which Indians have been systematically taught to depreciate, form a link with our past. The tradition of extending patronage to learning and art is still alive there.

In the scheme of future progress Indian India, it is to be hoped will play as great a part as it has played in the conservation of our traditions. If its rulers will only take their duties seriously they may enable us to evolve institutions of self-government suited to our genius, since Indians in British India are not free to evolve such institutions.

Even if British India succeeds in winning *Swarajya*, it will be a *Swarajya* modelled upon a foreign pattern. There is, however, nothing to prevent any part of Indian India working out a scheme whereby the indigenous system of rule can be remodelled to suit modern exigencies.

The writer might also have added that the experiment of obtaining electric power

from the flow of water was first tried and made successful in Indian India by an Indian Dewan.

In Wilfrid Scawen Blunt's *India Under Lord Ripon* the opinion has been expressed that the inhabitants of Indian India are materially better off than British subjects, though Indian India possesses a larger proportion of sterile land than British India.

### New Emigration Bill.

The Indian Emigration Act, 1922, is examined in an article in *The Young Men of India* and the following general observations made thereupon :

The Bill is by no means a perfect one. It only deals with recruiting in and emigration from British India, it leaves the Protector of Emigrants a provincial officer, when it would be far better that he should be responsible to the Government of India, along with the proposed agents; it still leaves a loophole to 'arkatis' through which they can get unskilled labourers to emigrate on false hopes; and there are other minor criticisms which might be urged. But the Bill is a great advance on previous ones. Indenture is finally abolished once and for all; recruitment is more carefully guarded against; emigration to any country is subject to the approval first of the Indian Legislature; the principle of appointing Advisory Committees to help the Protector of Emigrants in his difficult work of controlling emigration is admitted; and power is given to appoint accredited agents of the Government of India in the colonies where emigrants are settled. It may not be a perfect Bill, but it is a good Bill.

India has much lee-way to make up. She is crying out for a full recognition of equality and citizenship in the Empire. The conditions and status of her people overseas have aroused the indignation not only of the public, but also of the Government of India. This Act puts emigration into the hands of the public by bringing it under the control of the elective Assembly. Indians will have the right to say whether their people shall be sent abroad to conditions which have been in the past degrading, and which are now, to say the least of it, thoroughly unsatisfactory. They will be able to say to the Colonies: 'If you want Indian labour, you can only have it on our conditions and we will appoint a representative in your country who will see that these conditions are carried out. And when India can say that, and say it effectively, she has taken quite a big step towards her rightful place in the Commonwealth of Nations.'

### Method of Rice Selection in Assam.

Mr. S. K. Mitra, M. Sc., Ph. D., Economic Botanist to the Government of Assam, writes in the *Agricultural Journal of India* that usually two methods of selection of rice are adopted by the Assamese.

(1) The most careful cultivators select a plot in the field suitable for seed purposes. In this case the farmers depend for results on their good judgment. Extreme conditions, such as areas too dry or too wet, are always avoided. Uniform ripening and medium size of straw and ears are specially noted. The bundle of sheaves harvested from selected plots is kept separate for a time until the pressure of work in the fields is over, when the *mutees* (handful of sheaves cut and tied separately) are opened and selected by hand.

(2) In the second case, no field selection is done. When the proper season comes round, the rice is harvested in *mutees* and is temporarily stored. The *mutees*, when opportunity arise, are then taken out and selected by hand.

The method of selection from the *mutees* is very simple. The operator unties the *mutec* or bundle, grasps the top of the ears with the left hand and shakes them slowly. This causes the small ears to fall to the ground. He then grasps the other end of the *mutec* with the right hand and after again shaking the same, he lays it flat on the ground. All the small, poor and abnormal ears are then removed. The sound ears that are left are kept separately, threshed and packed in specially made bamboo baskets lined with straw called *tom* or *topa*. These baskets are then kept hanging from the ceiling of the house. Some of the cultivators prefer to hang the baskets in the kitchen or over the open fireplace where water is boiled. This latter practice keeps the seeds free from insect and fungus pests.

The seed baskets are taken down when the sowing season begins and are used as desired. In my opinion, this process of field and hand selection is perhaps the best and easiest method that every cultivator can follow so as to keep up the purity and quality of the cultivated paddies of the desirable types. That it exists among the Assamese proves how much the cultivator of this tract values good seed for his paddy crop.

### A Case of Plant Surgery.

In the same Journal Mr. L. B. Kul-karni recommends the kind of plant surgery, described below, by which he has saved the life of a Baobab tree at Bijapoor,

to the attention of those who want to save their old mango and other trees.

There is a gigantic Baobab tree (*Adansonia digitata*) at Bijapur probably more than 300 years old. Since the time of Ali Adilshah, offenders sentenced to death were executed on this tree (*Bijapur Gazetteer*). For this reason the tree is still known as the "Execution Tree".

The tree has a very thick stem with a girth of 49 ft. at 3 ft., 50 ft. at 6 ft., and 58 ft. at 10 ft. from the ground, where it divides into 3 huge branches. It covers an area of  $\frac{1}{4}$  acre. Thus it presents a huge appearance and attracts the notice of every passer-by.

Being old, this tree was naturally attacked badly by rot and also the main trunk near the base, where there was a hole, and the whole of the heart of the tree had disappeared.

Being afraid of losing the tree, the District Judge applied to the Private Secretary to His Excellency the Governor of Bombay for its rejuvenation. I was deputed from the Agricultural Department for the work.

Encouraged by the successful results of similar work done on *Casuarina* and other trees in the Ganeshkhind Botanical Gardens, Kirkee, I proceeded to Bijapur and examined the tree. In the base, a conical-shaped hollow was found of the dimensions of 15 ft. x 9 ft. x 17 ft. The following operations were made during the 1st week of September, 1920. The hole was filled in with rubble and mud and concreted over. The affected parts were first cut out and it was found that the rot was due to the grubs of a large beetle. Hundreds of these grubs were cut out of the tree. As soon as the wound edges were cut down to sound wood, the wound was tarred over and then filled in with concrete. All the other parts which showed signs of attack or susceptibility to it within a short time were tarred over, and all places where water was likely to lodge filled in with concrete.

The District Judge was pleased to remark in his letter addressed to the writer as follows :—

"The result has been a most workman-like job, and the tree this year, though a famine year, at once reacted by producing a far finer foliage than was noticeable the year before. The whole job has been satisfactorily done and had attracted a large crowd who had never seen such a surgical operation on the tree before."

Within my knowledge this kind of operation has proved successful on the following trees in the Deccan :—(1) *Guruga pinnata* and (2) *Casuarina equisetifolia*.

## How to Encourage the Writing and Study of History.

*The Educational Review of Madras for*

April contains a translation, by Mr. L. V. Ramaswami Ayyar, of a Bengali article on Methods of Historical Research and Composition, which all young writers and students of history will do well to read. The article concludes by suggesting how our learned Associations can be of help in the task of writing pure history.

(1) Learned Associations should, from time to time, publish a list of those books in the various subjects and departments of history from which the latest information and the most reliable materials can be had.

(2) Parishads and learned Associations and noble-minded Zeminders should collect such useful books (as are mentioned above), illustrated lists of old coins, the issues of the past 30 years of the Journals of the London and Bengal branches of the Asiatic Society, the Indian Antiquary, the Epigraphica Indica, the Map of India (1 inch to  $\frac{1}{4}$  miles scale) published by the office of the Surveyor-General, and other useful documents. A few books may, from time to time, be selected from this collection and circulated amongst all branches of the Parishads, and amongst reliable libraries of the mofussil also.

(3) A department should be opened in the main Parishad Office, from which it would be possible, for the enquiring student, to obtain a list of source-books, prepared by specialists on the subject. The Parishad should appoint specialists for every branch of history to whom all inquiries may be directed. The names and addresses of such specialists and the 'critical bibliographies' they would prepare in each branch of the subject, may also be published in the organ of the Parishad, the Sahitya Parishad Patrika. In one of the issues of the *Modern Review* (1907) such a critical bibliography in regard to Sikh history was published.

There is yet another duty on our learned Associations, and this is that all important books for the study of History, and particularly Indian History, should be placed before the public, in their Bengali garb. Every year hundreds of Bengali students appear for Sanskrit examinations; these are ignorant of English and they have neither the opportunity nor facilities to search for and find out historical essays from Bengali magazines. Therefore all those recent books published in the English language, about the ancient history and civilisation of our land, are sealed books to these students, many amongst whom may be possessed of acuteness and originality. It is regrettable that these students have to remain unacquainted with the latest information on their own subjects of study and their own religion, for the simple reason that they are ignorant of English. It is

a matter for our learned Associations to be ashamed of that Vincent Smith's "Ancient Indian History" and Prof. Macdonnell's "History of Sanskrit Literature" have not yet been translated into Bengali.

The examples of Gujrat and Maharashtra are cited.

The Guzerati language is spoken by a much smaller population than Bengali, and yet owing to the enthusiasm, industry and far-sightedness of the scholars of the province of Guzerat, that province has been deluged with translations in all kinds of subjects. But we in Bengal comfort ourselves with the proud feeling of possessing Bankim Chandra and Rabindranath without paying any heed to mass education. Having travelled through Poona and Baroda and examined the working of the schools there, I am firmly convinced that in another twenty years the people of the Maharashtra will have out-distanced the public of Bengal in respect of mass education.

The value of history is thus described :

A proper knowledge of history is the first step to national progress or greatness. In the measure in which we are able to find out the genuine truth regarding the past and in the measure in which we are able to apply to the present state of affairs the counsel and experience of the past, in that same measure our masses will be advancing in the path of progress and our united power will be producing proper and desired fruits. Further, in the measure in which we would be content with acquiring untruths or half-truths about our past, in that measure our national development will be retarded and the efforts of the people would be shorn of their fruits. As Professor Seeley says, history acts as the best teacher, guide and friend of all political and social leaders. The ultimate end and value of history is thus to illumine the paths of the future with the experience and example of the past.

### Separation of Railway and General Budgets.

Writing on Indian Railway Finance in the *Journal of the Indian Economic Society* for March 1922, Mr. R. M. Joshi claims to have shown that

The separation of the railway budget from the general budget is not absolutely essential for securing the most essential reform in railway finance, viz., (1) laying down a capital programme for a period (bearing in mind the need for loans for other than railway matters), (2) modifying the doctrine of lapse with regard to the Railway Depart-

ment, (3) determining the programme for repairs and renewals on commercial grounds, and (4) keeping railway accounts on strict business line. The proper disposal of the "net gain", when the "net gain" is ascertained on business principles, can also be arranged for without separating railway from general finance. There is the undoubted danger, in such a separation, of creating an *imperium in imperio*. The Acworth Committee while advocating the separation, do not want that *imperium*. So the proper course would probably be to secure the needed reform without resorting to separation of the railway budget, so that the danger of an *imperium in imperio* may automatically be avoided.

### Educational Policy in U. P.

In the course of an article on "My Educational Policy" in the May *Indian Review* Mr. C. Y. Chintamani writes :—

The Government of the United Provinces hold that reform of Secondary Education is necessary in order to fit the recipients of it the better to profit by University as well as Technical and Professional Education, and also to qualify them for service. The Intermediate stage of education will henceforth be a continuation of High School education and not the beginning of University education. High School and Intermediate education will be controlled by a Board of High School and Intermediate education which will be strong and representative. Arrangements are in train for the establishment of a number of Intermediate Colleges. It is the strong hope of the Government that the new Board will include in the curriculum of high schools and Intermediate colleges subjects which will qualify the student for technical education. The re-organised Allahabad University will be a unitary, teaching and residential institution but will also have an external side to deal with affiliated colleges outside the city of Allahabad. They will be known in future as Associated Colleges. The University will have two new Faculties, Engineering and Agriculture, the Civil Engineering College at Roorkee and the College of Agriculture at Cawnpore being transferred to it by the Government. There is at present a Faculty of Commerce but only a diploma of the Intermediate standard is given by the University. In the re-organised University there will be a degree in Commerce as there will be in Engineering and Agriculture. It is Government's intention that when funds permit a Medical College should be established at Allahabad as a part of the University.

There is no ground for apprehension that the Associated Colleges in outlying centres will suffer in consequence of the reform of the University. Repeated assurances have been given in this behalf.

## Women and the Madras Corporation.

The reader knows that Mrs. M. P. Devadoss, wife of the Hon. Justice Devadoss, is now a nominated member of the Municipal Corporation of Madras. In addition, we learn from *Stri Dharma*,

On May 23rd, Rao Bahadur G. Narayanaswamy Chetty proposed that Clause 51 of the Madras City Municipal Act be deleted. The clause is: "No person shall be qualified for election as a Councillor unless such person is of the male sex." After some discussion the Resolution was voted upon and passed by 12 voting for and 5 against. Since 1919 the Women's Indian Association has been agitating in Madras for these reforms by public meetings, letters in the press and private interviews with Councillors, and naturally its members are happy that their efforts have been rewarded.

It is very satisfactory that the Madras Corporation has now come into line with the Madras Legislative Council in granting to the women of the Presidency all the rights of representation within its power. By these steps Madras Presidency leads the way in establishing equality of rights for women in India.

The same journal states :—

One of the members of the Women's Indian Association, Mrs. P. Susheela Bai, of Bellary, has been nominated as a member of the Bellary Taluk Board. She is the wife of Mr. P. S. Raghubanatha Rao, a High Court Vakil of that town, and she has identified herself for some time with the public interests of women and children there.

## Vidyasagar Vani Bhavan.

The same monthly writes :—

A comprehensive and praiseworthy scheme for the establishment of a Home for Hindu widows and women in indigent circumstances



SREEMATI ABALA BOSE ( Lady Bose ).

has been worked out by Lady J. C. Bose, and is to be conducted under the auspices of the "Nari Siksha Samiti". This Society has long been known for its valuable educational work in, Calcutta and it has already opened a cottage industries department for improving the economic condition of women of middle-class families in Bengal. The Home [ named "Vidyasagar Vani Bhavan ] is to be located in or near Calcutta and is to be in charge of a Ladies' Committee. Its objects will be : ( 1 ) To provide accommodation for helpless widows and women during the period of their training. ( 2 ) To prescribe courses of studies in general and technical subjects suitable for women. ( 3 ) To train women for educational and social service work. ( 4 ) To give them instruction in cottage industries. ( 5 ) To open boarding houses under proper safeguards for women to live in while earning their bread as teachers, clerks, nurses and industrial workers.

The following list of crafts which the Samiti





SREEMATI HARIMATI DATTA.

Who has given Rs. 10,000 to the Vidyasagar  
Vani Bhavan.

proposes to teach the pupils of the above Home will show how useful women's industry and skill can be to their country and how many avenues are open to them for obtaining an independent income:—Spinning and dyeing yarn, weaving cloths and carpets, sewing, knitting, embroidery, lacemaking, wick-making, pottery, manufacture of jams and jellies, condiments and confectionery, home-nursing, teaching and taking care of children and invalids, type-writing, and other home industries. We trust that sufficient funds and workers will be forthcoming to make Lady Rose's Home a great success and the useful institution it promises to be.

### Cruelty to Women Inadequately Punished.

*Stri Dharma* reports :

A wealthy gentleman was found guilty in Madras of cruel treatment to his wife, aged 14, to such an extent as to cause her severe injuries on her body. Though there was the medical certificate and the evidence of the lady doctor that the husband had ill-treated the little girl while he was under the influence of drink, yet the accused's counsel tried to make

out that the case was one of concoction and was purely domestic. The judge was satisfied that there was ill-treatment—but we are not satisfied with his sentence of merely Rs. 100 fine. In cases of this kind the sentence should be such as to act as a deterrent to this man and others of his brutal nature from bullying little girls. Such a fine to a wealthy man is entirely out of proportions to the value of the health and soul of his helpless child-wife and is nothing less than a travesty of justice.

We entirely agree.

### Punctuality on the Part of the Eaters of the Prepared Food.

Having been sinners ourselves in the matter referred to in the extract printed below, we are quite aware of the urgency of the reform advocated therein. Justice to our womanhood requires it. National efficiency demands it.

M. E. C. writes in *The Indian Cookery Magazine* :—

One of the ingredients often omitted from cookery recipes which can be assured of success is *Punctuality* on the part of the eaters of the prepared food. In India it is especially necessary to emphasise the inclusion of this most important factor in any magazine devoted to the furtherance of the culinary art and the improved management of household affairs; for in India more than anywhere else in the world strict punctuality and the value of moments, or even half-hours, is regarded as beneath consideration.

Regularity and punctuality at meal-times are an urgently needed reform in Indian households. We all know how the women of the household are tied to the fire and the kitchen because the men of the family fail to return for their food at the expected time. Sometimes they arrive hours late and there has been a continued strain of worry for the devoted wife who wishes to keep the "preparations" hot and nice for her husband. Because she expects him every moment, she cannot give her attention to any other subject. This want of punctuality brings about an appalling waste of time. It causes cooking to be an endless slavery. It often causes the best prepared dishes to become a failure, thus wasting good and expensive food material, disappointing the cook, and often enough giving indigestion to the eater.

If one asks Indian ladies what is it that gives them most trouble, they will almost all answer, "cooking". Now, that would not be the answer that Western women would give who do their own cooking. In each case there

are the same number of meals to be prepared and generally speaking the same looking after the fire, boiling water or milk, chopping of vegetables, washing of materials and mixing and frying of them; but the Western woman knows that her family will all be sitting ready for the meal at an exact moment, that meal will only take a short time, and that there will be a clear number of hours free for her before she has to start cooking the next meal. In India the lack of united action and the lack of conscience about coming to meals exactly in time leave the poor woman who cooks no time for herself between one meal and another.

When we have paid men cooks we have to give them regular hours of rest, half-holidays and such like, but the poor household ladies who do the cooking where no paid cook is kept are expected to cook from morning to night without grumbling. Why should a wife be treated worse than a servant?

### Women the World Over.

The following items are taken from *Stri Dharma*.

Miss Shiu, who graduated from an American University, is proposed for the post of Education Commissioner at Heungshan, Kwangtung Province, and if chosen she will be the first Chinese woman to hold an executive post in her native country.

The women of Japan have won their agitation for the right to attend political meetings and form political associations. The former police law which prohibited such actions was revised at the last session of the Diet and the new law became operative on May 5. The women of India rejoice at this extension of freedom to their Japanese sisters.

The Whyte Commission has recommended that women shall have the vote for the Reformed Legislative Council of Burma. This is very good news.

A woman Engineer has set up in business for herself in Exeter and has already installed one lighting set for a country house.

In Danzig, the Diet has passed, by 58 votes to 27, a Bill making women eligible as Judges on the same terms as men.

By 41 votes to 36, the Dutch Second Chamber has passed a law permitting women to become Judges of the Dutch Courts.

The State Parliament of Tasmania having recently passed a Bill giving women the right to sit in Parliament, two candidates, one Labour (the wife of the Leader of the Labour Party) and one Independent, have already announced themselves for the general election.

### Should Indian Boys Go to Europe for Study.

We read in the *Bharda New High School Quarterly* :

"I would like to send my sons to England to complete their school education in a public school," I said one day to Mr. Bharda of beloved memory.

"By all means, if you don't mind losing them to yourself and your country," was the laconic and caustic reply.

"What makes you say so?" I asked in astonishment.

"My long experience," he replied, greatly agitated. "I have scarcely known a lad sent to Europe at a tender age return to India and embark on any useful career, whereas I know several who have either come to grief or deserted their families and their country,—tragedies that will make you shed tears."

"Well, then," said I in a lighter vein, although I knew he was in dead earnest, "I had better give up the idea of going there myself. Being a married man, I cannot afford to be annihilated from my family, let alone the country."

"No, do go," he replied, warming up once more. "Take your wife and children also. See things for yourself and come and tell me whether you agree with me or not that the best time for our boys to go to Europe for study or for business is after the critical period of adolescence after graduation."

I went, I saw, I surrendered. Bharda, our unfailing guide, was right. I discussed the question with some of the boys who had grown up, and married and settled in England, and they also confirmed his opinion.

I fear this *obiter dictum* of our departed Gooroo will perhaps turn down the scheme of some youths eager to cross the seas. They or their parents will naturally demand the reasons for it and concrete cases to support it. I regret I cannot satisfy their curiosity in this column but shall be glad to do so if I am asked in private.

RUSTOM P. MASANI.

### The Co-operative Movement in England.

Mr. Albert J. Saunders writes in the *Mysore Economic Journal* :

It was in 1844 that the real founding of the movement took place. A little group of workers at Rochdale, just close to Manchester, desiring to improve the social condition of themselves and their community resolved to start a co-operative society. There were twenty-eight of them, and their total capital amount only to

£ 28. They have ever since been known as the "Rochdale Pioneers."

What are the latest figures for the movement?

The Census figures of 1920 report the co-operative membership in Great Britain as follows:—

#### MEMBERSHIP OF CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES.

	1921	1911
England and Wales	3,879,146	2,342,484
Scotland	680,165	418,047
Great Britain	4,559,311	2,760,531

Now, to arrive at the full strength of co-operation in Great Britain one must multiply the above total by 4 or 5, as every member probably represents a family of several persons. That will give a grand total of not less than 18,000,000 co-operators out of a total population of 42,767,530, or one person in every three in Great Britain is a co-operator, and this really astonishing growth has been experienced in the short period of 76 years.

The movement began with a retail store.

But other departments were soon added. First came Producers' Co-operative Societies; then the Co-operative Wholesale Society; and then Foreign Trading, Shipping and Banking. It was an eye-opening experience to visit the palatial central premises of the Co-operative Wholesale Society in Manchester. That great organization owns: Flour Mills, Food factories, Boot works, Textile Mills, Soap works, Printing works, Clothing factories, Farm and fruit lands, Coal Mines, Tea plantations, Motor works, Steam-ships, etc. From such a small beginning, see what a mighty movement has come to spread its influence for good.

### Transport Facilities in U. S. A.

We read in the same journal:

The United States is making rapid advance in its transportation facilities—and now, as a somewhat natural evolution, comes the utilization of the motor as an adjunct or auxiliary to the steam-power railways.

In India, too, transport facilities of all kinds by land, water, and air should be fully developed. But it is only railways that receive attention. Highways are quite inadequate, waterways are neglected, and aviation is almost unborn.

### Broad-based and Top-heavy Educational System.

In the United States of America education is broad-based, not top-heavy, as the following figures taken by the *Mysore Economic Journal* from the *Educator Journal* of Indianapolis, will show:

Of the total school enrolment of the United States 91.41 per cent is in elementary schools 6.82 per cent in high schools, and 1.77 per cent in higher institutions.

The results of education will appear from the following figures:—

Of the 10,000 persons in Who's Who in America, 39 had no schooling, 1,008 had common school training, 1,545 attending high school, and more than 6,000 were college graduates, or attended college. Less than one per cent of the American men, past and present, are college graduates. Yet 55 per cent of the presidents of the United States came out of that number. 36 per cent of the members of Congress, 47 per cent of the Speakers of the House, 54 per cent of the Vice-Presidents, 62 per cent of the Secretaries of State, 69 per cent of the Supreme Court judges. Out of 5,000,000 American men with no schooling, 31 have attained distinction according to Who's Who. Out of 33,000,000 with elementary school training, 808 have attained distinction. Out of 2,000,000 with high school training 1425 have attained distinction. But with only 1,000,000 with a college education, 6,000 have attained distinction.

### Uses of Cocoanut Shells.

The *Mysore Economic Journal* writes:

Cocoanut shells are found in abundance in the copra-producing areas of India and Ceylon. A large quantity of this is wasted. Four tons of shell produce a ton of charcoal. It is true that the export of the cocoanut shell charcoal is increasing. But some portion of the shells is used for fuel locally. A small percentage is used for carving works, such as lamps, cups and saucers, spoons, etc. Most of the rubber estates use the holeless half for latex collection. Experiments recently made have found that the shell can yield a valuable far, non-corrosive antiseptic, and an excellent vegetable substitute for acetic-acid-cresosote. It is said that rubber regulated with this creosote will require no smoking—it need only be dried in the open air, and will yield a pure white material, which stands against climatic changes much better than material treated with acetic acid. A heating chamber, a condenser or cooler, and a dis-

tillery, the necessary machinery, which could be worked by five coolies are estimated to cost about Rs. 12,000. The shell packed inside the heating chamber is heated to a very high temperature from outside and the creosote thus obtained is then dealt with within two other machines. A ton of shell will yield about 150 gallons of creosote at a cost of about Rs. 2 per gallon, a very great saving over acetic acid. The distilling over, the shell will serve as an inexpensive, non-smoking, first-rate fuel for running the many gas engines all over the country, which now consume coal and coke.

### Buddhist Shrines in India.

*The Maha-bodhi and the Buddhist World* for June contains a large amount of interesting reading, under different heads, relating to Buddhist shrines and antiquities. We quote one passage :

Kapilavastu is in the hands of non-Buddhists; Buddha Gaya is in the hand of a Saivite land-owner, an enemy of Buddhists; Kusinara is in charge of an Arakanese Buddhist monk, who lives alone in that distant place, 24 miles from the city of Gorakhpur. In India, the land of the Buddhas, her children know more of Allah, Muhammad, Jesus, Moses, Daniel, than of the Great Lord Buddha, who made the greatest historic renunciation for the welfare of the millions. India lost two precious gems a thousand years ago—her independence and her national religion. For a thousand years her children have continued to decline without the elevating Dharma, which brings happiness to all living beings.

### “What are the Tamils Doing?”

The reply of “Vivius” in *Everymans Review* for June is :—

Nothing for their language or literature : nothing for their nationality or race ; nothing for their country : and nothing for their regeneration or rise !

He means by Tamils all those peoples whose mother-tongue today is Tamil. The reason why he thinks the Tamils should make a combined effort for their regeneration is thus dwelt upon :—

Language is the greatest and most patent of unifying forces. In the civilised world at the present day it is certainly the basis of national being or reconstruction. It is further showing an ever-increasing tendency to become more and more the principle of national cementing, if not also of national segregations.

It is quite true we are all aspiring towards and talking about one Indian nation, without distinction of creed or caste, language or ideals, comprising all the native peoples of this vast continent of India and welded together perhaps by the political oppression of a foreign government. But granted such a political nationality, what is there in its scope or essence to exclude subordinate nationalities on a linguistic basis ?

After all it may turn out, that we have been too prone to attach too much importance to political unity, which more often than not means merely common political subordination. And after all it may be that there are really in the world no rigidly exclusive bodies of men but that the human race is from time to time merely intersected by various circles, sometimes shifting and often expanding or dwindling and in most cases overlapping each other.

The plea, therefore, for the promotion of Tamil nationality is scarcely inconsistent with the idea of an Indian nationality.

I take it there are about fifty millions of Tamil-speaking peoples in South India and Ceylon. It may no doubt be asked whether the mere fact of their speaking the same language is sufficient to warrant their exclusive formation into a separate nationality. It has been doubted whether there can be thought without language but it cannot be doubted that language and thought are the soul and body of our higher being. In our own land and surrounded everywhere by men and women speaking the same language we are not apt to appreciate the importance and influence of a common mother-tongue. When cast in a far-off foreign land, living amidst a babel of foreign tongues, it is with a thrill that we approach one whom we may discover suddenly and by accident as a linguistic brother speaking our own mother-tongue. On such occasions one is prompted to forget rank, caste and all and embrace him as if he were a long lost brother. It is because we have taken language too much for granted that we forget to attach to it sufficient value, or accord to it its proper place in the factors of unification.

### “Journal of Indian History.”

“*Journal of Indian History*” for February, 1922, contains nearly two hundred pages of interesting and instructive reading. We will make a few extracts from different articles.

#### {*Life and Work of Nanak.*}

Guru Nanak, the founder of Sikhism, was born in 1469 A.D. and died in 1538 at the advan-

cedage of seventy. Nanak spent about a quarter of a century in travelling and itinerary preaching through the whole length and breadth of India. He is also believed to have visited some places outside India, such as Mecca, Medina, and Persia. Eventually Nanak settled at Kartarpur—a village founded by himself. Here he built a *dharmasala* (Sikh chapel) and continued, to the end of his life, to teach the crowds of people who now flocked to him from various parts of the Punjab.

Nanak's mission of life was the purification of Hindu religion and the reformation of Hindu society. The society was mostly priest-ridden, and the popular Hindu religion in the days of Nanak was confined to the observance of mere formalities, rituals, and ceremonials. He asserted most emphatically that the *Brahmins* and the *Mullahs*, who followed religion as a profession, were not the true guides to truth, that they were like blind men leading the blind and that salvation lay only in devoting oneself to the service of God.

Nanak further declared that truth was greater than all pilgrimages and that the love of God was better than all religious rites and ceremonies. In fact, he taught the people that the only way to salvation lay through *bhakti*, or devotion to God combined with good actions.

#### *Importance of the Vijayanagar Empire.*

From the time of its foundation about A.D. 1336, Vijayanagar became the rallying point of the Hindus of South India, and it afforded necessary protection to their life, religion, and property, till its break up in A.D. 1565.

Hence a study of the origin, growth, and development of this Empire—an Empire which could hold its own against the Mohammedans for more than two centuries, which has been declared by a succession of contemporary travellers to have been marvellous for its extent and prosperity, which had great influence on the fortunes of the Portuguese power in India, which has left permanent marks on the orthodoxy of the southern Hindus even to this day, and whose great literary and archaeological monuments are to be found scattered all over Southern India—cannot but be interesting to a student of history. But unfortunately there does not exist a single comprehensive work dealing with the subject.

As to how its history can be written, we read :

The difficulties arising from the destruction of the official records and the scarcity of contemporary native authorities on the subject have been greatly neutralised by the epigraphical and other sources. Broadly speaking the materials available for the construction of an exhaustive history of the Empire can be grouped into five classes, viz.,—

1. Archaeological (monuments, coins, and inscriptions)

2. Literary
3. Notices by foreigners
4. Later Indian and European works
5. Miscellaneous.

#### *Mughal Government.*

About news-recorders and spies, we learn :—

Over the vast hierarchy of executive, judicial and fiscal officers, the emperor watched through the numberless eyes of news-recorders and secret spies. Espionage has a bad odour about it, but few Governments, specially in times of danger—and mediæval States always had some danger from some quarter to apprehend—have been able to dispense with it. The Hindu lawgivers recognize the fact by recommending an extensive staff of secret service men. As early as the thirteenth century, Ala-ud-din Khilji had raised or degraded espionage to a science and a fine art. The Mughals adapted and modified the system. They maintained two classes of agents—one open, called *Waqiahnawis* or news-recorders; the other, secret. The latter generally busied themselves with Government servants, while the former transmitted news of every conceivable description. If their documents had escaped the ravages of time, it would have been possible to write the history of mediæval India with a degree of fullness such as the annals of no country and no age could have matched. From the extracts and summaries preserved by Jahangir, Motamad Khan, and others, it is clear that they sent periodical reports of all that they saw and heard. It is a tribute to the efficiency of the intelligence department that Hawkins as he proceeded to complain of his ill-treatment at Surat, was surprised to learn that the Emperor Jahangir had already received a detailed report of the matter and taken the first steps towards justice.

Sir Michael O'Dwyer has not been punished. But see how under the earlier Mughal emperors tyrannical Governors were dealt with.

Governors who appeared from the reports of news-recorders or from any secret reports to be abusing their power and authority, were promptly recalled, censured, disgraced, or severely punished. There must have been a great deal of oppression which never reached the ear of the emperor, but neither Akbar nor Jahangir ever countenanced the least oppression of their subjects and always took prompt measures to terminate and punish any rapacious or cruel course of conduct on the part of their officers. Said Khan, when appointed Governor of the Punjab by Jahangir immediately after his accession, was plainly warned that if his notorious eunuchs tyrannized over the people, 'his justice would not put up with oppression from any one, and that in the scales of equity neither smallness nor greatness was

regarded. If after this any cruelty or harshness should be observed on the part of his people, he would receive punishment without favour.' The emperor's favourite, Muqarrab Khan, was punished with the reduction of his mansab by half for an individual act of cruelty.

Mirza Rustam, governor of Thatta, who embarked on a course of tyranny over the people, was promptly recalled, disgraced, and handed over to Anir Rai Singh Dalan, the great gaoler of State prisoners, to be punished in an exemplary way, after an investigation into his case. Sometime after, however, the Mirza repented and apologized and was pardoned—after undergoing a thorough humiliation. Chin Qulich Khan, the tyrant of Jawnpore, was likewise recalled and would have been suitably punished if he had not died on the way. An inquiry was instituted into the case of Raja Kalyan, of whom certain unpleasant stories had been heard, but his innocence was clearly proved and he was acquitted. Abdullah Khan Firoz Jang, Governor of Gujarat, one of the valiant soldiers of the empire, a favourite of the powerful Shah Jahan, was recalled, and had to undergo the uttermost humiliation and to seek the good offices of his patron, to secure pardon. Shah Jahan himself, when at the height of his influence, received a most severe reprimand, which made the whole court tremble for allowing his subordinate, the governor of Surat, to oppress English traders. Numerous similar instances occurred. "If," wrote Hawkins, "complaints of injustice which they (the local Governors) do, be made to the King, it is well if they escape with the loss of their lands. Justice, indeed, was one of the strong points of Jahangir. He sentenced an influential man, accused of murder, to death. 'God forbid,' he writes, 'that in such affairs I should consider princes, and far less that I should consider Amirs'."

As regards famine relief it is stated :

Thanks to the difficulties of transport, mediaeval famines were restricted in area but intense in suffering. Indian historians and foreign travellers alike paint a ghastly picture

of the hunger and mortality that raged wild over the stricken region. The State did something to relieve the misery. Besides remissions of revenue, it distributed large sums of money, opened relief works, encouraged recruitment to the army, and established free soup-kitchens and alms-houses.

### Search for Historical Manuscripts in Indian Libraries.

Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan, University Professor of Modern Indian History, Allahabad, has published the reports of himself and his staff of the search for historical manuscripts in Indian Libraries. Lists of old paintings have also been given. The following libraries were visited :—

Library of Lala Sri Ram, M. A., at Delhi ;  
Library of H. H. the Maharaja of Alwar ;  
Two fine libraries at Hyderabad ;  
The Asiatic Society's Library in Calcutta ;  
The Buhar collection in the Imperial Library ;  
St. Xavier's College Library, Calcutta ;  
The Oriental Library of Bankipore ;  
Rampur State Library ;  
Library of the Muslim University, Aligarh ;  
Library of the Kasli Nagari Pracharini Sabha, Benares ;  
Ranmagar Library of H. H. the Maharaja of Benares ;

The Chhatarpur Library, the Madras Libraries, viz., the Connewara Public Library, the University Library, the Telugu Academy, the Literary Society Library, the Secretariat Library, the Assistant Epigraphist's Office, and the Government Oriental MSS. Library.

## FOREIGN PERIODICALS

### Social Movements in Tokyo.

Many people think of Japan mainly as a country of fighters and industrial leaders and workers. But like other civilised countries she is noted for her philanthropic activities, too. For instance, take the social movements

in Tokyo alone, as described in the *Japan Magazine*. They are :—

#### THE CENTRAL BENEVOLENT ASSOCIATION.

The Society's chief endeavor is to co-ordinate benevolent activities and establish organs for proper investigation detailed thus :—

1.—Co-ordination of organisations concerned in philanthropic relief work.

2.—Co-operation of organisations and of individuals working philanthropically.

3.—Directions and suggestions for successful co-operation, also adequate support of administrative agencies.

4.—Investigation—At home and abroad.

5.—Cultivation of Public Interest, by the publication of periodicals, the holding of conferences, lecture meetings and by other methods of circulating information.

#### TOKYO PREFECTURAL CHARITY ASSOCIATION (INCORPORATED).

The work of this Association includes :—

1.—The union of charitable enterprises.

2.—An organ for investigation.

3.—The encouragement and support of social work: a periodical, "Tokyofu Jizen Kyokai Kaiho" (Tokyo Benevolent Association Report) is issued now and then.

4.—The improvement and increase of effort in the slum section.

5.—Training of staff, i. e., the selection of those desiring to devote themselves to relief work, also the provision of a special course of study which at present is available at either Waseda University, the Buddhist Theological College, or the Tokyo Women's College.

6.—Assistance for relief organizations through committees.

From the following account one is able to gather the kind of effort that is being made on behalf of the workingman.

Since September, 1909, special places, called Musashiya or rice-shops, have been opened, in order to make it possible to obtain the daily necessities of life at a reasonable sum.

One Musashiya supplies meals at a cost of about 10 sen per meal, and daily accommodates about 500 people; here also any requests or inquiries are sympathetically and capably dealt with.

A public-benefit pawn-broker has been provided, and a manager appointed to run the business with special privileges for the working-class.

A public bath-house has been provided for the use of those in the vicinity, at a cost of 2,387 yen. The charge for adults is 2 sen, for children 1 sen, and in the city the fee is 6 sen adults, 3 sen children.

THE FOUNDATION FOR RENDERING LEGAL AID was established in the Department of Justice in Kojimachi Ward. Its presidency is always occupied by the Vice-Minister of Justice, and it has been organized for the protection and assistance of those discharged from prisons, in any part of the country, and it is maintained by the foundation fund, interest and subsidy, the present capital being over 850,000 yen.

#### THE TOKYO DAILY NECESSITIES ASSOCIATION (INCORPORATED)

was established within the premises of Tokyo urban-prefectural government. Fifty public market-places have been provided within Tokyo City, in each of which the individual producers or organisations of producers, or specially appointed merchants, are under agreement to sell all sorts of daily commodities at reasonable prices.

#### TOKYO CITY PUBLIC MARKET.

The Lord Mayor of Tokyo led this movement and some merchants agreed to sell daily necessities at low prices, and officials are sent to oversee.

#### SIMPLE LIFE SOCIETY.

Soon after the riots which occurred on account of the sudden rise in the price of rice, the leading residents of Kanda resolved to relieve the working-class of the high rate of food-stuffs, and found it possible to do so through this organ, which charged 10 sen per meal, and to-day accommodates an average of 2,000 people per day.

#### TOKYO PEOPLE'S RESTAURANTS.

There are two of these places, in order to provide citizens of the lower classes with simple and good meals, in convenient style and at suitable hours.

#### FREE LODGING HOUSES.

The object is to give free lodging and protection, and to assist with children.

THE JODO SECT LABORERS' MUTUAL AID SOCIETY. Its main object includes lodging, relief work, and employment agencies.

#### THE SALVATION ARMY FREE LODGING HOUSE, ASAKUSA.

This is in Asakusa Ward, and its objects are similar to those described above.

THE TSUKISHIMA LABORERS' DORMITORY is another lodging house.

#### TOKYO EMPLOYMENT AGENCY.

There are three places in the City.

Besides working an Employment Agency, it runs a lodging house for laborers, and a warehouse for the unemployed.

#### LABORERS' ENDEAVOR SOCIETY (LEGALLY INCORPORATED.)

Its object is to work an agency for the use of proletarians in the neighborhood, and to relieve those in poor circumstances.

## A Quest for a Perfect Educational System.

*The Japan Advertiser*, quoted by the *Japan Magazine*, states that

Mr. and Mrs. Sven V. Knudsen are on a tour of the world engaged in investigating educational methods in use in different nations. To aid them in their work and to make possible investigation at firsthand they decided to travel overland. They have come to Japan from Denmark via America where they made a continental tour before crossing the Pacific.

#### Who is Mr Knudsen ?

He is assistant headmaster of the State School of Copenhagen, Denmark, and one of the leading educators of Denmark and is prominent there as a writer and student of the activities of boys from the time they begin their school life until they graduate from college. He is taking a leading part in the Boy Scout

movement and is now on his way around the world gathering material for a book which he plans to write which will deal with the activities of boys of every country and will be called "Boys the World Over."

In speaking of the purpose of his work and what he hopes to gain from his tour Mr. Knudsen said :—

It is the purpose of the school authorities and Government officials of Denmark to gather from all over the world intimate knowledge of educational methods which are in use and to choose from these many and widely different practices the best and most efficient points as proved by actual usage and make them a part of the educational methods of Denmark.

"Denmark is a small country and has a dense population," he said. "She is not a rich country, either in money or natural resources. If the people of that land are to make something of themselves and increase the efficiency of the State as a whole they will have to do it through education, and every person there will have to provide himself with a much better than the average education in order to overcome the handicaps under which they are placed by inevitable conditions. We think we have one of the best educational systems in the world to-day, but we are continually striving to perfect it and in return for what we learn from other nations of the earth we are willing to give to them the benefit of our experiences if any desire to send representatives to study our methods or students to study in our schools. We are doing this to-day with several countries, and our students are becoming acquainted with the habits and customs of other lands from which they will choose the best points and bring them back for the benefit of their home country. The foreign students in our schools are being afforded the opportunity to do the same thing if they are so inclined."

There should be some Indian educators who are willing and able to do what Mr. Knudsen has been doing.

### Has Non-co-operation Failed?

There are some Indian Nationalists in America who are for gaining independence by force of arms. It is probably with reference to them that the New York *New Republic* has written :—

The comment most generally made by Indian Nationalists on the arrest of M. K. Gandhi seems to be this: that the method of Non-cooperation has now been given a fair trial; that the British government refuses to allow its continuance, and that, as a consequence, the Indian people are now forced to take the road of violent resistance. The substantive statement, it appears to us, and the inference, are alike illusory. Less than three years have passed since Mr. Gandhi, his dwindling faith in England shattered by the guns of Brigadier-General Dyer at Amritsar, announced the full program of Non-cooperation. The notion that, among the myriads of India, a program such as that could be given an adequate

trial in so brief a time is surely absurd. And those Indians, who, now that Mr. Gandhi is in jail, find themselves tempted to repudiate his doctrine, should give heed to their leader's warning. He has said repeatedly that if Non-cooperation turns to violence India will never attain her freedom. The present in India is extraordinarily dark and confused. But about the immediate future one thing seems to be beyond question. The Indian Nationalists, having been carried thus far by the power of an idea, embodied in a unique personality, will win or lose in this conflict with the Government of India, according as they prove themselves able or not to persevere in the application of the Gandhi doctrine.

### Influence of Imaginative Literature.

Olive Beaupre Miller expresses the opinion in *Child-Welfare Magazine* that there are stories and stories, and nothing matters much more than which story a boy reads.

He may know all the scientific facts in the universe, may know the Encyclopedia Britannica backwards and forwards, and still never have perceived that selfishness, dishonesty, cunning, cruelty, weakness, narrowness of vision, inability to see from any other stand-point than his own, are evil qualities which he does not wish to possess and that courage and faith, strength and perseverance, patience, honesty, loyalty, breadth of vision are qualities which are splendid and admirable, which he does wish to possess.

In the settling of those great problems which have been stirred to the surface in the restless world of today and are facing the rising generation, problems needing greater wisdom and breadth of view for their solution than have ever faced the world before, is it going to be of more importance to know that the Battle of Hastings was fought in the year 1066 or to have innately and unconsciously acquired a love of justice and truth, and admiration for the big and unselfish view-point, the well-balanced and far-reaching wisdom?

I am not belittling scientific reading: it is absolutely necessary, and many a finely written history or biography may, and often does, accomplish the same thing as fiction, but I am bringing out as clearly as possible that the value of the best fiction has been much under-rated and that because it has been under-rated, the best and most intelligent use has not been made of it in the child's developments. The best fiction certainly will mould your child's ideals and standards, his views of life, his judgments on life, as surely as it widens his mental horizon, shows him other points of view than his own, quickens his imagination and his joyous appreciation of beauty, livens his sense of humor, deepens his emotions, and at every turn fires his spirit into life.

By the best fiction the writer does not at all refer to books with a moral.

I merely mean that all truly great literature worthy of the name has expressed quite unself-consciously men's natural love and admiration for



what is truly great and good and their natural perception of the ugliness of what is evil and false and that this point of view, so inestimably valuable, is all unconsciously absorbed by the child: the very spirit of the work communicates itself to his spirit if the selections made for his reading are wise.

As regards fairy tales,

we need to weed out the weird and sensational, the unwholesome and morbid, and leave the pure and beautiful fancies, the vigorous flourishing strength, the splendid unselfconscious simplicity. There are many, many bad fairy tales and no one phase of your child's reading needs more careful supervision than his fairy tales.

I should never give a young child a whole volume of Grimm or Dasent or Asbjornsen, Jacobs or any other literary collection of folk tales. They contain many horrible stories. If the child is to have these books whole at any time, let it be when he is older, say in the fifth or sixth grades, can read them without fear and has some ability within himself to refuse and throw off the evil that is there.

### "The Lamp of Judgment."

Continuing his series of articles on the Seven Lamps of Advocacy, Judge Parry writes on the Lamp of Judgment in the June number of *Chambers's Journal*:

Let no one think that he can attain to sound judgment without hard work. The judgment of the advocate must be based on the maxim, 'He that judges without informing himself to the utmost that he is capable cannot acquit himself of judging amiss.'

A client is entitled to the independent judgment of the advocate. Whether his judgment is right or wrong, it is the duty of the advocate to place it at the disposal of his client. In the business of advocacy judgment is the goods that the advocate is bound to deliver. Yet he is under constant temptation to please his client by giving him an inferior article. The duty of the advocate to give only his best is wisely insisted upon by Serjeant Ballantine,

The writer holds:

In nothing does the advocate more openly exhibit want of judgment than in prolixity. Modern courts of justice are blamed by the public, not wholly without cause, for the length and consequent expense of trials. To poor people this may mean a denial of justice.

"Sound judgment is essential to the examination of witnesses. How few advocates know how to examine a witness-in-chief!" "Cross-examination, too, is almost entirely a matter of judgment."

Two golden rules handed down from the eighteenth century, and may be from beyond, are still unlearned lessons to each succeeding generation of advocates:

1. Never ask a question without having a good reason to assign for asking it.
2. Never hazard a critical question without having

good ground to believe that the answer will be in your favour.

Brow-beating is always a dangerous policy: it antagonises the jury and leads to reprisals. There is an old story of the counsel in an assault case who asked the witness at what distance from the parties he was at the time of the assault. Not content with the reply of 'A few feet,' but pressing for greater accuracy, he was answered by the witness: 'Just four feet five and a half inches.'

'How do you come to be so very exact, fellow?' asked counsel sternly.

'Because I expected some fool or other would ask me, so I measured it.'

### "The Spiritual Outlook for Western Civilization."

It is true that the East evolved an ideal of civilisation different from the concrete reality called Western civilization. But while the Eastern ideal is undoubtedly more spiritual than material, more other-worldly than secular, it is self-delusion to think that we present-day orientals are more spiritual than occidentals. The Eastern ideal (in which the really Christian ideal is included) is a spiritual ideal, but the lives that we orientals lead are not embodiments of the ideal. The real truth is that we are languid, inert, lifeless; and that is why we pursue our pleasures, profits and hostilities languidly, and mistake that languidness for spirituality.

With these prefatory remarks we proceed to give some idea of the spiritual renaissance which, according to Mr. Glenn Frank, editor of *The Century Magazine*, has already dawned on the world. He prophesies:—

The next twenty-five years will be challenging years to the man who has any sense of intellectual and spiritual adventure, for they will mark a turning point in human history.

From before the war, the West was in the grip of materialism.

For more than the lifetime of most of us the chill winds of materialism have been blowing across Western civilization. Its spiritual fires have been banked, if not burned out.

The civilization that preceded and precipitated the war was at best a thinly veneered barbarism that was slowly consuming the life of the race in the poverties of peace no less than in the perils of war. Pagan ideals of power and pleasure had spread their nets anew for the capture of our souls. Power was the goal of the state; pleasure was the goal of the people. Political life had become paganized by its passion for power at any price; business life had become paganized by its scramble for profits at any price; and social life had become paganized by its devotion to pleasure at any price. In this reluctant indictment little, if any,

discrimination can be made between allied, enemy, and neutral peoples. We were all guilty of the sin of surrender to pagan ideals. We practised paganism while we professed Christianity. All of Western civilization was thus a sort of corporate hypocrisy.

This corporate hypocrisy these pagan ideals, caused the War.

The verdict of history will be that Germany caused the war, but for a deeper reason than propagandists or politicians have yet guessed. The pagan program of self-interest, material satisfaction, and brute force was dominating all Western civilization before the War. This program simply came to a head in Germany first. Germany caused the war because Germany led in repaganizing the world. Germany caused the war not because she alone had sinned, but because she sinned more perfectly than the rest of us. The basic paganism of politics, of business, and of social life that the rest of the world denounced and practised, Germany openly adopted as her creed and practised.

During and after the War,

It was everywhere predicted that the most ruthless war of history would result in the spiritual regeneration of Western civilization. But this colossal paradox was not to come true. After Versailles the search for the Holy Grail of a new world degenerated into a sordid struggle for existence, with little thought of the quality of that existence.

And so men are again speculating upon the possible breakdown of Western civilization.

Mr. Glenn Frank thinks otherwise.

Personally, I believe that we are in the morning hours of such a renaissance. I believe that the raw materials for such a renaissance are lying all about us, waiting only for some truly great spiritual leader to bring them together and to touch them into life.

He makes clear what are *not* the grounds of this hope.

I am not reviving the exploded notion that the war stimulated in the soldiers a spirituality that will be the basis of a religious revival. I do not believe that war ever ministers to spirituality. Much of the apparent spirituality of men under fire is a mere scurrying to cover under the lash of fear, an attempt, as H. G. Wells phrased it, "to use God as a gas mask." The spiritual renaissance that will redeem Western civilization will not spring from war-stimulated emotions.

I am not resting my faith upon the new mysticism that has swept the world in the wake of the war. I do not believe that the new popularity of mediums and all the current hammering at the gates of the other world have any basically spiritual significance for our time.

In fact, this next great revival of religion will not be a religious revival in the accepted sense of that term. Many of its most striking episodes will not occur in the carpeted aisles of cathedrals or in the sawdust aisles of evangelistic sheds, but in laboratories, in school-rooms, in factories, and at political headquarters. I do not mean to suggest that the church will play no part in this spiritual renaissance. The church should furnish the leadership for this adventure in the depaganizing of Western civilization.

But this would be possible,

When the church has scrapped its ancient vocabulary and begun to talk to the men of this generation in figures of speech they understand; when a ceaseless search for truth has supplanted dogmatism; when the church spends more thought upon its service than upon its services; when denominationalism has been recognized as the twin brother of the nationalism that has plunged the world into its periodic wars; when the church has undertaken the redemption of institutions with as sincere conviction as it has brought to the redemption of persons; when the church adds to its preaching of abstract virtues a continuous moral analysis of modern social, political, and industrial life in order that men may know the new and subtle ways that ancient sins may be committed; when, in short, the church becomes its severest critic and takes the whole of modern life for its field, it will be on the way toward effective leadership in the depaganizing of Western civilization.

Mr. Frank concludes his article thus:

The renaissance of which I write, however, will not be essentially a church movement. Its prophets will not thrill the world with any new doctrine. Their service will consist rather of the bringing together in a new synthesis the new idealisms that have been springing up as a by-product of the "secular" thought and investigation of creative-minded scientists, educators, industrialists, and statesmen. This spiritual renaissance will not mean the imposition of an alien idealism upon the secular activities of mankind, but will consist rather of what, for want of a better phrase, I shall call the recovery of the lost spirituality of public affairs.

The John Wesley of this moral renewal, perhaps, will not appear in surplice or gown. The man who lights the fires of this renaissance may be a statesman. When the partizanship of our time—sorry product of small minds—has had time to die, some man may arise who will lead the world past the bogies of covenants, entangling alliances, and sovereignties into a creative internationalism that will be the rallying-point not only for the political, but for the social and spiritual, hopes of mankind. The leader may be an educator who will transform the sterilities of scholarship into the creative adventure of helping students to make themselves at home in the modern world, of giving them standards of civilized values, of equipping them with hopes as well as with habits. Again this new reformation may find its Luther in some biologist who will rid eugenics of its barn-yard and stock-farm implications, and put behind it a racial conscience that men will recognize as a logical development from the individual and social consciences that have preceded it.

At any rate, whatever may be the point of departure for this renaissance, it will draw its power from two sources—science and religion. As Dean Inge has put it, "The spiritual integration of society which we desire and behold afar off must be illuminated by the dry light of science, and warmed by the rays of idealism, a white light but not cold. And idealism must be compacted as a religion, for it is the function of religion, to prevent the fruits of flowering-times of the spirit from being lost."

## A Japanese Women's "Ultimatum to the Men!"

*The Woman Citizen* tells its readers :

A poster displayed at the main entrance of a well-known girls' school at Tokyo was termed by the Japanese press an ultimatum to the men. The poster listed ten very modest requests formulated by a Japanese wife to her liege lord :

Please get up at the same time I do.

Please do not scold me in the presence of children or of visitors.

When you leave home for long periods, please tell me where you go

Please let me know when you leave home and when you return.

Please grant me the privilege of enjoying a few of my own wishes.

Please give me a fixed sum of money for my own personal use.

Please do not ask the attention of others for things you can very well do yourself. (The "others" is herself.)

Please refrain from doing such things before the children as would set a bad example.

Please allow me some time each day for reading and studying.

Please stop saying "OiKora" (English equivalent : "Hello, you over there") when you call me. I am your wife and deserve respect.

## Sparks from Lady Astor's Sayings.

*The Woman Citizen* has brought together some sayings of Lady Astor, the first woman to sit in the British Parliament. Here are some of them.

The world needs us. A man-ordered world has failed. We should go into all countries and preach this ideal—men and women working together for real peace on earth.

Mercifully we women have no political past.

I can conceive of nothing worse than a man-governed world except a woman-governed world.

Wives come and go, but mothers stay on forever.

In the modern world no nation can get work for all unless it trades with all.

The more you go in for public life the more you lose your home life.

We have not been fair to men. Always in our hearts we've known they are the weaker sex but we've lacked the courage to tell them so.

We get from the men what we ask from the men.

Real women are women who care about real things.

What women will be in politics depends on what they are at heart.

If all that women do is to learn what men have done, the world will be the worse.

## Woman's Scientific Discoveries.

We take the following from *The Woman Citizen* :

The latest scientist to make an important contribution to the health of humanity is a woman—Dr. N. Kritch, director of a hospital laboratory in Moscow. For two years Dr. Kritch has been searching for the typhus germ, and reports that she has isolated it have just been confirmed. Other physicians, it is said, have been partly successful in producing typhus vaccine, but Dr. Kritch is the first to grow and reproduce the germ outside the human body. So far no curative serum has been perfected, but that is likely to follow.

The hospital where the discovery was made had been supplied with equipment by the Americans.

Thirteen papers were entered in competition for the prize of 1,000 dollars annually awarded by the American Association to Aid Scientific Research by Women. This year the prize has been won by an Englishwoman, Dr. Anna Catherine Davies of Royal Holloway College, Englefield Greens, England, her paper being an impressive "Investigation of Critical Electronic Energy Associated with the Excitation of the Spectra Helium." Of the other papers submitted five were from England, one from Australia, one from Russia and five from the United States.

## Tennyson on "a Poet's Life".

In the "Personal Memories of Tennyson," which as a lover of Tennyson we have read with joy, contributed by Mrs. Warre Cornish to the *London Mercury*, occurs the following :

"Why does one want to know about a poet's life?" The less you know the better; he gives you his best in his writings. I thank God day and night, that we know so little about Shakespeare."

## A Tennyson Letter.

The following is extracted from the same magazine :

Some time afterward the poet was sending wedding presents to his old friend Brookfield's daughter, and the letter which took her his congratulations is so representative of his talk and of the 'life poetic' which passed into it, that I have obtained leave to print the letter here :—

MY DEAR MAGDALENE.

I have never done anything for you except once as a child I helped you up a ladder : now I send you some of my books, for I hear you are to marry William Ritchie. I am glad that your foot is on the first rung of the ladder the top of which is in Heaven.

Yours sincerely,

ALFRED TENNYSON.

## Cruelty in Congo.

We read in *The Living Age* :

A Congo correspondent of *Le Peuple* reports a very high mortality among the natives of that territory. In certain 'camps' the annual death rate is 6 per

among soldiers and 14 per cent among laborers. The Governor-General recently condemned the treatment of natives by European employers. A rumor is current, though this correspondent does not confirm it by specific data, that the black laborers employed at the Kalo mines are 'treated with a cruelty that surpasses belief. They are forced to work in the water from 6 A.M. until 7 P.M. They are fed only canned goods and this in insufficient quantities.' The shortage of provisions at the mines was attributed by the Governor-General to the lack of fore-sight shown by the natives themselves, who—presumably during their leisure from 7 P.M. to 6 A.M.—'do not cultivate enough and to ensure themselves against shortage in times of drought.' The local authorities complain because the missionaries 'exceed their rights by interfering in controversies between White employers and Black laborers.' Missionaries are also charged with giving medical treatment to natives, although they possess no medical knowledge.

It is very bad of some missionaries, wherever they may be, to help the oppressed.

### Cruel Slavery in French Togo.

The same paper writes :—

*Humanité*, under the title, 'Slavery in French Togo', discusses reports from that colony recently ventilated in the French Chamber of Deputies. The author of this article, Pelicien Chailley, who is a writer of distinction and authority, asserts that after a long struggle, due to the opposition of liberal and humanitarian elements in France and the French colonies, a system of forced labor, similar to that which prevailed in the Belgian Congo under King Leopold, has been inaugurated in Togo. A company organized in Paris last year to develop a concession in that colony—two members of the Chamber of Deputies were among the promoters—secured very large grants of land in that region. The contract between these concessioners and the Government contains the following clause (Article VIII, Paragraph 2) :—

"The lessor (the French Commissioner-General of Togo) hereby engages, in the name of the local administration, to furnish upon demand, as he has hitherto, agricultural labor of the class known as *ouvriers cabraïs* sufficient for operating this grant."

Commenting on this clause the author of the article says :—

"There is no doubt as to its meaning. The Government agreed to send policemen and soldiers to the villages, to seize the men that the concessioners needed and to deliver them to the latter as provisional slaves. The fact that these Black workers receive a trifling wage pittance does not change the fact that their labor is forced labor."

It should be added that the colonial authorities were compelled to annul this particular contract.

### Japanese Hypocrisy ?

During the war boom and the post-war boom, Japanese employers imported coolies

and operatives from China and Korea. As there is unemployment now in Japan, there is a disposition to kick them out ; whereupon the *Herald of Asia*, a Japanese paper edited and published by Japanese, observes :

Undoubtedly the easy way to meet the situation is to kick the Chinese out ; but, quite aside from the justice or injustice in the individual cases, it must be remembered that the principle involved is extremely far-reaching, and it will be difficult for Japan, when the California question comes to the fore again, as it is likely to do at any time, to gain much credence for sincerity when she condemns America for maintaining a practice which she herself indulges in :

### A German on Hindus & Japanese.

Count Hermann Keyserling observes in his *Diary of a Philosopher Abroad* :

The very profundity of Hindu knowledge has led the nation to ruin. It has made the people soft and feeble. That is most significant. Here again the Hindu becomes a lesson for all humanity. He demonstrates the dangers that threaten a society where all men of intellect are absorbed in philosophical contemplation. That pursuit befits but a small number, who are peculiarly qualified for it ; the others, it leads to ruin. More, too : the Hindu belief that the *Rishi*, the *Sanyassi*, the *Yogi*, the mystic saint, whatever name you give him, is above all other men, means something different from what appears at first glance. It does not mean that such men are necessarily the highest type, nor that every individual can attain his highest development by following in their footsteps. It simply means that the Hindu mind that only philosophers and saints attain perfection, and all others perish.

Some of his impressions of Japan are quoted below.

My impressions are becoming more and more clarified. Of one thing I am quite sure : the Japanese or rather those classes in Japan that count politically, are not Orientals in the sense that we use that word when we apply it to the Chinese and to Hindus. They are closer to ourselves than to the Chinese and are thus entitled and predestined to be our rivals. Their apparent kinship with China is due mainly to the civilization they have imported from that country. They are naturally a progressive people, as their recent history proves. In olden times they copied Korea and China, as they are copying Europe and America to-day. Therefore Westernization does not mean in Japan what it means in India or in China.

As our vessel entered the Inland Sea, I was conscious, not without surprise, of penetrating a world entirely new to me, a world separated from that of China by a profound abyss. I found myself enwrapped in an atmosphere like that of the Grecian Archipelago, an atmosphere of mercantile enterprise. I could not catch the slightest trace of the cosmic calm, the majestic peace, that pervades Chinese

civilization. Neither did I discover the Japan that Lafcadio Hearn describes. Undoubtedly it exists. Nevertheless, I can now say with confidence that my first impression was right: the essential traits of the Japanese are enterprise, utilitarianism, and practical aptitude.

Your typical Japanese is not an inventor, but neither is he an imitator, as is commonly reported: he is fundamentally a utilizer in the jujitsu sense.

The Japanese need have no fear of becoming Westernized, although that would be fatal for the Hindu or the Chinese. To adopt Western civilization does not mean a real transformation for the Japanese, but merely a new attitude accommodated to a change of environment.

### Untouchability in its Nakedness.

In his article on "Castes and Customs in Malabar," published in the *Journal of the East India Association*, Mr. H. E. A. Cotton says:

Caste exclusiveness in Malabar manifests itself principally in two respects. Firstly, the touch or approach of a person of a lower class conveys pollution; and secondly, women may contract alliances only with men of an equal or superior caste, whereas men, though for the most part restricted to their caste or class, may in some cases form connections with women of an inferior class. A third test is, of course, interdining, as elsewhere among Hindus; but there is this difference: A high-class Nambudri male may eat the food cooked by a Samanya or "ordinary" Nambudri, and even by a Samantan, but an Anterjanam or Nambudri woman cannot. Similarly, Nayar males can partake of meals prepared by any Nayar without distinction of subcaste; but a Nayar woman of the higher castes cannot eat the food prepared by anyone belonging to a lower. The distinction is observed also among the lower castes.

Pollution is then explained.

Pollution, as already mentioned, is conveyed either by touch or by approach, and the rules are of the most precise and complicated character. Every man considers himself polluted by the touch of anyone below him in the social scale. But in addition to this, at a certain point in the caste system, the taint is supposed to become so pronounced as actually to affect the atmosphere and carry pollution to persons, houses, and the like within a radius of several yards from the person who is the centre of infection. The radius increases with the fall in the social status. There is in fact a prescribed scale of distances which is required to be rigidly observed, and in ordinary conversation such expressions as a Tiya-pad or a Cheruma-pad—the distance at which a Tiyan or Cheruman must keep—are commonly used.

A footnote tells the reader:

Ideas of a similar character appear to have prevailed in Germany before the French Revolution. (See Fischel and Boehn's "Modes and Manners of the Nineteenth Century," 1790-1817, English edition,

vol. i., p. 5.) For instance, a woman of the middle class in Berlin was forced, if she chanced to meet a countess in any public place, to seat herself at least six chairs away from her.

The writer mentions the prescribed scale of distances which the "untouchables" are rigidly required to observe.

Kammalans (artizans) and Illuvans, or Tiyan's (toddy drawers), cause atmospheric pollution to the higher castes within a radius of about 10 English feet in the State of Cochin. In Malabar itself, according to Mr. Thurston, a Nayar may not approach nearer than 6 paces to a Nambudri, a man of the barber caste (Marayan) nearer than 12 paces, a Tiyan 36, a sorcerer or exorcist (Panam) 64, and a Pulayan or Cheruman (slave) 96. The "Malabar Gazetteer" give the distance in the case of a Kammalan (artizan) as about 24 feet, and in the case of an aboriginal Nayadi as 74. Nayars are as punctilious as Nambudris. The mere approach anywhere near a Nayar or a Cheruman or Pulayan or any inferior being, even a Tiyan, as he walks home from the temple, cleansed in body and mind, his marks newly set on his forehead with sandalwood paste, is pollution and he must turn and bathe again before he can enter his house and eat. In the older days (according to Buchanan Hamilton) a Nayar thought nothing of cutting down on the spot any low-caste man who approached within polluting distance of his person. At the present day the higher caste man, as he walks along the road, utters a warning grunt or hoot. In the words of van Linschoten, who made a "Voyage in the East Indies" at the close of the sixteenth century, "as these Nayres go in the streets, they cry, 'Po, Po,' which is to say, 'Take heed, I come, stand out of the way.'" Three centuries later, Swami Vivekananda came, in the course of his wanderings, to Malabar. There, he says, he met Brahmans and Nayars strutting through the streets like peacocks, making a deafening sound, "Hoi, hoi." What is the meaning of this word? he asks. It means "clear out of the road," and he is provoked to exclaim that Malabar is the lunatic asylum of the world. Certainly it comes as a shock to see the Nayadis—*infima et pessima gens*—who are professional beggars, depositing a cloth in the middle of the road and squatting in the fields outside the prescribed radius, whence, from time to time, they shout dismally to attract the attention of passers-by who may, if they wish, drop a coin on the cloth. Even among the Cherumans, who are equally beyond the pale, the lowest group, known as Kundons, is considered to convey pollution by touch to members of all other groups by reason of the fact that the Kundottis, or women of the sub-caste, act as midwives. If pollution is caused, whether physical or atmospheric, it can be removed only by complete immersion in water, either in a tank or a river. Strangely enough, atmospheric pollution is not conveyed by Jews, Christians, or Mohammedans, and this applies even to converts to the two latter religions from the very lowest castes. As Mr. R. S. Whiteway puts it, in his book on "The Rise of the Portuguese Power in India," a Pulayan (whom he calls a "Poler") who could not approach within 100 yards of a Nambudri and has to howl like a wild beast as he walks to warn all others of his polluted vicinity, has everything to gain, there-

fore, by adopting a faith which admits at once to social equality.

### **The Note That Led To Mr. Montagu's Resignation.**

*The Nation* of New York writes :—

Gandhi has been arrested. The British Raj has answered the old question "What shall we do with our saints and prophets?" in the orthodox way of governments. Such is the end of a policy which has illustrated once more the futility of a belated and hesitant liberalism in time of crisis. That policy was an inept compound of concession and repression and its guiding principle was : Divide and govern. We credit both Mr. Montagu and Lord Reading with liberal intentions.... Finally as a last desperate measure came the Indian Government's note urging the adoption of uncompromising Moslem demands for the restoration of the Turkish Empire.

The immediate effect of the publication of the note was the enforced resignation of Mr. Montagu, a political tempest in England, and the arrest of Gandhi in India as token of the definite adoption of the policy of the iron hand. The Viceroy's note which Mr. Montagu made public bears unanswerable testimony to the extent and power of the Nationalist movement. To disrupt it by buying off Moslem adherence to the national cause was the sole reason

for the Government's unprecedented act. English opposition frustrated the payment of the bribe to the Moslem ; it did not frustrate the arrest of the one man whose teaching has heretofore prevented violent revolt. When an alien government arrests a national hero who, its own apologists admit, is the most saintly figure in the modern world, no further proof is required that it rests its case on naked force.

The defence of the action of the Government is examined in the following paragraph :—

Even so, the protagonists of imperialism, English and American, assure us that there was no other course open to the Government. However clouded England's title, she and she alone, it is asserted, protects India from external invasion and internal chaos and strife. She has brought justice and modern civilization to a country where they could not exist but for her strong arm. The argument is not convincing ; it clearly overstates both the evil conditions prior to the British conquest and the blessings of British rule. It attributes material progress solely to alien rule rather than to the general march of science which has coincided with the period of British dominance. At best the imperialist case smacks too much of the argument of the burglar who would justify his continued occupation of another man's house by saying : "I keep order in the household and I keep other burglars out." The Indians are willing to take the risk of doing that for themselves.

## NOTES

### **Satyendranath Datta.**

Bengal mourns the loss of Poet Satyendranath Datta. His untimely death at the age of forty is a great tragedy. He was the only child and son of his father and the only grandchild and grandson of his grandfather Akshay Kumar Datta, the first writer of dynamic Bengali prose in the grand style. Akshay Kumar Datta's bent of mind was rationalistic and scientific, and he made strenuous efforts to acquaint his countrymen with the discoveries and achievements of science in many of its branches. Many of his books are still used as textbooks. In the introduction to his book on the Religious Sects of India, he wrote much regarding the antiquities of India in which he anticipated many writers of English articles, theses and books on those

subjects. His is a great name in Bengali literature,—great for its achievement and greater for the stimulus and inspiration that it has given to succeeding generations. It is the family of such a man that becomes extinct with the passing away of Satyendranath Datta, who leaves behind a childless disconsolate widow and a sorrowing widowed mother yearning for the coming of Death the Comforter.

Satyendranath was the greatest of the Bengali poets of the younger generation. It is very difficult, if not impossible, for any young contemporary of Rabindranath Tagore to remain uninfluenced by the depth and wide range of his poetry and thought. And so in a sense Satyendranath belonged to the school of Rabindranath ; but he had independent inspiration and a distinct individual note of his own. His poetry was characterised at once by sturdy



SATYENDRANATH DATTA.

manliness, intellectual beauty, and a sweet music that was not cloying. In Bengali literature, no one, except Rabindranath, has surpassed him in variety of metre and cadence. As a translator of foreign poetry he stands unrivalled. His translations appear like the products of original inspiration. As a translator he did in poetry something like what his grandfather did in prose. The very fact that Satyendranath was such a successful and wide-ranging translator of Eastern and Western poetry, shows that, though he was a reserved and fiery nationalist—almost a revolutionary—he was no less a cosmopolitan. He had travelled in thought, imagination and sympathy all over the world, and sang in an exalted mood of fellow-feeling for all mankind:

“জগৎ ছড়িয়া এক জাতি আছে,  
সে জাতির নাম মানব জাতি ;  
এক পৃথিবীর স্তন্যে লালিত,  
একই রবিশশী মোদের সাথী।”

“There is one race the world over,  
And that race is named Man ;  
Nursed at the breast of the same

Mother Earth,  
The same sun and moon are our comrades.”

Satyendranath knew many languages of Europe and Asia, ancient and modern. He had inherited a fine library, to which he made constant additions, and he read what he bought. His creative and assimilative power being greater than his scholarship, great though it was, he did not suffer from mental dyspepsia.

Rabindranath had asked him once to accompany him in one of his tours through the continents. For some reason or other he could not go with the poet. Such a tour might have given him fresh inspiration, and, probably, prolonged his life, also.

He was an excellent prose-writer, too. In the novel named “Baroyari,” jointly produced by many hands, his contribution has been pronounced the best by competent critics. At the time of his death he was engaged in writing a novel for *Prabasi*, to which most of his intransigent patriotic poems, political, social, and other, were contributed; but unfortunately he has not lived to finish it.

In private life, he was a man of exemplary purity of character. Quiet and unobtrusive in manners, reserved in speech and simple in habits, he did not like the lime light, nay—he shunned it.

It has been proposed to publish a Satyendranath memorial volume with an introduction by Rabindranath Tagore. A desire has also been expressed that those of his poems which lie scattered in many periodicals, should be collected and published in book form. We learn that the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad may be able to keep a marble bust of his in its hall. All this should be done. But the best of all memorials would be for his countrymen to read his works, and make his spirit their own.

Satyendranath was our junior by about two decades. We respected him and loved him.

Farewell, Beloved of the ‘Motherland,’ till we meet on the other shore !

## Harry Thuku and Kenya Indians

Since writing my article on this subject, I have received through certain new letters some further information, which I would add to what has already been related by me. It would appear that Harry was advocating in the 'Reserves' the destruction of the 'registration papers' (which are very greatly disliked by the natives, as they form a kind of 'ticket of leave' system and have to be shown as 'passes'), and also the refusal to do *Begar*, or forced labour, on the roads. He appears to have had the personal faults of one who has very suddenly been raised out of a state and environment of savagery,—such faults as a lack of proportion and judgment when dealing with opposition and a tendency while engaged in public speaking to make violent personal attacks on those who were against him, his personal vanity being very easily hurt. It is true, also, that he was once convicted of embezzlement, when serving in the Treasury. But the offer was made by the Treasurer, on his release, to reinstate him and to give him another trial in the Treasury office. He had great kindness shown him by individual Englishmen at that time, and he speaks highly of the Treasurer himself. I should add that when I was in Kenya more than six months ago, Europeans spoke kindly of him. They rather smiled then at his political propaganda and for the most part did not seem to take it seriously. It was a great shock to me when I heard of the deportation and the shooting.

All these further points, which I have gathered from different sources, do not appear to me to invalidate, but rather to strengthen, the demand for an act of public justice.

Whatever may have been Harry's personal faults, his brave action in taking up the cause of his own countrymen, at great risk of suffering to himself, has done more than anything else to open the eyes of the Kenya officials to the seriousness of the oppression of the natives which had been going on. C. F. A.

## Dangers Ahead.

In his well-known work on *Social Reconstruction* (p. 120), M. Bertrand Russell writes:—

"Central African natives accustomed to living on the raw fruits of the earth and defeating Manchester by dispensing with clothes, are compelled to work by a hut tax which they can only pay by taking employment under European capitalists."

The above should be read along with what the *Morning Post* of London wrote in a recent issue of that paper.

"We have a direct concern in India, because it is one of the chief markets of the world. We went there as traders and, despite all the fine talk of our modern highbrows, there is still the material basis of our rule which might be put in the sentence: We give you protection and you buy our goods. If we abandon India, it will not be only the Indians who suffer, but the twelve million people of Lancashire, and indeed our whole industrial system which will be affected. After all, when all is said, this nation must live. That is the first consideration, and we see no other way in which this nation can live upon these little islands save by industry and trade."

This will explain why picketing of shops trading in foreign cloths is considered a great crime by Britishers in India and for which heavy sentences have been passed on men like Pandit Jawahirlal and others. While the most important "concessions" under the "Reforms" are latent, repression is patent to all. We should be prepared for more and more of it, if the cult of the *charka* and spinning and weaving spread more and more and reduction in the import of Manchester manufactures takes place in this country.

India is looked upon as the happy hunting ground for the Britishers, a market for British goods, and "the brightest jewel in the British crown." In "*Our Social Heritage*" first published in 1921, Mr. Graham Wallas writes,

"A Middlesbrough iron-moulder will be more likely to vote for a kind and wise policy in British India if he thinks of India, not as the brightest jewel in the British Crown, but as three hundred million human beings for whose fate he has his share of personal responsibility, who are troubled each week more keenly than he is troubled, about food



and clothing and housing, and sometimes feel, though less often than he feels, the vague stirrings of political and social hope."

But will or can those voters of England to whom India exists merely or chiefly for the exploitation of her resources by their kith and kin easily change their mentality regarding the welfare of the people of this country?

### ✓ Freedom and Achievement.

Gaurishankar has been re-named Mount Everest—perhaps thereby unintentionally symbolising the fact that when a people loses its independence, even the enduring geographical objects and features of its country cease to be its very own, coming to be known thenceforward by alien names and shorn of all their old historical and mythological associations which made them objects of love and reverence or awe-inspiring to the people. Are there any mountains or towns in France or Germany or Japan known respectively by Japanese, Chinese or British names?

Gaurishankar was ours, Mount Everest is not. The successive expeditions undertaken to reach its summit have been expeditions of foreigners—who are entitled to praise. Not that the children of the soil had not the physical strength, the physical endurance, and the courage to face difficulties, necessary for such undertakings. The coolies who have accompanied all these expeditions possessed these qualifications. But the children of the soil had not the soaring enterprising minds which impel men to achieve the hitherto unachieved. Nor had they the scientific knowledge and the skill to utilise that knowledge which are needed to make the ascent of very high mountains practicable. Up to a certain stage of civilisation, men's efforts and achievements move within the circumscribed area of their needs and utilities. It is only when they have left that stage behind that they think of doing that which no one had done before, without caring whether success would bring any advantages.

Such endeavours without any prospective advantages in view have generally

characterised free peoples; and it is these which have led to the discovery and conquest of new fields in the words of matter and of mind by them. It is beside our purpose to discuss whether they are free because they are adventurous or they are adventurous because they are free.

High intellectual achievement is also generally the glory of free peoples, though there are exceptions. For, even among subject peoples the mind of man cannot be entirely crushed, or cribbed, cabined and confined. Hence even among them we find a few persons famous for high intellectual achievement. But if we look around, we shall see that it is among the free peoples of the world that the vast majority of the foremost poets and other literatures, the foremost scientists and inventors, the foremost artists, the foremost historians and archaeologists, the foremost explorers, and the foremost philosophers have been born. We speak not of statesmen or generals; for whenever a subject people has produced great statesmen and generals, they have also become free.

Indians are said to be a nation of philosophers. Not that we are all really philosophers; but we are credited with having the philosophic temper and genius. But even in philosophy, our remarkable achievements are all in the past, when we were free, our present-day achievements being mostly expositions of the ancient philosophies of the land or boasts about them. Real progress in philosophy is being made in free and independent countries.

It is a just complaint of Indian nationalists that India is materially poor because she is not free. But her intellectual and spiritual poverty is not less deplorable but rather more. Even as regards our own country, the foremost Indologists are non-Indians, the foremost historians of India are non-Indians, the foremost archaeologists of India are non-Indians, the foremost writers on Indian philosophy are non-Indians, the foremost writers on Indian religions are non-Indians—to be brief, the foremost authorities in Indian subjects are generally non-Indians.

We have spoken of our deplorable *spiritual* poverty. This will surprise and scandalise many Indians. But it is a fact. The spirituality of a people is measured by its inner and outward activities, having for their direct or indirect object, not any selfish material or worldly advantage, but the good of others and the progress and welfare of our souls. What is our place as determined by this test? We suffer from a lamentable paucity of workers in the fields of moral, social and spiritual uplift even within our own country. But many of the free peoples of the world have not only enough philanthropic workers for their own country, but have sent many to work and die for backward peoples, including cannibals, lepers, etc. We know, there are professional philanthropists and political philanthropists. But all are not such. There are real philanthropists, too. Have we any such, working abroad for the good of foreign peoples? The fact is, most of us are lifeless, and the few who have life are swallowed up with the depressing thoughts of the many grave evils to which India is a prey. Such being the case, we have neither thoughts, nor living men, nor energies to spare for other lands and peoples than our own. Free peoples have a superabundant stock of energies and living men.

That is why we find in the world's history that it is only the children of freedom who have fought for breaking the chains of others. France fought on the side of America to help her to throw off Britain's yoke. Byron and other Englishmen fought on the side of the Greeks in the Greek war of independence. Not having manhood themselves, how can subject peoples value manhood so highly as to risk their lives for helping others to recover it? It is a great shame no doubt to have to confess that we are as a people wanting in manliness. But it is a fact; and the more that fact is realised by the humblest to the most famous among us, the better for our people and country.

It would be of no practical advantage, though it may be of great academic

importance, to discuss whether it is the loss of freedom which has made us lifeless, inert, unmanly, devoid of the spirit of adventure in things external and in things of the intellect and the spirit, and grovellingly selfish, or whether the loss of freedom was an inevitable consequence of the defects referred to above. What is indispensably necessary is that, ceasing to delude ourselves with the glamour of our proud past, we should see the reality and face it and develop in ourselves all those qualities which should characterise a free people—a people free in body, mind and spirit. Such development is not at all impossible. Men the world over are essentially alike. All excellences, all high qualities, lie dormant in all souls. Their development and manifestation depend upon right endeavour.

### Ignorance and Knowledge of Marathi.

Mr. Surendranath Sen, M. A., Ph. D., P. R. S., lecturer, Calcutta University, writes in *The Calcutta Review* :—

In his hurry he [ Professor Jadunath Sarkar ] forgot to look at the dedication of my *Siva Chhatrapati* and mistranslated *Sivaji Sarkha* as 'Equal of Shivaji.' A profound Marathi scholar like him could not but translate the passage in question as follows :—"rock of resolution...like Shivaji," if he had only cared to look at it. But this is not the first time that I have been a victim of mistranslation. Babu Ramananda Chatterjee, in one of his editorial notes, translated the same phrase as pseudo-Shivaji. I do not know when Ramananda Babu learnt Marathi, but evidently his knowledge of that language is getting rusty.

Prof. Sarkar did not attempt a literal translation; he appears, however, to have given the sense quite correctly, because, as Dr. Sen's own translation also shows, the phrase taken with the three lines of verse following it in the dedication means that, according to Dr. Sen, Sir Asutosh Mukherjee possesses the five or six virtues of Sivaji cited there and is consequently the Maratha hero's equal in so many respects. We are unwilling to undertake the odious and, in this case, perfectly superfluous and unnecessary, task of examining the points of comparison. We dislike personalities.

As for ourselves, "Ramananda Babu" is undoubtedly ignorant of Marathi. But as in his opinion no modern Indian can be correctly likened to Sivaji, and as he is not humour-proof or even unconscious-humour-proof, he cannot but call any modern Indian a "pseudo-Sivaji", if he be compared to the founder of the Maratha Empire. One may do this without knowing a word of Marathi.

As Mr. Sen twits others with ignorance of Marathi, it would not be unjust if Marathi scholars gauged the depth of his knowledge of that language. We leave it to them to do so, if they care to. On our part, we have come to learn that he has published through the Calcutta University an English version of the Sabhasad Bakhar, two English editions of which by another hand had appeared long ago. The original we understand is a very small-sized volume of about a hundred pages, and yet the mistakes made by Mr. Sen in the translating and annotating of this little thing fill twenty-eight columns of the *Bibidha-dnana-vistar* (the leading literary monthly in Marathi), as a correspondent in Western India points out. Even the very phrase "Sivaji Sarkha,"\* we are told, is unidiomatic and should be "Sivaji Sarkhe"! There are, we are informed, altogether four mistakes and solecisms in this one short dedication! Our informants may, however, be mistaken. For it is difficult to believe that so incorrect a translation of a book in the mother tongue of Sivaji could have been prescribed as a text-book for students in an University presided over by a modern Sivaji,—who by the bye, is such a "rock of resolution" that he at first took up a theatrically defiant attitude towards the Bengal M. I. C.'s but afterwards "sweetened their mouths" and presented them with copies of a certain publication!

### The Vernacular and the Classics in the Calcutta Matriculation.

The decision of the Calcutta University Senate that, except for the teaching of and examination in English, the vernacular should be the vehicle of instruction in

high schools, and the medium of examination in the Matriculation, is so natural and right that the citizens of free and independent countries would wonder why there was a lively debate on the subject. Their wonder would be abated if they remembered the political condition of India. For the imparting of modern knowledge to Indians, for world intercourse and for the progressive unification of the people of India, education in English has been and will continue to be necessary. And this is provided for by the new system to be introduced in high schools. For English will continue to be a compulsory subject of study. If special care be taken to teach modern English well, and if a viva voce examination in it be made a part of the annual test in all classes teaching it, there is no reason why it should not be learned as well as or better than now.

The change cannot be made all at once, and therefore the syndicate will have the power to make exceptions, not permanently, in favour of schools requiring special treatment. The syndicate may be trusted to be very liberal in this respect, as the University cannot afford to lose any appreciable number of Matriculation candidates, who are the most numerous customers at its certificates and degrees shop.

It has been pointed out that non-Bengali students in Bengal will be put to some difficulties in following instruction through the medium of Bengali. This cannot be avoided. Bengali school boys residing outside Bengal have a similar difficulty. When foreign students go to England, Germany, France, &c., they have to receive instruction through English, German, French, &c.; but they do not make a grievance of it.

The Bengali language is now so far advanced that very good text-books may be written in it on every subject included in the Matriculation course. There are, in fact, many such text-books already. As higher studies will continue, for some years at least, to be pursued at the university through the medium of English, in the Matriculation

Bengali text-books, all technical terms and special expressions and words used in the historical, geographical, scientific and mathematical text-books should be provided with glossaries giving the English equivalents of these terms, &c. In the selection of text-books, special care will have to be taken to prevent favouritism and the misuse of patronage, which are two of the evils of the present-day administration of the Calcutta University. To tell the truth, as on the one hand we have rejoiced at the vernacular beginning to gain its rightful place in our educational system, so on the other our mind has been filled with misgivings as to the probable demoralizing effect on our educated class of placing further patronage at the disposal of the university boss and his subservient clique. As the preliminary to every progressive measure, the constitution of the university should be remodelled and placed on a thoroughly popular and representative basis. That alone, however, will not be productive of good, unless there is an accession of well-informed, unselfish, independent and active workers.

It has been alleged by ignorant critics that the present step has been taken as a sort of compromise with the non-cooperation movement. The fact, however, is that the movement in favour of the vernacular was started about two decades ago, and Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, the present Vice-Chancellor, has throughout consistently advocated the cause of the vernacular in a praiseworthy manner. Some apprehend that the vernacular may in the near future be made the vehicle of instruction and medium of examination for the higher University courses, too. We, on our part, look forward with pleasure to such a consummation, and hope that Sir Asutosh may be able to bring it about during his active career. Even so far back as three decades ago some successful professors taught science and mathematics in the B. A. classes mostly in Bengali. Unless the highest knowledge be available in the vernacular of a nation, it cannot become a national possession, though it can certainly become the possession of the for-

tunate few. The nation can assimilate the highest knowledge in all branches of learning only through the vernacular. That also leads to the enrichment and improvement of the national literature.

All those who are ranged on either side of the controversy should make themselves acquainted with the history and achievements of Waseda University in Japan, founded by the late Marquis Okuma for the thorough education of Japanese youth in all branches of learning through the medium of the Japanese language.

There was a time when in Europe Latin was the medium of instruction in the Universities. Later, the vernaculars of the different countries were adopted as the media. The writing of text-books in them was nowhere found to be an insurmountable difficulty. In India, too, it will not be an insuperable one. In the Osmania University founded by the Nizam, many text-books, on difficult subjects, have been already composed in or translated into Urdu. In Bengali, Hindi, Gujarati, and probably in some other vernaculars, technological terms relating to many fields of knowledge have been coined and compiled.

As regards the retention of a classical language—Sanskrit, Pali, Arabic or Persian, as a compulsory subject, opinions are divided. We are inclined to think that it is best not to have too many compulsory subjects. As the best works in Sanskrit are now available in Bengali translations, some means may be easily devised for ensuring their study by our students. For, it is undoubtedly necessary for a people to be acquainted with its ancient literature and culture. Those who may be attracted by the translations to the study of the originals, will naturally go in for the study of a classical language. What is true of Sanskrit, may be made true of the other classical languages of some Indian community or other by the production of translations of the best works in them. Some such translations are already in existence.

For a liberal education, a wide range of studies is undoubtedly necessary. At the same time, we should not forget

Shakespeare's words in *The Taming of the Shrew* :

"No profit grows where is no pleasure ta'en ;  
In brief, sir, study what you most affect."

### Co-operation Among Universities.

The annual conference of the Universities of Great Britain and Ireland was held in London on the 13th May last. Twenty-two Universities were represented by over 60 vice-chancellors, principals, professors, and officers. Among the matters for consideration one was specialization in certain subjects of study by the Universities. As the discussion bears on what has become a controversial topic in our country, too, it would be instructive to know what the great British educators said on the occasion. According to the *Times* report, Dr. L. R. Farnell (vice-chancellor of the University of Oxford), opening the discussion, said :—

It was becoming a physical and almost a financial impossibility for every university to teach everything, nor was it desirable that it should do so ; but a university would destroy its own soul and starve its own spiritual life if it specialized in one narrow branch. The idea that we should have one university for physical science and another for the humanities would be fatal both to the humanities and to physical science. Apart from the question of money, there were certain reasons why a university could not teach all subjects. Certain subjects belonged to specific localities. It would not be practicable at Oxford, for instance, to teach metallurgy as it could be taught at a university in a mining district. There were some studies, too, like Assyriology and astronomy, which were so esoteric as to have few votaries. He suggested that when a university was thinking of founding a new professorship or of accepting a new endowment, it should consider whether that particular endowment was best placed there, and also whether the circumstances of other universities rendered that particular endowment necessary or desirable.

Dr. R. A. Duff of the University of Glasgow said that

The universities hitherto had been run as unitary states. They were increasingly applying for public money, and were bound to justify any further extensions of the overlapping which existed to such a very great extent. If the universities did not remedy this overlapping from within by some federal system,

the University Grants Committee would be bound to step in in the national interest.

Mr. Fisher, President of the Board of Education, said,

He saw the necessity for co-operation. The expense of university education had become such, and the development of applied science had now reached such a point, that it was quite impossible for the nation as a whole to advance unless there was a much higher degree of co-operation between the universities in respect of the distribution of studies than hitherto had been thought necessary. They should husband their resources, and this work could best be done by the universities taking counsel one with another. He had no doubt the University Grants Committee would do its best to allocate Government grants on an economical plan, and with regard to the specialized aptitudes of particular universities and they would therefore help universities to realize the federal idea.

He further observed that—

The committee of Vice-Chancellors might be asked to inquire as to what new specialized departments requiring new endowments were appropriate to particular universities ; whether existing trust funds in particular universities could be applied to better uses within those universities ; and whether the statutes of the different universities could be so altered as to facilitate the migration of particular students in order to obtain the advantages of specialized teaching in other universities.

### Finances of Cambridge and Calcutta Universities.

*The Times* Educational Supplement for April 22 last contains an article on "Finance of Cambridge University", from which we learn that the total income of that University for the year ended September 30, 1921, was £101,571 10s. 8d. "The payments made from the chest in the same period amounted to £105,546 12s. 12d. There was, therefore, a deficit of £3,975 2s. 2d. on the year's working." It has been shown in the current *Ashādī* number of *Prabāsi*, pp. 471-2, that the estimated income of Calcutta University for 1921-22 would not be less than that of Cambridge noted above, but the deficit would be several lakhs of rupees more than that of Cambridge. These facts show that it was possible for Calcutta to achieve success and win fame in some chosen subjects, if it did not spread its resources

over a wider range of subjects and throw economy to the winds.

If the reports of the two committees appointed by the Calcutta Senate in March last, to be submitted within one month, had been before the public, it would have been possible to suggest means and methods of helping the University out of public funds. But as we know nothing about the reports, we are unable to say anything definite. Speaking in general terms, the University undoubtedly deserves help on certain conditions for, in spite of serious defects and irregularities, its post-graduate department has done some good work which neither Calcutta nor any other Indian University had done or attempted before. But money should be given only on two conditions: (1) that the defects, interference with the purity of examinations, irregularities, and jobberies pointed out in the public press, be remedied and their recurrence prevented in the future by a suitable change in the constitution of the University bodies; and (2) such reduction in the staff of teachers and in the establishment be made and such retrenchment be otherwise effected as would prevent recurring deficits. For, supposing the Government of Bengal makes a grant sufficient to wipe out the present declared deficit (we have been informed by a competent and well-informed Senator that the real deficit is much less) of the University, what is there to ensure the future solvency of that body? *Therefore, under the circumstances, we are against the perpetuation of the present state of the university by any grant being made unconditionally.* The subject of University finance has been before the Government for a sufficiently long time to enable it to enquire into the matter thoroughly. But it has done nothing of the kind.

### Insult to the Bengal Council.

In this connection *The Servant* has rendered a public service by calling attention to the fact that the Bengal Government has not appointed any committee to enquire into the finances of the University, according to the terms of a resolution moved by Babu Risindranath Sarkar in

the Bengal Council and accepted by it by a large majority. What is the reason for insulting the Council in this way? No wonder *The Servant* has indignantly written:—

Our great constitutional politicians are head over ears in love with the theory of Ministerial responsibility to the legislature which the Reforms Act is supposed to have ushered in. The history of the last eighteen months teems with instances of the farcical manner in which the "Ministerial responsibility" has been discharged, but we do not remember if there has been anything more glaringly outrageous than the proposal to sanction a grant of two lakhs and a half to the University by way of a supplementary budget. The officially stated reason for this is:—

"In a letter to Government the Calcutta University has represented that the financial year 1921-22 opened with a debit opening balance of Rs. 1,48,055, and that it is anticipated that the total deficit in June 1922 will be Rs. 5,39,480. The deficit is due mainly to the fall in the receipts from examination fees, owing to the unexpected fall in the number of candidates for some of the University examinations in 1920-21 and to some extent owing to the (1) foundation of the Rangoon University, (ii) the establishment of the Dacca Intermediate and Secondary Education Board, and (iii) the non-co-operation movement.

It is, accordingly, proposed to give a grant of Rs. 2,50,000 during the current year to the Calcutta University to meet this deficit."

In this connection our readers may be reminded of the resolution moved by Babu Rishindra Nath Sarkar in the autumn session of the Bengal Legislative Council and accepted by the Council by a huge majority. According to the terms of this resolution, the Government was to appoint a Committee to inquire into the finances of the Calcutta University and to recommend whether financial help should or should not be given by Government to the University. We have been told in highflown language that education is a transferred subject and that the will of the Ministers, who shall act in accordance with the mandate of the Legislative Council, is supreme. But what do we find the Education Minister actually doing? He quietly shelves the resolution of the Council, a resolution which in theory is binding on him; he takes no steps to appoint the Committee or to inquire into the finances of the University; he gives obviously evasive answers to all interpellations on the point; but, ignoring his "Ministerial responsibility" to the Council, comes forward before the same Council with a proposal to grant two and a half lakhs of public money to the University whose financial management and allocations are suspect in the eyes of the very same Council.

We cannot forecast what the attitude of our M. L. C.'s will be to a demand which is an insult to their position and a repudiation of all ideas of responsible government; ..... But whatever they do, we hope that they will have the candour to drop the mask of "constitutional" procedure in the Reformed Councils.

A Calcutta daily has written a funny article on the subject of the supplementary grant. We are sorry we have neither the time nor the space to subject it to a scrutiny. But even a cursory glance at it reveals that the writer has failed in his attempt to run with the hare and hunt with the hound. We had heard sometime ago that such things would appear in that paper.

#### **In Aid of the Russian Intellectuals.**

The Viceroy has subscribed to the funds which Babu Rabindranath Tagore has been trying to raise in aid of the destitute Russian intellectuals, at the request of Prof. Vinogradoff of Oxford. It may, therefore, be expected that the wealthy and official classes would now contribute their quota. Students and other educated persons ought to send to the poet at Santiniketan whatever they can. The scientists, poets, novelists, thinkers and artists of Russia have rendered great service to humanity at large. If their Bolshevik countrymen have not appreciated their worth, but have, on the contrary, tried to annihilate them, that is all the greater reason why the world at large should come forward to relieve their distress.

#### **Retrenchment Committees.**

National governments may be either wasteful or economical. A foreign government ruling a dependency can never be as economical as a good national government may be. The reasons are quite simple. The personnel of a foreign government must necessarily be in great part foreign, and the foreign civil and military officers must be paid higher salaries than officers of the same class working in their own countries. Another reason is, that the army maintained by a foreign government in a dependency must be larger than what is strictly necessary for self-defence,

in order that it may do garrison work and serve other imperial purposes. Similarly, a foreign government must needs have a larger and costlier police establishment than a good national government. The espionage and detective arrangements of a foreign government must also be more elaborate and more expensive than those required by a good national government.

We write "*good* national government" advisedly. For, as we have said in the very first sentence of this note, national governments may be either wasteful or economical. The indigenous ruler or rulers of a country cannot be expected necessarily to safeguard its best interests. It may, however, be said that even if a national government is wasteful, the money spent wastefully remains generally in the country in the coffers of some individuals or classes.

In the interests of economy we should therefore make the utmost efforts to have a national government—a *good* national government. Of course, our present foreign government may be conducted more economically than at present; though that would be a mere palliative.

The Governments of India and of Bengal have appointed committees, to recommend means and methods of retrenchment. It is not of much use to discuss the personnel of these committees; because, in the first place, governments know their men better than we do, and in the second place, nothing stands in the way of the bureaucracy pigeonholing the reports of the committees, as so many previous reports and resolutions have been.

The leaders of the people have been for decades saying that more money ought to be spent on what are called the nation-building departments, *viz.*, education, sanitation, agriculture, other industries, forests, &c. But there is reason to fear that the policy of retrenchment will affect these step-children of the foreign government more than other departments. One recent example will suffice to illustrate what we mean. We refer to a resolution of the Revenue Department, Government of Bihar and Orissa, dated June 15, 1922. It says that the Bihar and Orissa Agricul-

tural Committee advise that the Agricultural College at Sabour be closed.

"Government accept this recommendation..... Government agree with the recommendation of the Committee that the Entomological and Mycological sections at Sabour may be abolished, as soon as the College closes. With regard to the Chemical Section they agree with the Committee that the Agricultural Chemist should prepare an estimate of the time required to complete a useful survey of the soils of the province on the assumption that this will be the main work of the section, if it is retained as a separate unit in the organisation of the Department. On receipt of this estimate the question of retaining the section will be considered further. The majority of the Committee have recommended that the Botanical section should also be abolished as soon as the College closes. Government reserve this question for further consideration, but do not propose in the meantime to ask for the recruitment of an officer for the vacant post of Economic Botanist nor *a fortiori* for the post of Second Economic Botanist, which stands in the sanctioned cadre.

#### CATTLE BREEDING.

The majority of the Committee have recommended that Sipaya should in effect be closed down as a breeding station as soon as practicable. This recommendation will have the earnest consideration of Government, but a definite decision cannot be reached immediately. Pending that decision, the Superintendent of the cattle-breeding station, who is a temporary officer, has been given notice that his services will not be required beyond November next.

These particular decisions may be right or may be wrong ; but it is ominous that the work of cutting down expenditure should have been commenced in those departments which never had enough money devoted to them.

Our idea is that there should be retrenchment both in the military and the civil establishments of Government. A great saving may be effected by Indianising the Army. At a meeting of the Legislative Assembly Sir Godfrey Fell furnished the following statement giving particulars of the comparative monthly cost of an Indian and a European soldier :—

EUROPEAN		Rs.
Sergeant,	married	... 200
"	unmarried	... 204
Corporal,	married	... 226
"	unmarried	... 117
Private,	married	... 206
"	unmarried	... 150

#### INDIAN

		Rs.
Havildar	Infantry	... 52
"	Artillery	... 52
"	Cavalry	... 58
N a i k	Infantry	... 48
"	Artillery	... 49
"	Cavalry	... 53
S e p o y	Infantry	... 42
"	Artillery	... 44
"	Cavalry	... 45

The "forward" military policy should be given up.

Many years ago Assam, Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Chota Nagpur combined formed one administrative unit and were under one satrap. Now they constitute three different units with their different governors, secretariats, heads of departments, boards of revenue, &c. This has increased the cost of administration enormously, without corresponding increase of "efficiency" and of the prosperity and enlightenment of the people. We know that the Biharis refused to be "fellow-slaves" of the Bengalis. But in "liberating" them, was it not possible to make any cheaper administrative arrangement than the present one ?

There is a large and increasing volume of opinion against the Delhi scheme. Can it not be given up even now ?

The commissionerships of divisions should be abolished. It was shown in detail in a previous number of this REVIEW that considerable reductions can be made in the controlling, supervising and superior inspecting staff of the police department in Bengal. Similar reductions can be made in the inspecting staff of the education department.

The salaries of the highest, higher and high officers are all capable of great reduction. When in Japan the prime minister gets Rs. 1500 a month and the other ministers Rs. 1000 a month, it is absurd to pay huge salaries to our officials. In India, from the Viceroy downwards, every high officer gets a larger salary than the corresponding class of officers in even the richest countries of the world. This should not be. Even the money-lenders of Britain have come to know that India is on the verge of bankruptcy. Hence they have



begun to fight shy of Indian Government loans. There may be other causes of their timidity, but the insolvency of the Indian Government is a cause.

The idea must be given up that Government officers, of whatever colour, are very superior creatures who must live in luxury and comfort and have a good bank balance but that the common man who supplies their huge salaries is dirt beneath their feet, and so it is nobody's business to enquire and see that he has enough to lead a human life, enjoy the conveniences and pleasures of knowledge, the joys of art, and the bliss and consolations of religion.

### Civil Disobedience.

The All-India Congress Committee and the Khilafat Conference Committee have done well at their Lucknow sitting to decide that for the present mass civil disobedience should not be resorted to, and that in the mean time it should be ascertained by touring in the country what progress has been made with the constructive programme of the Congress and how far particular areas are in a proper condition to offer passive resistance.

### Love of India and Love of Britain.

Lord Ronaldshay is reported to have said in the course of his speech at the Calcutta Dinner in London that "Non-co-operation mistook hatred of Britain for love of India and acted accordingly". This sweeping statement is not true, though there are many non-co-operating and co-operating Indians who are guilty of that mistake. But this is not a mistake peculiar to us. Among the nationals of every country there are multitudes who measure their love of country by the degree of their hatred of their rivals, exploiters, enemies, and foreigners in general. Lord Ronaldshay surely knows that Nelson exhorted every "budding naval officer" "to hate a Frenchman as the very devil".

Lord Ronaldshay has accused non-co-operators of one kind of mistake. Most Britishers concerned with India make a mistake of another kind. They would do well,

therefore, to remember that greed of Indian gold and lust of power over Indians are not synonymous with love of India, and that the man who eats a sheep is not necessarily a lover of the sheep, though he is undoubtedly a lover of mutton.

### The Next Advocate-General of Bengal.

The next Advocate General of Bengal should be a Bengali. There are several qualified Bengalis possessed of the requisite ability. Whoever among them may be appointed will spend at least a little more of his wealth in and for the country than an advocate-general of British extraction generally does.

As for frugal expenditure of public money, may we ask, whether after the constitution of Bihar & Orissa into a separate province with a separate High court, the removal of the capital to Delhi and the formation of the enclave of Delhi, the Bengal Advocate General's pay should not be reduced ?

### President of the Bengal Council.

People are enquiring, for how many months Sir Syed Shams-ul-Huda actually worked as president of the Bengal Council and for how many months he has drawn his salary. They are also curious to know whether it is quite in order to grant leave to an officer before he has actually taken charge of his office, as appears to have been done in the case of Mr. H. E. A. Cotton. Will some Bengal M. L. C. be the means of satisfying public curiosity by putting a question or two ?

### Why No Retrenchment Committee for Calcutta University ?

Curiosity also exists as to why, though the Governments of India and Bengal have appointed retrenchment committees, no such committee was appointed for the Calcutta University according to the terms of a resolution carried in the Bengal Council. What has become of the Education Minister's accusations of thoughtless expansion, and "criminal" this or that ? Has he eaten his words ? Or is he satisfied

that Mahadev is in his Kailas and all is well with the world?—as Browning should have now said.

### Calcutta Municipality.

Mr. Surendranath Mallik, acting chairman of the Calcutta Municipality has been giving a good account of himself, though we are aware his reported high pressure at the unfiltered water pumping stations has not supplied many premises with a drop of that precious commodity, nor has his incumbency made any change for the better in the filthy condition of many a lane. We do not blame him for that. A chairman cannot do and see everything personally.

The rate-payers will be thankful to him if he can, before he leaves office, introduce an innovation or two. Is it impossible or against any law to make the official reports of the proceedings of the corporation available to such journalists and others as would like to have them for public purposes, on payment if necessary? Publicity generally makes for efficiency. Another suggestion that occurs to us is that the annual accounts of the corporation may be made open to inspection by ratepayers before they have been audited, for a fixed period and during prescribed hours. Is it impracticable?

### Wanted Post-graduate Classes Inspection.

There are many teachers in the post-graduate department of the Calcutta University who are also professors in affiliated colleges. Their work as professors in these colleges is inspected by the University. So, if the work done by them and their colleagues in the post-graduate classes were inspected, that would not imply any indignity or slur. And if it be necessary to inspect colleges, there is at least an equal need of inspection of the post-graduate department in Science and Arts. We say "at least", because whereas the colleges have principals to look after them, the post-graduate classes have no similar officer at their head. And there have been complaints of long-standing of post-graduate teachers taking french leave, &c.

### Home Rule All Round in Britain.

The "birth" of the Irish Free State is said to have started talk anew, in some quarters, of "Home rule all round in Britain", by which is meant autonomy for Scotland and Wales as apart from England proper. In Wales, Home Rule has already entered the range of practical politics, according to the *London Pall Mall Gazette*, which says:—

Under the Welsh plan the Imperial Parliament would reserve its powers on questions affecting the crown, peace and war, foreign affairs, regulation of trade and industrial legislation and postal and other communications.

To a Welsh Parliament would go control of local government, education, judiciary, agriculture and internal commerce. Restoration of the ancient office and title of Lord President of Wales is proposed. To save the Welsh rural areas from domination by the great industrial population of the South, the Welsh Parliament would include an Upper House, consisting of two representatives of each county and county borough, and two from the national university of Wales.

There is some opposition to the plan even in Wales, but the proposals come nearer to meeting the aspirations of moderate nationalist Wales than anything that has hitherto been advanced. Though there is little likelihood of immediate legislation, belief among the Welsh members that the principality is within sight of a parliament in Cardiff is firm and general.

The oppressed, misgoverned and exploited inhabitants of Scotland and Wales have our profoundest sympathy—particularly Mr. Lloyd George, the Welsh prime minister of the British Empire.

### A Golden Deed in Japan.

*The Inquirer* of London has culled from Mr. J. W. Robertson Scott's new book, "The Foundation of Japan", a story of a Japanese peasant that deserves a place in some Golden Treasury.

The story is that a peasant in a period of scarcity happened to be the possessor of the only unbroken bale of rice in his village. He himself suffered from lack of food, but, looking to the future, he resolved to sacrifice himself for others' good. He would not cook any of the rice, because he saw that it would take away from the only store the village would have for sowing in the spring. Eventually he was found dead of hunger in his cottage, his head resting upon the unopened bale of rice. Who shall say that he has not a place in the brightest hero-list of those who have laid down their lives for their friends?

### Repression.

Repression is going on very vigorously in all provinces. We along with other journalists simply record the fact. For we are helpless units of a helpless people. But it should not surprise anybody if the people suddenly discovered and used their ability to help themselves.

Among the most noteworthy of recently imprisoned patriots is Pandit Gopabandhu Das, the selfless *das* of the people of Orissa and of India.

### The Shelley Centenary.

Contrary to what many Englishmen think, we do not hate England. We are interested in some of her poets, thinkers, and some other persons. Among these, in spite of his faults, is the poet Shelley. He died on the 8th of July, 1822, within a month of completing the thirtieth year of his age—"a surprising example of rich poetic achievement for so young a man". So his centenary falls on the 8th of the current month. On this occasion we transcribe below passages from an estimate of Shelley from the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.

"The character of Shelley can be considered according to two different standards of estimation. We can estimate the original motive forces in his character; or we can form an opinion of his actions, and thence put a certain construction upon his personal qualities. We shall first try the latter method. It cannot be denied by his admirers and eulogists, and is abundantly clear to his censors, that his actions were in some considerable degree abnormal, dangerous to the settled basis of society, and marked by headstrong and undutiful presumption. But it is remarkable that, even among the censors of his conduct, many persons are none the less impressed by the beauty of his character, and this leads us back to our first point—the original motive forces in that. Here we find enthusiasm, fervour, courage (moral and physical), an unbounded readiness to act upon what he considered right principle, however inconvenient or disastrous the consequences to himself, sweetness and indulgence towards others, extreme generosity, and the principle of love for humankind in abundance and superabundance. He respected the truth, such as he conceived it to be, in spiritual or speculative matters, and respected no construction of the truth which came to him recommended by human authority. No man had more hatred or contempt of custom and prescription; no one had a

more authentic or vivid, sense of universal charity. The same radiant enthusiasm which appeared in his poetry as idealism stamped his speculation with the conception of perfectibility and his character with loving emotion."

"If we except Goethe (and leave out of count any living writers, whose ultimate value cannot at present be assessed), we must consider Shelley to be the supreme poet of the new era which, beginning with the French Revolution, remains continuous into our own day...He excels all his competitors in ideality, he excels them in music, and he excels them in importance... Shelley is emphatically the poet of the future... he appears destined to become, in the long vista of years, an informing presence in the innermost shrine of human thought... Shelley had the temper of an innovator and a martyr; and in an intellect wondrously poetical he united speculative keenness and humanitarian zeal in a degree for which we might vainly seek his predecessor."

The following lines (quoted from *Queen Mab*) are characteristic of his revolutionary idealism:—

"Power, like a desolating pestilence,  
Pollutes whatever it touches; and obedience,  
Bane of all genius, virtue, freedom, truth,  
Makes slaves of men, and of the human frame  
A mechanized automaton."

### Non-political Section of European Association.

As Government has permitted its servants to become members of a separately organised and financed non-political section of the European Association, whose object is to safeguard European interests in India, *The Amrita Bazar Patrika* suggests that Congress should organise a non-political section of itself and ask Government servants to join it after obtaining permission of Government. Not a bad joke—futile though it be.

### Proposed Indian Chemical Society and Journal.

Dr. E. R. Watson, Principal of the Cawnpore Technological Institute, would like to get into touch with all chemists in India and would be much obliged if they would send him their addresses. He is president of a sub-committee appointed at the last meeting of the Indian Science Congress to consider the financial and other aspects of the formation of an Indian Chemical Society, the chief function of which would be the publication of a Jour-

nal, the need for which was stated to be generally felt.

### Reduction of British Postage.

With effect from the 29th May last, the British inland postage rate and the outward rate to British possessions and the United States have both been reduced to three-halfpence for the first ounce. In India, however, the postage rate has been increased—probably because India is getting richer and Britain poorer.

### Grave Developments in Iraq and Syria.

A Reuter's telegram, dated London, June 22, states that, according to a Colonial Office communique, it is officially reported from Baghdad that Captains Robert Keith Mahant of Iraq Livies and Sidney Stephen Bond, Assistant Political Officer at Chemichamal, were murdered in Kurdistan on June 18th by Karim Fatahbeg of the Hamwand tribe. This brief item of news does not give an exact idea of the disturbed condition of Iraq. The following joint cable to *Detroit News* and *The Chicago Daily News* gives more detailed information:—

Cairo, May 22—Advices from both British and Arab sources reaching here by airplane from Bagdad indicate the possibility of a renewal of the troubles in Mesopotamia, now called Irak. Like the present disorders in Syria, the threatened outbreak in Irak results from Arab resentment at the European mandates which the League of Nations Council is discussing in Geneva. After eight months of fighting a truce was reached between the British and the Arabs 14 months ago.

The negotiations continued after that between King Feisal and Sir Percy Cox, the British High Commissioner, regarding Irak's future, were broken last Thursday. King Feisal refused longer to discuss British insistence on the mandate, saying that he would be unable to control his people if he made any settlement on that basis.

Feisal suggested that Sir Percy continue the negotiations with the Irak ministry. The ministers met Saturday and took a position identical with that of the king, presented the British Commissioner with a similar reply and halted the negotiations.

### IRAK SOON TO VOTE.

Elections are due in Irak soon, but they are threatened with a boycott by virtually the entire Arab population, which is opposed to

the mandate. A similar protest was made against the French mandate when the elections were held in Syria.

American interests, on account of the recent agreement obtaining equal prospecting rights for American and British companies in the Irak oil fields, are considerably concerned over the possibility of a renewal of hostilities in the valleys of the Euphrates and Tigris.

Further disorders occurred in Damascus on Friday, which is the Mohammedan Sunday, according to reports coming from Syria by secret code. When the attendants at the noon-day prayer meeting were leaving the Mosque of Omeiad, a parade of men and boys carrying Turkish flags and shouting "Long live Mustapha Kemal Pasha" appeared on the street.

### ATTACKED BY SYRIANS.

The Omeiad Mosque is one of the largest in the world, holding 30,000 worshippers. Syrian Nationalists tore the Turkish flag into shreds and started a riot, to quell which the French troops that have surrounded the mosque since the recent disorders, were obliged to use machine guns. Syrian reports are that the pro-Turk demonstration was staged under French auspices.

The French authorities removed the Syrian minister of the interior, the secretary of the ministerial council, and one member of the state council charged with sympathizing with the Syrian independence and prohibited the three men from ever again holding office.

On account of the danger from attacks by desert Bedouins, gun emplacements have been built on the Trans-Jordanian border along the Damascus-Medina Railroad, east of the Jordan River.

### Murder of Sir Henry Wilson.

The murder of Field-Marshal Sir Henry Wilson, in London by two men, taken to be of Irish extraction, is a wicked crime. The Irish Republican Army and the leaders of the different Irish parties have condemned it. A definite British official pronouncement has been made that there is no Irish organisation behind the dastardly act. It is to be hoped that this will prevent the further embitterment of feelings between the Irish and the English.

Every one, Irish or English, will, no doubt, express abhorrence at the crime, and the assassins will also be punished as they deserve. But whenever there is any such act, it is good to remember that the assassins are, as it were, only the points of discharge of the electricity of hatred with which the entire opposing

communities are fully charged. Englishmen in general and Irishmen in general cannot claim to be free from moral responsibility for the crime, just as when an Indian murderer kills any European, or *vice versa*, neither Indians nor Anglo-Indians (old style) can claim to be perfectly innocent. They alone can claim to be quite innocent who are real lovers of humanity, irrespective of race, nationality, colour or creed ; but such men are few in number.

There is much truth in Mr. De Valera's statement, in the course of which he says that:—

The killing of any human being is an awful act, but it is as awful when the victim is a humble worker or unknown peasant as when he is placed in the seats of the mighty and known in every corner of the earth.

He did not know who the shooters of Sir Henry Wilson were, or why they shot him, but he knew the attitude of mind which a campaign of outrage and aggression begets. He knew that life has been made hell for the Nationalist minority in Belfast and its neighbourhood during the past couple of years.....

He shared the belief that Imperialism was responsible for the outrage and could imagine relatives taking the law into their own hands. He did not approve, but he did not pretend to misunderstand.

### **Murder of Herr Rathenau.**

The murder of Herr Rathenau, German Foreign Minister, has also caused a great sensation. It is another horrible crime, due, not to racial hatred, but probably to party machinations. It has been suspected to be the signal for the monarchist and militarist elements to rise against the Republic.

Various wrong ideas prevail all over the world regarding murders. One is that political murders are not as sinful as murders for private reasons. Another is that political murders are more heinous than murders due to non-political causes. A third is that it is more detestable and wicked to kill an obscure non-official than to kill an officer, particularly a high officer. A fourth is that it is more wicked and horrible to kill an officer, particularly a high officer, than it is to kill a non-official, particularly an obscure non-official. A fifth is that it is not so wicked

for a member of a subject race to kill a member of an imperial race as it is for a member of an imperial race to kill a member of a subject race. A sixth is that it is not so heinous for a member of a conquering race to kill one of a subject race as it is for anybody to kill one belonging to a conquering race. A seventh is that it is comparably excusable to kill one belonging to a hostile party or faction. An eighth is that murder of a white by a non-white or *vice versa* is not so wicked as murders of whites by whites or of non-whites by non-whites. And so on and so forth.

But murder is murder, whoever and whatever may be the murderer and the murdered.

### **Lynching Again.**

Some time ago the Americans sent a committee or commission to enquire into and report upon the doings of the Black and Tan (the British soldiers) in Ireland, and an illustrated report was published. We have seen a copy of it. It makes gruesome reading.

Not less gruesome, however, are the accounts of lynchings in America which appear occasionally in American newspapers. Take the following from the *New York Nation* of May 17 last:—

Three Negroes, charged with assault and murder of a 17-year-old white girl, were roasted to death by a mob at Kirvin, Texas. The first Negro burned is alleged to have confessed and implicated the other two, although even under torture they steadfastly denied their guilt. Before they were set afire, the three men were mutilated. This triple orgy, unique even in the annals of our South, where human beings are burned alive every year, took place in front of a church. Almost simultaneously three hundred Americans, among them seventeen State governors, thirty mayors of large cities, some of them in the South, representatives of every important religious denomination, and many judges of State supreme courts, presented a petition to the United States Senate to pass the Dyer anti-lynching bill. Is more convincing evidence needed for such legislation than this recent Texas savagery, a horror unknown in the most primitive of the countries which we white men set up to govern?

### **Cruelty in India.**

It is useless to try to ascertain with nicety whether we are less cruel

than other people. There is no doubt that this trait of ferocious animals exists in our nature. We are not referring to Chauri Chaura, Nankana Sahib, Kartarpur, or the Moplah rebellion, but things which are more ordinary.

It is a fact that the percentage of suicides among women in India is higher than in any other civilised country. What is the cause? Why are there cases of women in Bengal burning themselves to death, by soaking their dress in kerosene oil and setting fire to it? In many homes, the lot of the daughter-in-law is very miserable. This fact became prominent during the trial of the husband, mother-in-law and daughter-in-law of a girl of 17 named Anandamayee who used to be kept confined in a cabin, two by two by two yards, and starved and branded with hot irons. Such cases come before courts only rarely; but they are certainly of more frequent occurrence than the number of prosecutions would show.

The slicing off of the tips of women's noses is another dastardly practice of scoundrels. It is a great pity that the criminals generally get off with such light sentences as six months' imprisonment for disfiguring a woman for life. The punishment should be more exemplary and deterrent. In such cases one feels inclined to demand a nose for a nose.

Whatever the other disadvantages and harmful results of child-marriages, so long as there was a strict general adherence to the orthodox custom of postponing the living together of husband and wife till after the performance of a post-puberty religious ceremony, the physical sufferings of child wives were somewhat minimised. But with the decrease of orthodoxy, the physical sufferings of many immature wives at the first stage of their conjugal lives must be acute and prolonged. They are, however, dumb sufferers and therefore we escape being arraigned at the bar of civilised humanity as a cruel people. But nemesis overtakes us all the same. Our vital statistics, our poor physique, our miserable intellectual output, all tell the tale.

### The Palestine Mandate.

What is the matter with the Palestine Mandate that it should have lost favour with the ruling classes of Britain? Is there no oil there? Or is there less oil than would be considered sufficient compensation for encountering Arab hostility? Or are the Jews, whose wealth is "the hidden hand" behind many British happenings, not so eager to make their homes in their home country as it was expected they would?

We refer to oil, as, according to the *New York Nation*, there was a strong "diplomatic smell of oil" at the Geneva conference. That journal says:—

For a brief moment the clouds lifted at Genoa, and we glimpsed the underlying economic struggle. The talk of "Germany," of "Russia," of "France," of "England," and of their political spokesmen faded; instead the excited correspondents cabled columns about the "Royal Dutch," the "Shell," the "Anglo-Persian," and the "Standard Oil." The great oil companies assumed the center of the stage; the politicians appeared plainly as the puppets; for a day or two we were even permitted to read the names of the men who pull the strings.

### Protest of Natal Indian Congress.

A telegram received from the Natal Indian Congress states that a mass meeting of the congress protested (a) against the rural dealers licensing ordinance passed by the Natal Provincial Council depriving Indians of their existing rights, (b) against the ordinance disfranchising Indians in townships, and (c) against the ordinance segregating Indians in Durban. The meeting emphatically declared that the Indian community would be doomed if the Union Governor-General sanctioned these measures. That is certainly our opinion, too.

### Mr. Sastri in Australia.

It cannot be said that the feeling against Indians in the British colonies is strongest in Australia or that their lot is the hardest there. In fact, there is no such feeling against them there as exists in South Africa or Fiji, for example. And in some of the states of Australia the Indians had been enjoying the franchise from before Mr. Sastri's visit. He has, however, for reasons which we do not know, chosen to

visit Australia first, in order to plead with the citizens there to have pity on the Indians residing in that island continent and improve their condition and status, whatever that may mean. That may or may not be a useful role but it is undoubtedly not a *proud* role; though to those Indians who pretend to be *proud* of being British subjects it may seem such. Let us, however, hope that after finishing his softest job first, Mr. Sastri will tackle the tough jobs elsewhere.

He has said that he does not want Australia to give up her "white Australia policy". He is welcome to cherish and preach such an opinion as his own. But we must protest if he says or suggests that that is the representative Indian opinion. Both moderates and extremists are of one mind in this, that those who will not give us the right of free ingress, egress and choice and pursuit of occupation in their country, must not claim such right in India. We may not be able to enforce our will, but let there be no mistake about what we think and want. We do not pray to or entreat any people to confer any boon on us. What we say is this: It is neither gentlemanlike nor sportsmanlike to seek those advantages from any country which you deny to its children in your own country; if "White This or That Country" be the right policy, "Brown or Black or Yellow This or That Country" is just as good a policy. We do not want to be exclusive, have not been exclusive through the ages; but surely it is less than human not to think of excluding those who exclude or seek to exclude us. Exclusion may not be the right method or policy for us; but the thought of reciprocal action cannot be shut out from the mind.

Mr. Sastri knows that there is no party in India which does not want honorable and citizenlike treatment for Indians residing in the British colonies; there we are all of one opinion. And Mr. Sastri's mission, we take it, is to secure such treatment. Why, then, does he talk Indian *party* politics abroad? Does he

not know the old Sanskrit verse which says that though the five sons of King Pandu are Pandavas whet pitted against the hundred sons of Dhritarastra, both the parties combined make one hundred and five princes of the line of Kuru when pitted against some common antagonist? And why talk of any party in India seeking to break up the British Empire, when the Congress has yet to declare itself in favour of independence? Does Mr. Sastri think that any colonists can be greater lovers of India than even the rankest extremists?

Incidentally, we have a few words to say on one of Mr. Sastri's observations. He said in the course of one of his speeches in Australia that the Brahmans of India have been able to preserve the purity of their blood. What he meant to suggest thereby, we cannot definitely say; we can only guess. Probably he meant that as by means of the caste system the Brahmans have been able to preserve the purity of their blood, so the white colonists may be able to remain white, even after allowing black, brown or yellow immigration, by not intermarrying or interdining with them;—we hope Mr. Sastri did not further suggest that the white colonists should treat coloured immigrants as the Brahmans have treated the "untouchables" for countless generations. But is there any politically-minded Indian of any party who is prepared to accept for his countrymen the position of an inferior caste, not to speak of the position of "untouchables", in any foreign country?

As for the claim that the Brahmans have been able to preserve the purity of their blood, is Mr. Sastri so ignorant of Indian history and of anthropology, as to think that the Brahmans or, for that matter, any race, caste or tribe in any country, have pure blood? Purity of blood is a myth. Go where you will in India, you will find both fair-complexioned and very dark-complexioned and straight-nosed and snub-nosed, Brahmans. On the other hand, we are personally acquainted with Nama-sudras, for example, who are as fair-complexioned as Kashmiri Brahmans.

### A. G. Gardiner on Bottomley.

Writing on "The Fall of Bottomley" in *The Nation and The Athenaeum*, Mr. A. G. Gardiner exclaims :

"Well, Bottomley is condemned and the British jury system is acquitted, and now that the nuisance that has poisoned the public air for a generation has been swept away, we may usefully ask why it was allowed to pollute the world so long and so triumphantly. It cannot be a pleasant inquiry, for it involves a good deal more than Bottomley. It involves that enormous public which made him its idol and gave him his sinister power. It involves..."

Proceeding Mr. Gardiner adds :-

"It involves the Press, which, until *Truth* addressed itself to the task of getting rid of this public shame, preserved a craven silence in regard to Bottomley's proceedings, printed his name with respect, accepted his advertisements, published, even while the case was going on, articles which were undisguised eulogies of the man. It involves distinguished men, in and out of Parliament, who gave Bottomley the prestige of their patronage and approval. It involves finally and most seriously the Government itself which employed Bottomley, on what terms we now know, and in doing so covered his villainies with the hall-mark of the State.

If in a country "where education and political power are universal, so base and evil a man should have been able for years to command the greatest popular following of any one in public life", we must not think that democracy or what passes by that name is a sure cure for all the ills that infest human society. When all the distinguished men in Britain kept quiet and consulted their own convenience, *Truth*, by no means the most wealthy journal, dared to expose the scoundrel. That ought to be an encouragement to honest journals in India.

Referring to Bottomley's case, the editor of *The Nation and The Athenaeum* observes :

"Bottomley's career of prey is over, and for good. The special shame of it is its cashing of war-emotions for private plunder. He was used by the Government for recruiting purposes and he played it false. The war-spirit is served by crooked instruments, which become its later Nemesis."

So, we must not think that those who are used by Government must necessarily be angels. Government may know some to be rogues and yet use them. ♦

### Independence Won, and Independence Given.

There are some Kings who are born independent, there are some who win independence, there are others who are given independence. The quality and satisfactory character of the last brand of independence will appear from the following paragraph extracted from the *New York Nation* :-

Feisal, crowned King of Iraq, in the expectation that he would be a docile satrap of Britain in Mesopotamia, satisfied with a title in lieu of independence, is chafing at his role. He asks that the British withdraw their Indian civil-service advisers as they had promised; he refuses to prohibit demonstrations in favor of abolishing the British mandate over Mesopotamia, and declares that "We Arabs hate to submit to any foreign authority. We hated the Turks, and we are not going to accept another bondage now." Meanwhile the other new puppet king, Ahmed Fuad of Egypt, announces that the Sudan, historically part of Egypt, is part of his kingdom of Egypt. The British, who were a bit vague about the matter in earlier negotiations, are now very sure that it is not. The Sudan, Lord Curzon says, is still British. (Incidentally the Sudan, controlling the headwater of the Nile, controls all Egypt by that fact.) So the business of granting "self-government" without granting self-government runs into snags. It may be a very fine thing on paper to grant the name of independence while holding the reins unobtrusively in the hands of the Christian empires; in practice it does not work. Human nature intrudes upon paper theories, as the half-and-half apostles of liberal imperialism must learn. You either let a people run its wayward course of chaotic self-government, taking upon itself the burden of its mistakes, or step by step you are forced into the historic horrors of imperialism: you shoot down patriots as "bandits," you employ Black and Tans, you have Amritsars, you arrest Gandhi. Outside of the mouths of pleasant speakers there is no such thing as liberal imperialism.

### Addendum.

Having been undecieved by the logic of facts, we restore the following passage, omitted by us in an inrush of faith in man, from "The Present State of the Calcutta University, in the light of facts". On page 89, column 1, lines 43-44, after the words "financial mismanagement", add :

"To these we may now add another, namely, (10) that there should be a medical examination of every person appointed by the University. Darbhanga Buildings is not a *Dome des Invalides*. If you have already



taken one uncertified lunatic for a department, why again negotiate with a newspaper proprietor for engaging another sufferer from cerebral malady?"

### Non-co-operation and the University Deficit.

The statement of the causes of the huge deficit of the University, quoted in a previous Note, cannot be accepted without close scrutiny. During how many years has this deficit accumulated? Where was non-co-operation then? When has the Rangoon University and the Dacca Secondary Education Board begun to work? What numbers of candidates used to be sent up by Dacca and Burma? The loss of these candidates cannot have caused the huge deficit to any appreciable extent. The non-co-operation movement produced its startling effect in Bengal after Mr. C. R. Das had announced that he had given up his practice. What was the date of that announcement? In his speech made in the Bengal Legislative Council on the 1st March, 1922, the Hon'ble the Minister of Education, said with reference to the alleged deficit of 5½ lakhs:

"I believe he [Prof. S. C. Mukherji] said that it was due to the non-co-operation movement. But is Prof. Mukherji sure that the loss is due to the effects of non-co-operation? Has he cared to enquire to what extent the loss may not also be due to the thoughtless expansion of the University in the past?" "...the financial management of the Calcutta University in the past was deplorable."

Referring to the opening *debit* balance of Rs. 2,49,108 of the Fee Fund in the year 1920-21, the Minister observed:

".....in the year ending June 1920 the Calcutta University spent Rs. 1,88,743 of the previous year's balance plus Rs. 29,171, totalling Rs. 2,37,000, over and above the huge fee receipts of Rs. 11 lakhs or so; that is to say an aggregate of Rs. 13,37,914. I put it to the house and to Prof. Mukherji, where was the non-co-operation movement in that year?"

Before the consideration of the proposal of making a grant, there should be an independent audit of accounts up to date. In the mean time, in order to safeguard

the interests of post-graduate students, they should be, by a special ordinance, allowed to appear at their respective examinations in due course without attending lectures, as was the rule many years ago.

### "Visva-Bharati."

In the course of a review of Tagore's "Creative Unity", *The Times Literary Supplement* remarks with reference to his University of Visva-Bharati at Santiniketan:

What he says in depreciation of the type of education established by the British in India is probably only too true. The trouble has been that modes of education traditional in England (and perhaps not altogether satisfactory here) were unintelligently transferred to the very different Indian world. Those who introduced them never turned their thought to first principles and asked what precisely education was intended to accomplish. Rabin-dranath does raise this fundamental question and the ideal of a university which he sketches really brings thought and imagination to bear upon the problem. His university is not to confine itself to intellectual culture, but "Co-operate with the villages round it, cultivate land, breed cattle, spin cloths, press oil from oilseeds." How far the exigencies of time would admit of the poet's ideals being realized in practice one does not know; but one hopes that if the people of Bengal are now to frame their educational system for themselves, Dr. Rabin-dranath Tagore will be called into counsel.

We are glad to learn that Sir J. C. Bose and Dr. Brajendranath Seal have accepted the offices of Vice-presidents of the University at Santiniketan, and Sir Michael Sadler has written to say: "I accept with gratitude the honour of being enrolled as a foundation honorary member of your International University of Santiniketan. I hope that its work may be very fruitful in furthering the spiritual unity of fellow-learners in East and West."

The work of the new session will soon commence.

### ERRATUM.

May M. R., P. 644, 2nd column, 24th line, for "paternal" read "fraternal and".

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## BUDDHISM AND CHRISTIANITY

( *Continued* )

### LETTER III.

R. M. S. Briton.

I WANT to claim your help with some thoughts, which have been crowding in upon me as I have pondered over this question of the relation of Buddhism to Christianity. They carry still further what I wrote in my last letter concerning the need of a more organic conception of the higher religions of mankind. Much of what I am describing may already have been carefully considered by you; but you will not mind if I repeat it, because it has come to me at this time with a new conviction and you may be able to feel something of its freshness as I write it down.

The moving thought with me now,—which has flashed upon me almost with the light of a discovery,—is to find out from my own living experience how much the ancient ideal of India with regard to Ahimsa, which reached its highest expression in the early Buddhist period, is really one with that refusal to use force under any provocation, that utter reliance upon love and love alone, which is such a marked characteristic of the teaching of Christ. "Love your enemies: do good to them that hate you," has a religious history behind it, which goes back to the words of the Buddha when he said "Overcome evil with good."

I see now how very deep this teaching of Ahimsa goes, in *both* religious periods; how it covers the whole of human life and creates a distinct attitude of mind, which might be called (for want of a better name) the non-aggressive character. Retaliation becomes to such a mind unthinkable. "Father, forgive them" is its natural expression even amidst the agony of the cross.

Now I want to turn from this thought to our own Western character and environment. It seems to me that we who live in the West really spend the greater part of our lives in the Old Testament atmosphere, rather than the New. The truth is, that the Sermon on the Mount ideal with its Ahimsa doctrine,—its perpetual forgiveness of injury, its meekness, repels us, rather than attracts us. We neglect it and practically ignore it. On the other hand, we make a strange mixture of our Roman classics, our old Norse legends and our Jewish history, all of them full of blood-thirsty stories, and frame our working ideals of life on these. An Indian student once said,—"Sir, if I told an Englishman that he would inherit the earth, he would be pleased. But if I told him that he should be meek, he would be insulted." There is an immense amount of truth in that story.

We have this old dominating Roman

view of life,—this fighting instinct,—running in our very blood. And the Jew of the Old Testament had it also. It has come out in our European history, even when we were thinking ourselves to be most truly 'Christian'. Look, for instance, at Catholic Spain in the sixteenth century with its Inquisition and conquest of the 'heathen'. Or consider Puritan England of the seventeenth century. Look again at this modern missionary movement of our own day, in which I myself have been so deeply involved, representing as it does an imperialism of another kind, more spiritual, but often subtly aggressive. Do you notice how, at the back of them all, there is this idea of world conquest, this idea of a chosen people or creed which should dominate the earth? How typical of the Old Testament that is! How strikingly it appears again in Islam, the religion of another Semitic people!

I need hardly tell you I believe with a strong conviction, that there are great qualities in the Old Testament ideal, especially in its passion for justice to the poor and the oppressed. The West owes very much to the teaching of the Old Testament in this direction. But the striking fact remains, that the distinctive note in the New Testament ideal—the note not of *conquest* of others,—but of complete *service* of others, this has been singularly lacking in the spirit of modern Europe. The note of domination, either imperial or ecclesiastical, has been uppermost. Europe has been continually using her immense access of power, not to serve, but to exploit.

Or take a less clear instance, namely, that of St. Paul. His case is less clear, because he had very deeply imbibed Christ's spirit of perfect service. He had passed through a volcanic upheaval of conversion, in which his old life had been turned upside down, and inside out. He had heard the appeal of Christ's love, and could write one of the most moving hymns of love that has ever been written. And yet how different is the aspect of the progress of the world, which he presents, from that of Christ himself! He cannot get rid of

his old Jewish nature. His whole mind is still bent upon domination, only in another and more spiritual form. To him the Christian Church has become the 'elect' people instead of the Jews. That is the subtle change which disguises the old spirit. To St. Paul's mind, there must be always this 'favoured nation' theory, with an environment of outer darkness to set it off. We have still, in St. Paul's teaching, the old popular traditions concerning the 'heathen' who are perishing, while the favoured few are saved. He still takes all these crude things for granted, and argues from them as though they were axiomatic.

And then, turn to the history of the different Protestant sects, which have made St. Paul's doctrines of election and predestination their main platform. They have all, sooner or later, broken out in some narrow expression and interpretation of this Old Testament conception of life, regarding themselves as the "elect". It is interesting to note how these very sects are still today the backbone of the missionary society movement throughout the world on its most aggressive side. There is great nobility and sacrifice, but there is this note of dominance also.

Take, on the other hand, the one Christian body, which has been least touched by Paulinism and has been trying instead to carry out the Sermon on the Mount in its life and daily practice,—the Society of Friends. How like a fish out of water this Society has been in Europe. Imperialism has not known what to make of it. It has been persecuted and despised. Its members have been imprisoned for conscience's sake in every generation. It seems hardly able to take root in the West among the masses. And yet it is perhaps the one Christian body most akin to India,—unanxious about proselytes, but regarding anxiously and *carefully* deeply the inner spirit. Is it not also the least dominating of all missionary bodies?

In South Africa, I have had a further object lesson, about which I want to write to you. It has opened my own eyes greatly. Indeed, I had never realised

so clearly before, the futility of labelling people by names, and calling them 'Christians' or otherwise. Here is my story :—

The South African Boers out here, who have been in this country for more than a century, are by profession, devout and religious Christians. They belong to what is called the Dutch Reformed Church and they come in long distances every Sunday to Church. They call themselves by the name of Christ, the Son of Man, and yet in practice their whole view of life is based on the theory that they themselves are the 'Chosen People' in the Old Testament sense of the words. And see what racial arrogance it has produced. In the Orange Free State, the African natives have scarcely a single citizen right. The Boers religiously believe, that God meant the Africans for ever and ever to be their servants. As for the Indians, they too belong to the subject races of the world, and must be allowed no privilege.

On the other hand, the Indians themselves under Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi ( for Mrs. Gandhi's influence is quite wonderful ) are living a life that immediately appeals to me as one with the Christ-life. They are meek and forbearing under terrible persecution. They do not return evil for evil, or railing for railing, but contrariwise blessing,—to quote our own Christian Scriptures. They are also full of joy in their sufferings.

This contrast has been so noticeable, that Englishmen themselves have said to me,—“These Indians under Mr. Gandhi are more Christian than we are.”

Pearson, who has been with me, actually mentioned in one of his speeches, when I was present, that he felt he could understand the Indian position quite naturally, because his mother's family had all been members of the Society of Friends. That remark of his struck me very much. Is it not significant ?

Or look at Count Tolstoy in Russia, and his interpretation of the Christian faith through the re-discovery ( in his own case ) of the Sermon on the Mount. Every Hindu instinctively claims Tolstoy as his own, and Mr. Gandhi found in his writ-

ings the ideal of what Hinduism stands for. Is not that significant also ?

You see I am struggling to find out what this unique and ultimate characteristic of Christianity really is, and I feel that without the daily practice of the Sermon on the Mount, Christianity is like salt that has lost its savour.

#### LETTER IV.

R. M. S. BRITON.

I want to discard at once, on my own account, in all that I am now writing to you, two very harmful conventional phrases,—

( i ) The Ahimsa ideal is often called 'passive',—using the word in a distinctly depreciatory sense. I have read a book written by an Englishman in which the “more manly virtues of the West” ( as they were called ) were contrasted with the “passive” ideals of the East. This is, of course, outrageous,—a libel on manhood, on humanity, on humaneness.

Do not people, who talk like this, ever realise or think out, or try to understand, how the highest example set before us in the West itself by the Christian religion is the Passion of Christ. But here again is only another instance, which shows how the West fails to appreciate the true meaning of Christ's life.

The real touch-stone lies in that very word 'humane'. The final issue before humanity is this :—Is physical power, and material domination, the test of human greatness, or is Ahimsa ?

The Jew, the Roman, the Englishman, really believe ( in the inner recesses of their hearts ) in the former. I am speaking, of course, of the average, not of the exception. But Christ believes in the latter,—“My kingdom,” he says, “is not of this world, else would my servants fight, but now is my kingdom not from hence.” This is the word of Christ, and the word of the Buddha is extraordinarily akin to it.

( ii ) The Jew is often called a typical Oriental. The Jew was nothing of the kind. His life history as a nation lay along the Mediterranean basin and more and more he gravitated Westward, not

Eastward. On the Eastern side, the Jew has practically disappeared. Even in Christ's own time, the Westward tendency was very strong indeed. The Jew spread over the whole Roman Empire and acclimatised rapidly. The Jew had many dominant qualities which were almost equivalent to the Roman. He intensely believed in the supremacy of his own race and as a nationalist he fought with Rome and very nearly won. When St. Paul went Westward instead of Eastward, to spread the aggressive form of Christianity which he professed, he really went along with the current of the age. Christianity imperialised itself and by so doing in the end gained the Empire. But it lost much of its inner purity. When therefore we speak about the Old Testament spirit, we are speaking of something akin to the spirit and the history of the West,—not something that is typically Eastern.

All this leads up to a point, which has come home to me in South Africa with an entirely new force. It is this. There is a great contrast, in religious effectiveness, between that which wells up to the surface, like a spring of fresh water, and that which is simply believed as an authoritative creed. The latter may be held for centuries and may superimpose a veneer of culture and civilisation upon a people. But all the time it may hardly touch the bedrock nature underneath. A man usually takes out of a creed just as much as suits his own purpose and leaves the rest. Look at Japan, with its Buddhism. Look at the West, with its Christianity.

It is the rarest thing in the world to find a people actually changing its own inner nature. This is why I always feel, that we have never yet written the history of early Buddhism. For that religion *did* change the face of India and it left a permanent impress. The same was the effect of early Christianity, but it was soon overlaid with the imperial spirit. Such movements as these two represent immense spiritual and moral forces. No other forces in human history can be compared with these.

I do not mean for a moment that an

*individual* may not be 'born again' by his religious faith in every age and thus become a changed man. That second birth is an experience of every vital religion. But even so, this second birth keeps the marks and traces of the old parentage. St. Paul the Christian remained the Jew in his old nature long after conversion. The fundamental nature remains, even in the most violent upheaval of religious conversion: it is transformed, but not, I think, radically altered.

Now I come to the main issue. Christ, the Jewish peasant, lived naturally and instinctively this ideal of Ahimsa, as a part of his innate character and instinct, not as a superimposed creed. He lived it as naturally as the birds of the air and the lilies of the field. It was no strain to him; it was no awful struggle against nature. In Christ, it was as it were an instinct in the blood, which quite naturally and spontaneously expressed itself. It never had to be learnt.

Jesus, as pictured in the Gospels, found it difficult even to be patient with those around him, who wished him to express, in place of this universal ideal of his own, the narrower ideal of the Jewish race as a chosen and peculiar people, who were the special favourites of Heaven. So little is he conscious of this racial spirit within himself, that he cannot tolerate it when he sees it transgressing the bounds of humanity at large. He is impatient with it. For this very thing, in one form or another, is the underlying hypocrisy of the Pharisee, on which he pours such scorn. On the other hand, he has an all-embracing sympathy with every part of mankind. It comes out at every moment and over-leaps all conventional barriers. The leper, the fallen woman, the outcast, have his special benediction. He loves the little children, the flowers on the mountain side, the birds of the air. His compassion is like that of God Himself, who 'causes the sun to shine and the rain to fall upon the just and on the unjust.'

His whole life, as far as we can see it, has fundamentally this nature. It is just as marked in his word of forgiveness at

the hour of death, as it is in the sunshine of Galilee. It is not something learnt with toil and pain. It goes far deeper than that. It is his own bedrock nature, his own inner life.

How did all this come about? Is it possible to say? Did it all spring from the Jewish soil alone? I think not.

There we come up against one of the blank spaces in the records of human history. During the early centuries after the Buddha's death in India, journeys must have been constant, backwards and forwards, along the highways of the world. It is the unknown wanderers and pilgrims who really make history. Think how the Franciscan movement spread in Europe and how little is known of those humble friars who went on foot their long journeys. Often, too, the very atmosphere reverberates, in times of intense spiritual emotion, and the psychic change seems to come of itself. To take a parallel instance in the artistic world,—Shakespeare knew but little Latin and less Greek, and yet he became, in the North of Europe, the flower of the European Renaissance.

So it may have been (may it not?) that seeds of the great Buddhist movement were blown Westward, and fertilised and grew in Palestine.

All I have said is not dependent on any direct historical links between Palestine and India being established. It is primarily an intimate union of the spirit that I claim. We have a verse, which is very beautiful and often quoted, in our Scriptures,—

"The wind bloweth whither it listeth and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh and whither it goeth: so is every one that is born of the Spirit."

This surely is the final truth about events so great as these. And yet, it may be possible that historical research will make such an idea as I have outlined with regard to the sequence of events far more credible in the future. There are huge gaps in history waiting to be filled in; and there are discoveries to be made in history no less momentous than

those that come through scientific experiment.

What do we really know, for instance, of the conversion of China to Buddhism? And yet there must have been quiet, unknown lives by thousands passing along the highroads to the Far East for such an event to have taken place.

I cannot now develop all that appears to me to flow from this central position,—all that will follow if it can be shown to the spiritual vision of mankind, that the early Buddhist movement and the early Christian movement are singularly akin and singularly united, however diverse they may be in other aspects than those I have been considering.

Perhaps the leading consequence would be this, that it would then be possible to see, in the world's higher religions, a branching family tree, an organic unity, instead of parallel forces, or merely disconnected atoms. There would then, also, be the possibility of the full recognition by the West of the greatness of this Buddhist period. We should find that we *had* to learn from India, if we would find out the faults of our own Western civilisation and the truths of our own Christian religion which we have not yet grasped.

Throughout this letter I have been working only at one side of a great subject. I do not for a moment under-value the vital and searching moral truths which came to the West from the Old Testament itself, along with much that was narrow and confined. All these things I have taken for granted. I need not dwell on them in writing to you, because you know what value I place on the prophetic teaching of the Old Testament. You will not misunderstand me, if I do not safeguard myself there.

But to return to this common element.—If once this intimate connection between the great religions of humanity becomes recognised, then, as I have said, remarkable consequences would follow. The West would no longer remain so "Europe-centred" in its historical vision. It would have to take ancient Indian history vitally into account, as an integral part

of its own development,—as touching closely the finer, deeper part of it. World history would get a consistency, a wholeness, and be no longer shut up into water-tight compartments of which only the Western section was explored by the West and known in the West. How I hate these cattle-pen theories of humanity! How impossible it is to go forward, if we do not get rid of these theories altogether, both in thought and in practice! The different religions of the world would gradually come into their place, if once the key to the religious evolution of mankind was discovered. There would be simplification all round,

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such as took place when the physical side of human life was put in its proper setting by Darwin's theory.

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This concludes the series of letters written in the year 1914. I feel that it will be necessary to add a post-script in the next number of the *Modern Review*, in order to show how far my thoughts have travelled since then. While the main thesis has remained with me practically unchanged, there are certain very important details which help to fill in the picture and these should not be omitted.

*Shantiniketan.*

C. F. ANDREWS.

## COMMUNALISM AS THE FOUNDATION OF INDIAN DEMOCRACY

### A PARADOX IN POLITICS.

**I**N India, we are to-day in the midst of a general reconstruction of the political system. It seems, however, that the lessons of our ancient history or the living traditions and folk-experiences of our culture are set at nought in devising our political future and its machinery of government. In the schemes of reform that were recently advocated by different classes or parties or responsible persons in India or in England, the political methods and instruments of the West were looked upon as models for India to imitate with caution and sincerity. Representative institutions have been considered as coming only from the West as a result of the British connection with India. Starting from small beginnings laid many years ago, we find an attempt to liberalise the government by British Commonwealth, which has culminated in the Government of India Act, 1919. It is party government, pure and simple, that the Montagu Reforms are transplanting from the banks of the Thames to the plains of the Ganges and the Indus. Meanwhile, the mistakes of Western democracy have been too insis-

tent. In Great Britain, the failure of the Parliamentary system to express the forces making for change today diverts a large part of these forces into various forms of "direct action" all of which are revolutionary. Thus it is a remarkable paradox that whereas the results of the Parliamentary system are becoming more and more revolutionary in Great Britain, the system is introduced as essential to India, the home of communal experiments, in social, economic and political life. The persistent failures to grapple the Irish political difficulty and to devise a suitable constitution represent but another instance of the inapplicability and invalidity of parliamentary or party methods in England for the solution of a conflict of interests and functions, economic, communal and religious.

### THE NEW STATE IN THE WEST.

The West has not in fact been slow to evolve new political methods. Feudalism bequeathed to the West the centralised administration and the political system, still surviving in the monarchy and the House of Lords; Liberalism imposed its system as represented in the popular

assemblies ( which now obviously require supplementing ) ; so Socialism is to-day evolving its political system in the Councils. In Russia we have the *mir*s, the *artels*, the industrial councils, working-men's councils, peasants' councils and the Soviets. In the milder Rate-Republic of Germany, the developments of council government, as now consecrated in the constitution, are characteristic ; and workmen's councils, industrial councils, soldiers' councils, and communal councils, are getting themselves fully admitted to the council system. In Great Britain, the Mother of Parliaments, the new movement towards the group solution of social and economic troubles is most significant. In the Church's Enabling Bill, the Parliament concedes to the Church a very large measure of self-control and self-management ; nationalisation as well as group control and ownership are also being emphasised in different fields of social and economic management. Great Britain is working speedily away at Guild Socialism and the Shop Stewards' Committees, and even extending Whitley Councils to the Civil Service, and Welfare Committees to the Navy ; in industrial government she has already shifted the centre of political gravity from the Parliament to the cabinet of the principal trade-union leaders, which before long will probably supersede the present executive of Labour, the parliamentary committee of the Trade Union Congress. In Germany, in France and in Britain, the present coalition governments, originating in the exigencies of national crisis have gradually discovered that the council system is a truer democracy than existing party and parliamentary systems, being a much surer and safer machine for the realisation of public opinion ; while the real labour movement has passed to the group and council system, the more so with the rise of labour to political power.

In America, the Congress is losing function after function, its place being taken by the industrial experts of the various commissions. There are national commissions for railroads, for inter-state corporations control for shipping and the tariff.

The old state lines and district lines are fading. The industries are the new states of the nations.\* In the English Guild Socialism and the French Syndicalism, in the Russian Soviet democracy or in the American Federalism, we find a gradual transformation of the central monism of the existing political order into a composite pluralism, which is the essence of the communalistic polity.

#### THE DEMOCRACY OF THE EASTERN COMMUNES.

In the East, different in origin and in development from the democracy of Parliament, is the democracy of the village community, the communal council, or the guild system. Communalism in the East has evolved this particular political system, even as Socialism to-day in the West is having its political system in the councils. The village assemblies, the caste and sub-caste panchayats, the city councils, the occupational or professional guilds, or communal federations and assemblies of the folk, the assemblies of a group of villages, tribes and castes, which India has known through ages, have survived many vicissitudes, but none more perilous than the encroachments of the strong and centralised British imperial government, and the economic legislation and administration based on individualistic concepts of rights and property. Neither occupation nor kinship, neither caste nor tribal communism has been the sole basis of Indian social democracy though each has contributed its element of cohesiveness. Side by side with caste assemblies and occupational guilds, and their union or federation, we have in India the local bodies on a territorial basis, and the territorially elected larger assemblies. Their origin and their development along parallel lines are characteristic of Indian polity, and reflected in the principal social organism of India, the village community.

In India, there has been going on for centuries an inevitable and silent process of the fusion of races, which has left its stamp on the social gradation of the

\* See the 'Philosophical Review', November, 1919.



village community.\* Distinction of race, religion, caste and family come gradually to be merged in the village polity. The non-Aryan tribes, who have settled in Hindu villages and entered the Hindu fold, comprise the impure castes, relegated to degrading and menial occupations; groups from lower castes continually succeed in obtaining admission into a higher community when they obtain possession of land, or other incidents of a higher social or economic status; while groups of diverse origin are amalgamated owing to their common calling,—hunting, fishing, pastoral pursuits, agriculture or handicrafts, for instance, though in India artisan castes never form villages of their own as they have done in Russia: thus the enormous majority of castes are occupational and their social position depends roughly on their caste calling or the degree to which it is lucrative and respectable. Large sections of the Dravidian tribes on their acceptance of Hinduism and the Hindu code of clean living and the development of the caste system thus become enrolled in it with a caste status on the basis of their occupation or service to the village communities, and their original tribal affinities gradually disappear. There is *pari passu* a supercession of the older methods of tribal division and ethnogenic government according to clans or septs extending over a wide area by the demogenic polity of the village community on a territorial rather than the kinship basis. Thus, it is mainly among the nomadic and the gipsy groups, the impure and menial castes, who are in the low scale of Hinduism as sweepers and scavengers, that panchayets having a very wide territorial jurisdiction are best seen, though artisan and trading communities exhibit a very extended and widely ramifying scheme of guild polity. The panchayet of the particular community which is really inside the caste system when this is considered as the socio-economic organisation of the Hindus, gradually gets itself fully admitted to the village polity and thus the Panch Jati or five castes come to be represented in the village Panchayet, and the village assemblies and their unions in-

to larger bodies having a wide territorial jurisdiction as important in the scheme of Indian polity as a widely extended guild polity, functional or caste government proper.

#### GROUP ORGANISATION AS THE BASIS OF POLITICAL EXPERIMENT.

A serious attempt to rehabilitate the Panchayet system is being made only recently; but even now the panchayets are trusted with but a small share of direct responsibility for the administration of affairs, while the new administrative creations of larger rural unions or boards or circles are too artificial to be constructive. The village communities and city guilds and brotherhoods, the scheme of caste polity or the larger local or non-local associations have either been ignored or thwarted and threatened. And yet, rightly ordered and expanded on modern lines, such a political system, which the deeply humanised and socialised scheme of Indian Communalism has evolved, will have much greater chances of success than the democracy founded on the Western pattern and superimposed upon the people from above. A communal democracy, rising layer upon layer from the lower strata of panchayets, guilds, unions and brotherhoods, communal federations and folk assemblies, in the changing composition of which every trend of public opinion will be immediately indicated, will be more representative than an Indian parliamentary system, in which the party leaders are out of touch, necessarily, with their enormous constituencies and too much dependent on agents, and reporters and even on the Press. Nor should we fail to profit by the lessons of Western political evolution as we set out on the track of modern constitutionalism marked off from the older communal form of self government by the political devices of delegation and responsibility. It may be that in the years to come the function of the territorially elected Legislative Council will ultimately become more and more that of an Upper House, while the functionally and industrially elected body that may be created out of the union or federa-

tion of existing or rehabilitated indigenous forms of popular government will be the creative and constructive institution. But all this is left to the practical constructive politicians and reformers of the future to solve. As we get the powers to mould our institution, we may, indeed, evolve a system of government which will thus find a working compromise or rather co-operation between the opposite principles of group formation involved, which have more or less governed the development of polity in the West and in the East. Meanwhile let all reformers in India beware of the errors of Western democracy, and try to build a safer and surer democracy from the bottom on the foundations of our village or caste panchayets, occupational guilds and other local or non-local bodies and assemblies, casting out the abuses and evil customs which have clung to them, and educating the people along newer and broader spheres of political endeavour in response to the demands of a wider civics and a higher nationalism.

#### THE STANDPOINT OF COMPARATIVE POLITICS.

From a universal standpoint it would appear that while the foundation of political structure in the West is the separation of individual and the state as two radically independent, absolute and even opposed elements with consequent emphasis of individual rights and the power of the state, that of the Eastern political structure is the incorporation of group-will into the life of the individual oriented in diverse intermediate groups between the state and the individual, resulting in a communal ethos, which arises out of the free and voluntary co-operation of quasi-independent organs of social government and in the weakness of

central authority. An ideal of political efficiency which looks only to the strength of the centralised absolutist structures and the fiats of sovereign authority is inadequate and partial even as the ethos and traditions that are the outcome of an individual conscience are disruptive. But this ideal and these traditions, descended from Rome, have been the criteria and tests for the judgment of political life and institutions throughout the world.

In the East, communalism stands neither for the natural rights of individuals nor for inviolable state rights; neither for inherent rights of groups nor for legislatures balancing opposed and fighting interests, but for a genuine integration of the interests of all the parts in the unity of the state, which should have authority not as a separate group but only in so far as it gathers up into itself the whole meaning of the constituent groups.\* Communalism rests not on "social contract", "rights" and "balance", but on co-ordination, duties and compounding through the only genuine and vital democratic process, that of trying to integrate myriad group ideas and interests earlier than parliaments or councils and further back in social and economic life. It is a nation's social and economic life, which ultimately furnishes the strength and inspiration of its political organisation, and a political experiment is bound to fail if it ignores the inner meaning hidden in this intermingling of the old and essential groups in the daily, ultimate life of the people.

RADHAKAMAL MOOKERJEE.

\* Cf. Folet, *The New State*.

## LETTERS FROM ABROAD

BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

*Strasbourg, April 29, 1921.*

I AM writing this from Strasbourg where I am going to read my lecture at the University this evening.

I miss you very much at this moment; for I feel certain that it would overwhelm you with happiness could you be with me now, realising the great outburst of love for me in the continental countries of Europe which I have visited. I have never asked for it, or striven for it, and I never can believe that I have deserved it. However, if it be more than is due to me, I am in no way responsible for this mistake. For I could have remained perfectly happy in my obscurity to the end of my days, on the banks of the Ganges, with the wild ducks as my only neighbours on the desolate sand islands.

“আমি কেবলি স্বপন করেছি বপন আকাশে।”

“I have only sown dreams in the air,” for the greater part of my life, and I never turned back to see if they bore any harvest. But the harvest now surprises me, almost obstructs my path, and I cannot make up my mind to claim it for my own. All the same, it is a great good fortune to be accepted by one's fellow-beings from across the distance of geography, history and language; and through this fact we realise how truly one is the mind of Man, and what aberrations are the conflicts of hatred and the competitions of self-interest.

We are going to Switzerland to-morrow and our next destination will be Germany. I am to spend my birth-day this year in Zurich. I have had my second birth in the West, and there is rejoicing at the event. But by nature all men are *dwija* or twice born,—first they are born to their home, and then, for their further fulfilment, they have to be born to the larger

world. Do you not feel yourself, that you have had your second birth among us? And with this second birth, you have found your true place in the heart of humanity.

It is a beautiful town, this Strasbourg,—and to-day the morning light is beautiful. The sunshine has mingled with my blood and tinged my thoughts with its gold, and I feel ready to sing,—

“Brothers, let us squander this morning with futile songs.”

This is a delightful room where I am sitting now, with its windows looking over the fringe of the Black Forest. Our hostess is a charming lady, with a fascinating little baby, whose plump fingers love to explore the mystery of my eyeglasses.

We have a number of Indian students in this place, among whom is Lala Harkishen Lal's son, who asks me to send you his respectful regards. He is a fine young man, frank and cheerful, loved by his teachers.

We have missed this week's letters, which are now evidently lost beyond recovery. It is difficult for me to forgive the Mediterranean for doing me this disservice! The present week's mail is due and if Thos. Cook and Son are prompt about it we shall find our letters today!

Geneva, May, 2, 1921.

It made me very anxious to hear that you fell ill after your strenuous work in Howrah. There is one consolation owing to the delay in receiving letters from a distance. It is the hope that the evil tidings, which they bring, may have had time to give place to good tidings before their answer is received; and by this time I expect you have got over your illness. I am sure you need rest and change, and

this was why I had been hoping that you would have been able to spend your summer vacation in Europe. I quite understand why it was not possible for you to accept my invitation, and what a great sacrifice it was for you. There are times when one has to be utterly reckless; but it seems to me, that, for you, those times never come to their end. However, it makes me eager to come to your rescue and lure you away from your work and drag you into the delicious depths of neglectfulness of duty.

I am myself dreaming of such a glorious opportunity; and when it does come, you may be sure that I shall claim your companionship in my path of idleness, strewn with unanswered letters, forgotten engagements and books with uncut pages. But we are fast getting into the vicious habit of keeping ourselves busy. Before long, we shall lose all taste for leisure, for refinements of laziness.

Perhaps a day will come, when I shall pine for doing my duty, and my pious example will be quoted in text books on which I shall have to pass my examination in my next birth! Please know that I am serious! I am afraid of trampling down the limits of my arrested twenty-seventh year\* in sheer haste for keeping appointed time! When one is not compelled to keep count of time, one forgets to grow old; but when you must constantly consult your watch, you are pushed into your twenty-eighth year directly you complete your twenty-seventh. Do we not have the example of Nepal Babu† before our eyes? He never respects time; and therefore time fails to exact its taxes from him and he remains young. In this, he is an inveterate non-co-operator,—he has boycotted the Government of Chronometry! And I want to register my name on the list of his *chelas*. I shall strew my path of triumphant unpunctuality with shattered watch dials, and miss my trains that lead to the terminus of mature age.

\* Referring to a child's remark that the Poet must always remain 'at the age of twenty seven', and never grow older.

† A teacher at the Ashram, loved by all

But, Sir, what about my International University? It will have its time-keeper, who is no respecter of persons,—not even of the special privileges of some twenty-seventh year which has taken its Satyagraha vow never to move forward. I am afraid its bell will toll me into the haze of hoariness across the grey years of fifty. Pray for my youth, my dear friend, if it ever dies of old age, brought about by self-imposed responsibility of ambitious altruism!

This is a beautiful country, a dwelling place of the Gods invaded by man. The town is so dainty and clean with its river of limpid water and the sky unpolluted by the belching of smoke. The big towns, like New York and London, are vulgar because of their pretentious hugeness and perpetual bustle. In the streets here, motor cars are few and crowds are leisurely. It is a town that seems to have been created in the atmosphere of vacation. And yet it is not sluggish, or somnolent. Life here flows like its own bright river, humming a song and breaking into merry peals of laughter.

I fervently hope that you will not run away before I reach home. My mind is so full of plans, which it must discuss with you or else it will burst. The kernel of a plan is for carrying it out, but the most delicious part of it is the pulp, which is merely for discussion. I must have you for this game of agreeing and disagreeing, putting down figures on paper and then flinging them into the waste paper basket.

Geneva, May 6, 1921.

To-day is my birth-day. But I do not feel it; for in reality, it is a day which is not for me, but for those who love me. And away from you, this day is merely a date in the calendar. I wish I had a little time to myself to-day, but this has not been possible. The day has been crowded with visitors and the talk has been incessant, some part of which has unfortunately lapsed into politics, giving rise to a temperature in my mental atmosphere of which I always repent.

Politics occasionally overtakes me like a sudden fit of ague, without giving

But deep in the heart of this meeting is surely maturing the seed of a great future of union. When we realise it, our mind regains its detachment from the

Near Zurich, May 10, 1921.

Tomorrow I have my invitation at Zurich, and on the 13th of this month I leave Switzerland for Germany. Haven't I said to you, in some letter of mine, that my life has followed the course of my celestial namesake, the Sun,—and that the last part of my hours is claimed by the West? How genuine has been the claim I never realised before I had visited

the continent of Europe. I feel deeply thankful for this privilege, not only because it is sweet to realise appreciation from one's fellow-beings, but because it has helped me to feel how near we are to the people who in all appearance are so different from ourselves.

Such an opportunity has become rare to us in India because we have been segregated from the rest of the world. This has acted upon the minds of our people in two contrary ways. It has generated that provincialism of vision in us, which either leads to an immoderate boastfulness, urging us to assert that India is unique in every way,—absolutely different from other countries,—or to a self-depreciation which has the sombre attitude of suicide. If we can come into real touch with the West through the disinterested medium of intellectual co-operation, we shall gain a true perspective of the human world, realise our own position in it, and have faith in the possibility of widening and deepening our connection with it. We ought to know that a perfect isolation of life and culture is not a thing of which any race can be proud. The dark stars are isolated, but stars that are luminous belong to the eternal chorus of lights.

Greece was not shut up in the solitude of her culture, nor was India, when she was in the full radiance of her glory. We have a Sanskrit expression तदष्टं यन्नदीयते 'that which is not given is lost,' and India, in order to find herself, must give herself. But this power of giving can only be perfected when it is accompanied by the power of receiving. That which cannot give, but can only reject, is dead. The cry which has been raised today of rejecting Western culture only means the paralysing of our own power to give anything to the West. For, in the human world, as I have said, giving is exchanging. It is not one sided, and therefore our education will not attain its perfection by refusing to accept all lessons from the West, but by realising its own inheritance, which will give us means to pay for such lessons. Our true wealth,

intellectual as well as material, lies not in the acquisition itself, but in our own independent means of acquisition.

So long as our intellectual attainments were solely dependent on an alien giver, we have been accepting and not acquiring. Therefore these attainments have mostly been barren of production, as I have discussed in my pamphlet on Education. But it would be wrong to blame the Western culture itself for such futility. The blame lies in not using our own receptacle for this culture. Intellectual parasitism causes degeneracy in the intellectual organs of one's mind, and therefore it is not the food, but the parasitism that has to be avoided.

At the same time I strongly protest against Mahatma Gandhi's trying to cry down such great personalities of Modern India as Ram Mohan Roy in his blind zeal for crying down our modern education. It shows that he is growing enamoured of his own doctrines, which is a dangerous form of egotism, that even great people suffer from at times. Every Indian ought to be proud of this fact, that, in spite of immense disadvantages, India still has been able to produce greatness of personality in her children, such as we find in Ram Mohan Roy. Mahatmajī has quoted the instances of Nanak, Kabir, and other saints of Medieval India. They were great, because in their life and teaching they made organic the union of the Hindu and Muhammadan cultures,—and such realisation of the spiritual unity through all differences of appearance is truly Indian.

In the modern time, Ram Mohan Roy had that comprehensiveness of mind to be able to realise the fundamental unity of spirit in the Hindu, Muhammadan and Christian cultures. Therefore he represented India in the fulness of truth, and this truth is based, not upon rejection, but on perfect comprehension. Ram Mohan Roy could be perfectly natural in his acceptance of the West, only because his education had been perfectly Eastern,—he had the full inheritance of the Indian wisdom. He was never a school boy of the West, and therefore he had the dignity to be the

friend of the West. If he is not understood by Modern India, this only shows that the pure light of her own truth has been obscured for the moment by the storm clouds of passion.

Hamburg, May, 17, 1921.

It has been a perpetual sunshine of kindness for me all through my travels in this country. While it delights me, it makes me feel embarrassed. What have I to give to these people? What have they received from me? But the fact is, they are waiting for the day-break after the orgies of night, and they have their expectation of light from the East.

Do we feel in the soul of India that stir of the morning which is for all the world? Is the one string of her *Ektara* being tuned, which is to give the keynote to the music of a great future of Man,—the note which will send a thrill of response from shore to shore? Love of God in the hearts of the medieval saints of India,—like Kabir and Nanak,—came down in showers of human love, drowning the border-lines of separation between Hindus and Musalmans.

They were giants, not dwarfs, because they had the spiritual vision whose full range was in the Eternal,—crossing all the barriers of the moment. The human world in our day is much larger than in theirs; conflicts of national self-interest and race-traditions are stronger and more complex; the political dust-storms are blinding; the whirlwinds of race antipathy are fiercely persistent; the sufferings caused by them are world-wide and deep. The present age is waiting for a divine word, great and simple, which creates and heals; and what has moved me profoundly is the fact that suffering man in Europe has turned his face to the East.

It is not the man of politics, or the man of letters, but the simple man whose faith is living. Let us believe in his instinct; let his expectation guide us to our

wealth. In spite of the immense distractions of our latter day degeneracy, India still cherishes in her heart the immortal mantram of Peace, of Goodness, of Unity,—

Shantam, Shivam, Advaitam.

The message of the One in the All which had been proclaimed in the shade of India's forest solitude is waiting to bring reconciliation to the men who are fighting in the dark, who have lost the recognition of their brotherhood.

Of all the men in Modern India, Ram Mohan Roy was the first and the greatest who realised this truth. He held up high the pure light of the Upanishads that shows the path by which the conquerors of the self *वक्त्रे वा विप्रश्नि* 'enter into the heart of the all,'—the light which is not for rejection but for comprehension.

Musalmans had come to India with a culture which was aggressively antagonistic to her own. But in her saints, the spirit of the Upanishads worked in order to attain the fundamental harmony between the things that were apparently irreconcilable. In the time of Ram Mohan Roy, the West had come to the East with a shock that caused panic in the heart of India. The natural cry was for exclusion, which was the cry of fear, the cry of weakness, the cry of the dwarf. But through the great mind of Ram Mohan Roy, the true spirit of India asserted itself and accepted the West, not by the rejection of the soul of India, but by the comprehension of the soul of the West.

The mantram which gives our spiritual vision its right of entrance into the soul of all things, is the mantram of India, the mantram of Peace, of Goodness, of Unity,—*शान्तं शिवमहैतम्* Shantam, Shivam, Advaitam. The distracted mind of the West is knocking at the gate of India for this. And is it to be met there with a hoarse shout of exclusion?

## RESERVE FUNDS

A very interesting feature was brought out in the discussion on Railway Budget, in the Legislative Assembly, on the question of Reserve Funds, and the speech of Mr. K. C. Neogy and the reply of Sir Malcolm Hailey were very pointed.

The chief points at issue were that the present condition of Indian Railways was due to the non-creation of reserve funds, which had the effect of inflating the revenues only on paper and of increasing non-productive expenditure in the way of payment of surplus profits to companies and to the making over of India's rolling stock and materials to the War Office by process of sale for use in Mesopotamia and elsewhere, when Indian Railways are said to be half starved for want of rolling stock.

It is to be borne in mind, however, that there were several features that operated against creation of "Reserve Funds" in the past.

In the first place, the railway property is one of continuous renewals and replacements. Under ordinary circumstances, renewals are made out of revenue but to a limited extent, and the greater additions and improvements out of Budget grants.

The non-paying condition of the lines, in their early and middle periods, operated against Reserve Funds, because if "Reserve Funds" had been created when the railways did not earn the guaranteed dividend, the taxation on the Indian people would have been greater. For many years, the guaranteed dividend was made up by taxation whenever there were deficits, and this was necessary for several years after the railways came into existence in India. It was only during the last 17 or 18 years that the railways, taken as a whole, became paying concerns to the Government.

Then after the railways were acquired by the State there came another heavy charge against the Railway Revenue in the way of payment of annuities in redemption of capital and interest on annuities. This was the inevitable result of railways not having been made out of State funds from the beginning,

or at least after Lord Lawrence had clearly and very forcibly demonstrated that it was to the interest of India to have State owned and State managed lines. Money had after all to be found by India at the end, in all cases, to acquire the railways and ; the effect of not finding the money from the very first was the inflation of Railway capital through non-productive expenditure. In most cases of trunk lines, the capital was inflated by 38 per cent in excess of the actual share value in the way of payment of premiums, leaving aside the factor of payment of surplus profits in addition.

It is to the best interest of India that the process of acquiring the railways should be faster, as this will not only prevent wastage of money in payment of interest on annuities and of surplus profits, but will enable India to demand surrender of railways by means of legislation, by paying the companies up. Even if some compensation has to be paid, that would be better. In this connection I would draw attention to the following from my oral evidence before the Indian Railway Committee :—

"The Chairman drew attention to that part of Mr. Ghose's memorandum in which he had recognised the difficulty of finding all the capital required for the Railways. Mr. Ghose agreed that a great deal of capital is wanted for Railway Development, and that still more would be necessary if, in addition, existing companies had to be bought out. The Chairman suggested that this might be an objection to immediate purchase even if the policy were approved. Mr. Ghose, however, was of opinion that it would be wise to carry the policy into effect as soon as possible *even if it involved railways temporarily going short of capital for improvement*. He would propose that, if a loan of £30 million was raised, £20 million should be used for improvements and £10 million reserved for buying out the guaranteed companies."

Then, so far as I can remember, the contracts with the several companies do not provide for creation of "Reserve Funds" for they called for division of surplus profits after payment of all working expenses (which include paying of interest on Government share of capital, the guaranteed interest on company's share of the capital, payment of annuities in redemption of capital and interest on annuities held by companies).



But if greater expenses are incurred in keeping the property up-to-date and all renewals, replacements, and improvements and even increased rolling stock and facilities to meet increased traffic, to a great extent, are charged to Revenue, it will be as good as Reserve Funds. For there are other factors to be considered, outside of railways, which may be brought in reasonably against creation of Reserve Funds for railways.

The system of "lapses" in the past and the spirit of the "lapses" operated against Reserve Funds too, besides creating a tendency in the past of the railways to spend money hurriedly, and sometimes not very economically and judiciously, to prevent lapses.

Then again, the late Mr. Gokhale, in his Budget speech after Budget speech strongly advocated that whenever there was surplus of revenue it should immediately be spent first in giving relief to the Indian people by withdrawal of or reduction of taxes and, secondly, in greater grants on heads like "sanitation" "education" "irrigation" etc., and that great statesman of India held the view that railway extensions should not take place in India at the rate it was going on. He pointed out, as General Sir Richard Strachey had done before, that the proposals for railway extensions in India were excessive and were backed by British interests, "who in reality are not interested in the taxation of the country." Mr. Gokhale further emphasised that whatever benefits the railways had brought to India they were not unmixed blessings, for they assisted in destroying India's non-agricultural industries, which was a great economic loss to the country. Again Mr. Gokhale very strongly advocated more expenditure on irrigation, which benefitted the ryots very directly and largely than railways, and although Mr. Gokhale did not get all that he asked for those arguments of his would have gone against creation of Reserve Funds for railways. In fact, very strong arguments can be brought against keeping money in reserve funds on any account, when India wants relief in the way of reduction of taxes and increased expenditure on nation building works. And the late Mr. Gokhale in one of his Budget speeches said as follows:—

"My Lord, I have so far tried to show (1) that the huge surpluses of the last four years are in reality only currency surpluses, (2) that the taxation of the country

is maintained at an unjustifiably high level and ought to be reduced, and (3) that India is not only poor, very poor country, but that its poverty is growing.....

..... The English mercantile classes have been conciliated by the Government undertaking construction of railways on a large scale ..... a policy which, whatever its advantages, has helped to destroy more and more the few struggling non-agricultural industries that the country possessed and throw a steadily increasing number on the single precarious resource of agriculture. And this railway expansion has gone on while irrigation, in which the country is deeply interested, has been neglected."

The inflation of Railway Revenue merely on paper and non-productive expenditure in payment of surplus profits. This could be avoided if the Government had adopted the policy of spending larger sums out of revenue on renewals, replacements, improvements and even additions to rolling stock to meet increased demands of traffic. *All these are very proper charges against "Revenue"* and would have served the same purpose as "Reserve Funds" without locking up money, which is so badly needed, in all directions.

What would Mr. Neogy say when he realises that State railways, after being built by the State and after even being found to be paying, were made over to the company lines? For instance the Rajputana Railway, which was described by Sir A. M. Rendal "as a wonderfully profitable line," was made over to the B. B. & C. I. Railway Company.

There is one very important factor that operates against Indian railways being kept to the mark and fully equipped. Instead of payments being made in the way of surplus profits to companies that money should go towards improvements in the interest of the Government and of the Indian people; but these interests clash with the interests of companies. In my written evidence tendered to the Railway Committee I made the following observations on this point:—

The Railway Companies receive a share of the surplus profits (after deducting all expenses of working interest on capital, etc.). The surplus profits are shared between the Government and the Company generally in ratio of the share of capital held by each.

The Government are interested in seeing that the property of the Railway, of which they are the owners, is kept in good condition and repair, and, that all fresh capital proposed to be spent on a railway is to the interests of the Government and of the Indian people.

But, on the other hand, the main interests of a railway company would be to make the most of the railway as a dividend earning concern, during the term of lease. Therefore, the interests of the Company and of the Government may not be identically the same in all respects.

The Indian Railways (trunk lines mainly) are the property of the State. The Indian Government is the owner and the lessor of the lines. The Railway Companies are merely the working agents or lessces.

The parting of India's rolling stock and materials for the benefit of the British Empire and for use in Mesopotamia and other places might have benefited Empire as a whole, but this process was distinctly detrimental to India. India itself is and was in need of materials and stock, and the Indian people, their trade and industries suffered by the loss of these, and then again, because of the loss of these

materials and rolling stock, India will have to pay much higher prices to get them replaced. And not only this; India will have to borrow money to pay for what she had, but gave away or sold. Would India be given any compensation for this? Further, the purchases will have to be made at much higher prices not only because of general rise in prices, but to pay, in some cases, non-competitive prices to manufacturers of Great Britain. These facts speak for themselves.

S. C. GHOSH.

## INDIAN ART

### ITS CREATIVE POWER

**A**RT is the result of the creative process of mind. Creation presupposes the creator and that which has to be created. Life is the material of the artist. He forms it into the work of art. Being creation the work of art is organic and justifies its existence in itself. Lines, surfaces, volumes and colours are connected in every single work of art in unique relation by significant form and bear the melody of the eternal.

Every country and every epoch appreciates life in a different way and consequently the direction in which the artistic mind is working is altered by every generation, with the effect that the number of spiritual worlds on this earth is immense. We are surrounded by these worlds, they wait silently until their secret becomes a living force once more.

It is necessary to forget all symbolism, for the forms of art are in themselves direct signs of an ultimate reality and do not need ideas to interpret them.

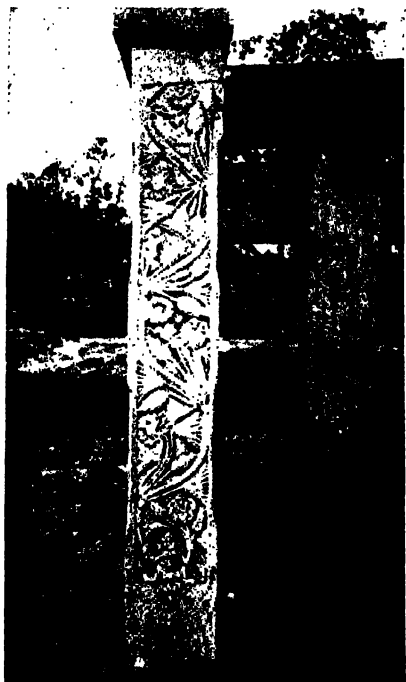
The mighty composition of the "Trimurti" in the cave temple of Elephanta emerges, enshrined in quadrangular darkness, from the wall of the rock out of which it is chiselled. Perfect symmetry and an equal ascending of the modelled form ascending from the profile of one head to the front

view of the central head and decreasing towards the third head in profile embraces



Trimurti, Elephanta.

the trinity. Their bodies have sunk in the stone and have become nameless, losing all bodily peculiarities. They are nothing



Railing of Stupa No. II, Sanchi.

but the heavy mass of a monument through which the breath of the God personality passes almost invisibly. Tender undulations glide over eyebrows and round cheeks. This rhythmic horizontal movement is compensated by a vertical arrangement of the headwears, which crown the trinity in form of a triangle.

The composition of elements of physical appearance and their reduction into a combination of horizontal and vertical directions which hold one another in an unshakable equilibrium constitute the artistic form of Siva, Vishnu and Parvati.\* This is one way of artistic realisation in India.

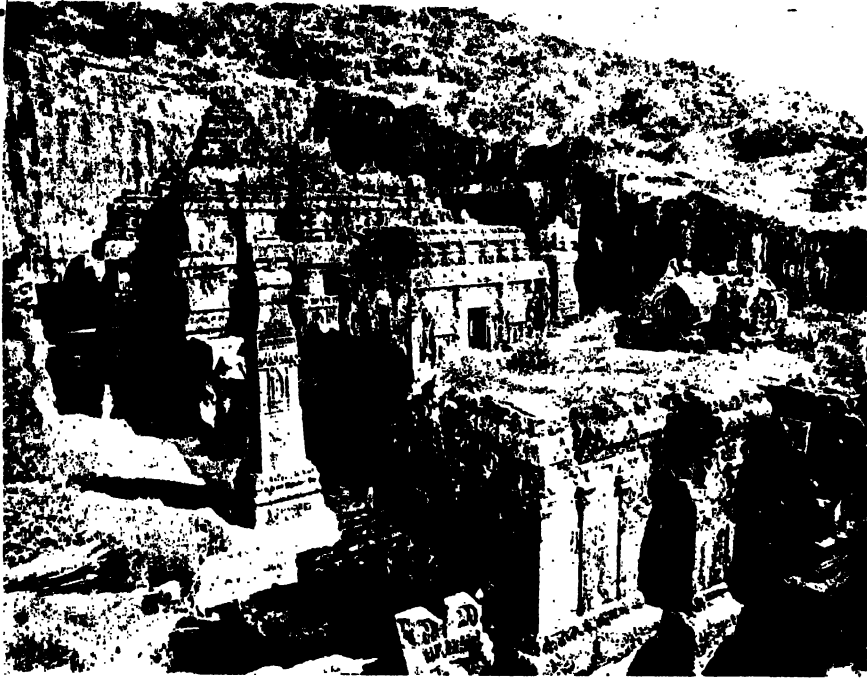
Another way does not lead to visualisation of the spiritual but starts from the animation of nature. After all there are

\* If Burgess and Mr. Havell's interpretation is right. See *Ars Asiatica* III. The Trimurti at Elephanta.

no limits between the spiritual world and that of nature. The abstract is manifest by concrete form, whilst nature in itself is significant of the "absolute spirit" and both are equally important themes for the artist. He takes the flowers of earth and makes them grow, super-abundant in their bloom along the panel of a stone pillar, springing off from the broad and soft wave of a lotus stalk. Flowers and water birds there populate a world of pure rhythm, free from dissonances, where every bud and every leaf are novelties which have not got their like and where imagination and reality are identical. Such a representation is more than mere decoration or embellishing ornament; it is a sculptured song which praises the life of the lotus. Indian art neither depicts nor does it interpret nature, but recognizing the rhythm of life it creates a spirited form of nature by means of its own, in our case by the pervading course of the undulating stalk, which carries the round, full blown flowers and the sharply pointed buds with equal charm.

Whatever is represented in Indian art, it is carried out with the same intensity, for the imagination of the artist does not depend upon the object, although his sensitiveness is so flexible as to react upon every impulse. Thus he develops new laws of form out of new themes. There is no other civilisation where the artistic imagination is so autocratic. It goes so far in its aim that it cannot fulfil its task. Therefore it invents a new discipline, which does not govern the work of art by composition only, but enforces itself on every single part in a most intricate manner. The temple of Klorra cut out of the rock is a typical example. Sumptuous display of sculptured details overpowers all obstacles and indulges in an indefatigable invention and conglomeration of forms. Artistic deliberation becomes replaced by inexhaustibility, measure by fullness, composition by the effort of creative energy.

This productivity limits itself by its own intensity by condensing its sway into the simplest and most economic



Kailash Temple, Ellora.

means of art, that is into the line. In the wall paintings of the Ajanta-caves where landscape and architecture, God, man and animal are woven into an impenetrable thicket of colours and forms, it is the line which bears the expression and significance of the scenes.

These few examples indicate some of the Indian principles of art. They are as essential for Indian art as for instance the reduction of the three dimensions of reality to the two-dimensioned surface of the relief or painting in Egyptian art or the triangle scheme of the European Renaissance composition or the diagonal arrangement of Baroque-pictures. It is the peculiarity of Indian art that it cannot be reduced to one artistic conviction, but that it amalgamates contrasting tendencies through the strength of its vitality.

Structure and measure are the means employed in Indian art in order to express the Absolute by form. They determine for instance the appearance of a Buddha-

figure to an equal extent as they help the Hindu artist to realise the idea of *Prajnaparamita*. Entirely different from this principle of composition is the undulating movement which runs through almost every figure and composition. Wherever the artist aims to give form to the living substance, whether it be human or plant life or the life of an action, it reveals to him its existence in the form of undulating movement. The wavy stalk of the lotus, therefore, is the leading motif of Indian art. In this way geometrical structure is adequate to the conception of the abstract, whilst the undulating movement is significant of life. Both afford endless themes and numberless realisations to Indian art. But a third factor, namely the artistic productivity itself, evolves a kind of composition significant merely of itself. The *heaping* of forms is expressive of creative *energy*, whilst the *line* employed in Indian art stands for the creative emotion.

But those are abstractions, though



Group, Sanchi.

inevitable if we have to deal by words with works of art which are complex and organic wholes. With whatever spiritual attitude an Indian work of art corresponds, it is always pulsating with vibration and breathing the animation of form. The Indian artist is possessed by this inner movement of life. In the typical representations of a woman and a tree for example, a union which is emphasised through all the centuries of Indian art it is not only the graceful position of the female figure, but it is the playful rhythm which flows through the stem of the tree and the body of the woman, which caresses the fruits and bends her arms and gives such an idyllic harmony to the group.

The tranquil and austere figure of Buddha, which lives in quite a different psychical atmosphere, though disciplined by a grand physical immobility none the less is pervaded by an inner rhythm. Life glides down the downcast eyes, down the smooth arms and reposes on the meditating hands; it glides over the whole body and rests on the crossed legs. The inner unity of the transfigured



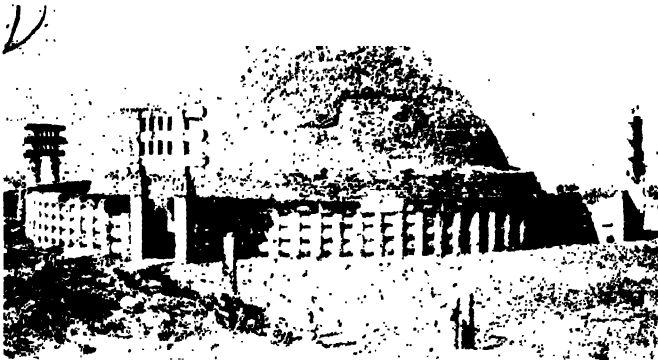
Buddha, Ceylon.

body of the Tathagata neither consists in an organic appearance of the figure nor in the regularity of the artistic structure only, but is brought forth by the immanent flowing rhythm which runs from one form to the next.

In the various representations of Siva Nataraja's dance no front or back, no right or left exist any longer, nor are there any gestures in this dance, for movement has intoxicated the whole so that the actual dimensions of space and the moment of time fade away for movement replenishes time with all directions. The artist in his realisation of dancing energy necessarily has to invent a body which only by a multiplicity of arms is able to visualize its supernatural moving force. This restless and complete movement being the entire unfoldment of all movement possible and thus having an equilibrium in itself is, however, in a deep sense, repose; just as on the other hand

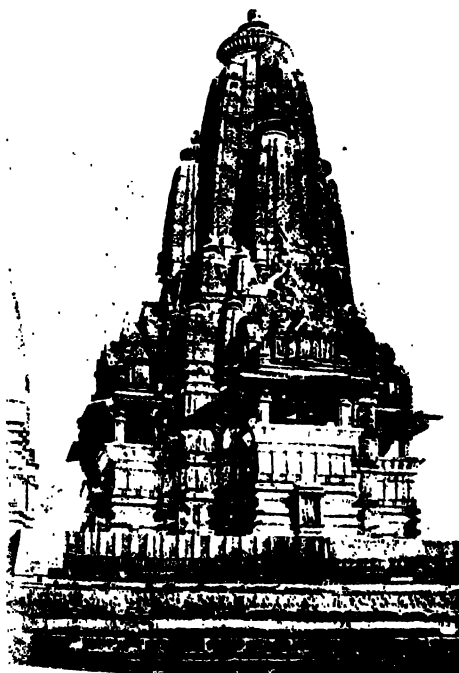
the motionless figures of Buddha are integrations of latent motion.

The Indian artist is possessed by the inner movement of life. To the monument which by its destination has to be restful he gives a form, which by integrating all movement is rest in itself. The stupa, the Indian monument, reposes in the shape of a hemisphere on the ground. What a contrast to the Egyptian pyramid, that monument which has the same importance for Egypt as the stupa has for India. There the precise form of the four-sided pyramid points decidedly in straight lines to its summit; in India on the other hand there is a movement round about in circles which does not lead to any other end than again to a circle.

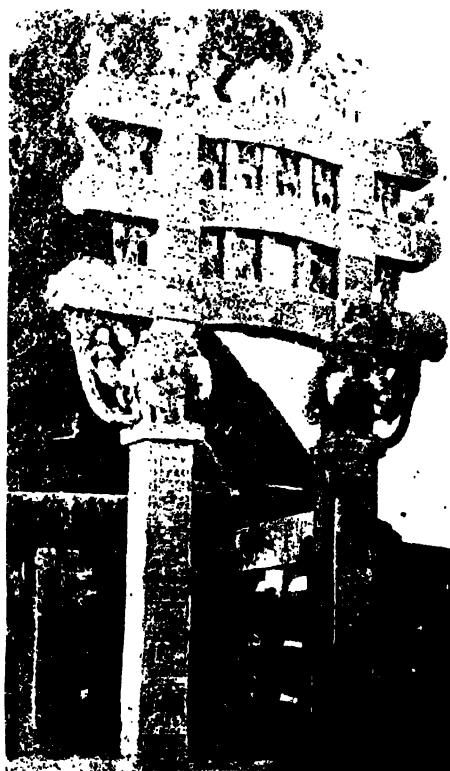


Sanchi Stupa, General view.

Movement is thus the productive element of Indian form; it determines architecture and the pictorial arts, the representation of the animated and in-



Chaturbhuja Temple, Khajuraho, from West.



Sanchi Stupa, Northern Gateway.

animate things. It also influences the rendering of facial expression, the artistic physiognomy, which appears glorified in an everlasting state of soul's movement. The features are destitute of all individuality and are reduced to their own expressive rhythm.

This inner rhythm pervades all figures of nature and makes them all equally important to the Indian artist, but (in an inverse way) only that which he shapes into figure has to his mind artistic significance. Because he sees the whole of nature as animated, without emptiness and full of meaning his work of art also must be entirely organized, that is to say no surface is allowed to remain vacant and no form without life and expression.

Thus not only every single relief or painting is fully covered with figures but a whole architectonic frame, the Sanchi gateways, for instance—is as thickly covered with sculptured plates, as the plates on their part are filled with figures. The artist, persecuted by a dread of emptiness, is afraid ever to come to an end and so he replenishes even the interstices of architecture with figures and crowns the top of the structure with as many statues as possible.

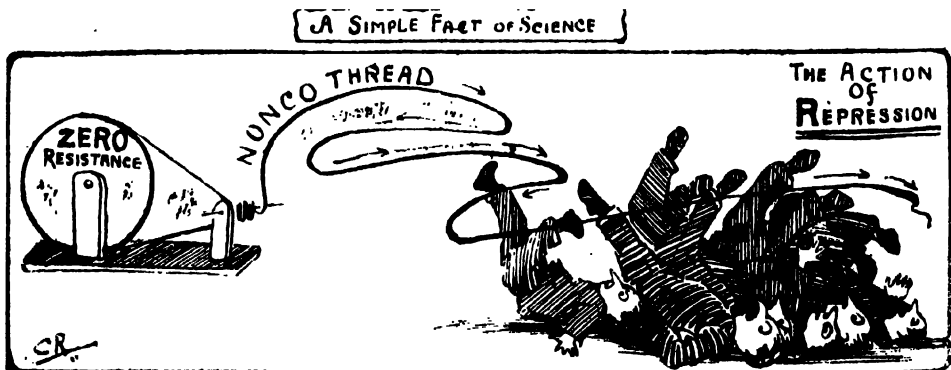
In a similar way the outside of a temple is completely dissolved into most variegated plastic forms. No limit exists between architecture and sculpture; the one goes over into the other, and their fusion is the result of an artistic activity, which is not satisfied with the static structure of a building but causes one form to grow out of the next, so long as any material is left. That is the way architecture is transformed into plastic. As for the dancing Siva so for these temples there is in an artistic sense no front or back; but merely an uninterrupted movement, which abides in roundness.

The possibilities of Indian art are unlimited. Its creative genius applies the element of rhythmically moved form to the visualisation of the unity of man and nature, spirit and matter, plastic and architecture, which are, whether mathematically simplified or tropically exuberant, the immediate expression of inner experience.

STELLA KRAMRISCH.

*Visva-Bharati*

*Santiniketan*



By the courtesy of the artist Mr. Charu Chandra Roy, B.sc.

## BISHOP HEBER'S JOURNAL\* ( 1824-25 )

**M**ANY of us know Bishop Heber by his poem on 'An Evening Walk in Bengal' beginning with the following lines :—

Our task is done ! on Gunga's breast  
The sun is sinking down to rest ;  
And, moor'd beneath the tamarind hough,  
Our bark has found its harbour now,  
With furled sail, and painted side,  
Behold the tiny frigate ride.  
Upon her deck, mid charcoal gleams,  
The Moslem's savoury supper steams.  
While all apart, beneath the wood,  
The Hindoo cooks his simpler food.

Some of us, of an antiquarian turn of mind, may also know that the learned bishop was one of the earliest and ablest critics of Indian architecture, and it was he who, describing the ruins of old Delhi, wrote the famous line :

"These Patans built like giants, and finished their work like jewellers."

Bishop Heber landed in Calcutta in October 1823, and in June of next year he started on a visitation of his diocese, which in his time comprised the whole of British India. His first station was Dacca, where he proceeded by boat, and thence, *via* Rajmahal, Bhagalpur, and Benares, he went to Allahabad, where his land journey commenced. Visiting Delhi, and the hill station of Almorah, he struck south across Jaypur and Chitor to Baroda, whence he proceeded to Bombay, and from Bombay he returned to Calcutta by sea *via* Ceylon. In 1826 he visited Madras. Lord Amherst was then the Governor-General, Mr. Elphinstone was Governor of Bombay, and Sir Thomas Munro was Governor of Madras. The titular Emperor of Delhi furnished "an awful instance of the instability of human greatness," the king of Oudh was the only independent Mussalman sovereign, whereas in Central India the names that occur most frequently in the Journal are those of Amir Khan and Scindiah. But the back of the

Marhatta power had been broken, and the only power which at that time counted for anything in the eyes of the East India Company was the Jât Kingdom of Bharatpur, for the Lion of the Punjab, Ranjit Singh, was just beginning to make his presence felt. The Company, however, had firmly established itself all over the continent, and was the most considerable power in the land. In Central India, its might was represented by Sir David Ochterlony, whose monument is one of the sights of the Calcutta maidan. Says Bishop Heber,

"His history is a curious one. He is the son of an American gentleman who lost his estate and country by his loyalty [to England] during the war of separation. Sir David himself came out a cadet without friends, to India, and literally fought his way to notice. The most brilliant parts of his career were his defence of Delhi against the Marhatta army, and the conquest of Kemaoon from the Gorkhas. He is now considerably above seventy, infirm, and has often been advised to return to England. But he has been absent from thence fiftyfour years : he has there neither friend nor relation, he has been for many years habituated to Eastern habits and parade, and who can wonder that he clings to the only country in the world where he can feel himself at home ?"

To bring back the times more vividly to our imagination, it is necessary to mention that the custom of Sati or widow burning still prevailed in India and most of all in Bengal ; that the hook swinging festival on the last day of the Bengali year was performed in the heart of Calcutta ( Baitak-khana ) with all due *clat* ; that the journey to Dacca had to be performed in a sixteen oared pinnace, with the Archdeacon following in another budgerow with two smaller boats, one for cooking, and the other for baggage ; that the Bishop's 'motley train' on his land journey consisted of twentyfour camels, eight carts drawn by bullocks, twentyfour horse-servants, ten ponies, forty bearers and coolies of different descriptions, twelve tent-pitchers, and a military guard of from 20 to 50 sepoy, and occasionally two or three elephants. This huge caravan was necessary for travelling in state, but the unsettled condition of the country also demanded it. In Gujerat, where the Bishop met the well-known Hindu reformer Swami Narayan,

\* Narrative of a Journey through the Upper Provinces of India : by the late Right Rev. Reginald Heber, D. D., Lord Bishop of Calcutta.

New Edition, in two volumes. London, John Murray, 1856.



who also travelled in similar state, the good Bishop observes :

"When I considered that I had myself more than fifty horse, and fifty muskets and bayonets, I could not help smiling, though my sensations were in some degree painful and humiliating, at the idea of two religious teachers meeting at the head of little armies, and filling the city, which was the scene of their interview, with the rattling of quivers, the clash of shields, and the tramp of the war-horse. Had our troops been opposed to each other, mine, though less numerous, would have been, doubtless, far more effective, from the superiority of arms and discipline. But, in moral grandeur, what a difference was there between his troop and mine ! Mine neither knew me, nor cared for me ; they escorted me faithfully, and would have defended me bravely, because they were ordered by their superiors to do so, and as they would have done for any other stranger of sufficient rank to make such an attendance usual. The guards of Swami Narayan were his own disciples and enthusiastic admirers, men who had voluntarily repaired to hear his lessons, who now took a pride in doing him honour, and who would cheerfully fight to the last drop of blood rather than suffer a fringe of his garment to be handled roughly."

The Journal of Bishop Heber possesses the merit of a quiet charm which cannot possibly be found in the accounts of travellers in these days of quick railroad and steam-boat journeys. The lonely plateaus or valleys where he pitched his tents, or the picturesque spots where he moored his boats, breathed peace and tranquillity, and soothed the nerves of the jaded traveller. The Bishop's descriptions of rural scenes and sceneries along the banks of the Ganges remind one of similar descriptions of a far greater artist in words, Rabindranath Tagore. Nevertheless, many of them will bear repetition, and here are one or two samples, culled at random :

Between Diamond Harbour and Fulta, on his very first arrival, the Bishop describes a village, which is typical of Lower Bengal :

"Before us was a large extent of swampy ground, but in a high state of cultivation, and covered with green rice, offering an appearance not unlike flax ; on our right was a moderately-sized village, and on the banks of the river a numerous herd of cattle was feeding...As we approached the village a number of men and boys came out to meet us, all naked except the cummerbund, with very graceful figures, and distinguished by a mildness of countenance almost approaching to effeminacy...The objects which surrounded us were of more than common beauty and interest ; the village, a collection of mudwalled cottages, thatched and many of them covered with a creeping plant bearing a beautiful broad leaf, of the gourd species, stood irregularly scattered in the midst of a wood of coco-palms, fruit, and other trees, among which the banyan was the most conspicuous and beautiful.....Some of the natives, however, came up and offered to show us the way to the pagoda,—the temple,

they said, of Mahadeo. We followed them through the beautiful grove which overshadowed their dwellings, by a winding and narrow path.....and arrived in front of a small building with three apertures in front resembling lancet windows of the age of Henry II..... I greatly regretted I had no means of drawing a scene so beautiful and interesting. I never recollect having more powerfully felt the beauty of similar objects."

Near Dacca, off the Buri Ganga,

"The river continues a noble one, and the country bordering on it now of a fertility and tranquil beauty such as I never saw before. Beauty it certainly has, though it has neither mountain, nor waterfall, nor rock, which enter into our notions of beautiful scenery in England. But the broad river, with a very rapid current, swarming with small picturesque canoes, and no less picturesque fishermen, winding through fields of green corn, natural meadows covered with cattle, successive plantations of cotton, sugar, and pawn [betel] studded with villages and masts in every creek and angle, and backed continually (though not in a continuous and heavy line like the shores of the Hooghly) with magnificent peepul, banyan, bamboo, betel, and coco-trees, afford a succession of pictures the most riants [gay?] that I have seen, and infinitely beyond anything which I ever expected to see in Bengal."

On his very first landing at the island of Saugor, the Bishop formed a favourable impression of the racial type of the Hindus. They are, according to him, "certainly a handsome race" :

"The colour of all was the darkest shade of antique bronze, and together with the elegant forms and well-turned limbs of many among them, gave the spectator a perfect impression of Grecian statues of that metal .....the deep bronze tint is more naturally agreeable to the human eye than the fair skins of Europe, since we are not displeased with it even in the first instance."

And elsewhere he says that 'swarthinness of complexion' is the sole distinction between the Hindu and the European.

Mrs. Heber, the Editor of the Journal, attended a nautch in 'the immense house, with Corinthian pillars' of Ruplal Mallik, and she says,

"I never saw public dancing in England so free from everything approaching to indecency."

The other Bengalee gentlemen of Calcutta whom we meet with in the pages of Bishop Heber are Babu Ramchandra Roy [the spelling is throughout modernised] and his four brothers, "all fine, tall, stout young men," Rammohan Roy, Radhacanta Deb, and Harimohan Tagore. Of Radhacanta Deb

we have the following account :

"I had an interesting visit this morning from Radhacanta Deb, the son of a man of large fortune, and some rank and consequence in Calcutta, who, in carriage, silver sticks, and attendants were altogether the smartest I had yet seen in India. He is a young

man of pleasing countenance and manners, speaks English well, and has read many of our popular authors, particularly historical and geographical. He lives a good deal with Europeans, and has been very laudably active and liberal in forwarding, both by money and exertions, the education of his countrymen. He is secretary, gratuitously, to the Calcutta School Society, and has himself published some elementary works in Bengalee. With all this, he is believed to be a great bigot in the religion of his country's gods—one of the few sincere ones, it is said, among the present race of wealthy Babus. When the meeting was held by the Hindu gentlemen of Calcutta, to vote an address of thanks to Lord Hastings on his leaving Bengal, Radhacanta Deb proposed as an amendment that Lord Hastings should be particularly thanked for 'the protection and encouragement which he had afforded to the ancient and orthodox practice of widows burning themselves with their husbands' bodies,'—a proposal which was seconded by Harimohan Tagore, another wealthy Babu. It was lost, however, the cry of the meeting though all Hindus, being decidedly against it. But it shows the warmth of Radhacanta Deb's prejudices. With all this I found him a pleasing man, not unwilling to converse on religious topics, and perhaps even liking to do so from a consciousness that he was a shrewd reasoner, and from anxiety, which he expressed strongly, to vindicate his creed in the estimation of foreigners. He complained that his countrymen had been much misrepresented, that many of their observances were misunderstood, both by Europeans and the vulgar in India: that for instance, the prohibition of particular kinds of food, and the rules of caste, had a spiritual meaning and were intended to act as constant reminders of the duties of temperance, humanity, abstraction from the world, etc. He admitted the beauty of the Christian morality readily enough, but urged that it did not suit the people of Hindustan; that our drinking wine and eating the flesh of so useful and excellent a creature as the cow, would, in India, be not only shocking, but very unwholesome."

At a garden party given by Mrs. Heber on the occasion of the 42nd anniversary of her husband's birth,

Harimohan Tagore observing what an increased interest the presence of females gave to our parties, I reminded him that the introduction of women into society was an ancient Hindu custom, and only discontinued on account of the Mussalman conquest. He assented with a laugh, adding, however, "It is too late for us to go back to the old custom now." Radhacanta Deb, who overheard us, observed more seriously, "It is very true we did not use to shut up our women till the times of the Mussalmans. But before we could give them the same liberty as the Europeans they must be better educated."

In a letter dated December 1, 1823, the Bishop writes to his friend the President of the Board of Indian Affairs as follows about Harimohan Tagore and his countryhouse, which he had just visited:

"This is more like an Italian villa, than what one should have expected as the residence of Babu Harimohan Tagore. Nor are his carriages, the furniture

of his house, or the style of his conversation, of a character less decidedly European. He is a fine old man, who speaks English well, is well informed on most topics of general discussion, and talks with the appearance of much familiarity on Franklin, chemistry, natural philosophy, &c. His family is Brahminical and of singular purity of descent, but about four hundred years ago, during the Mahomedan invasion of India, one of his ancestors having become polluted by the conquerors intruding into his zenana, the race is conceived to have lost claim to the knotted cord, and the more rigid Brahmins will not eat with them. Being, however, one of the principal landholders of Bengal, and of a family so ancient, they still enjoy, to a great degree, the veneration of the common people, which the present head of the house appears to value, since I can hardly reconcile in any other manner his philosophical studies and imitation of many European habits, with the daily and austere devotion which he is said to practise towards the Ganges (in which he bathes three times every twentyfour hours), and his veneration for all the other duties of his ancestors. He is now said, however, to be aiming at the dignity of Raja. The house is surrounded by an extensive garden, laid out in formal parterres of roses, intersected by straight walks, with some fine trees, and a chain of tanks, fountains and summer houses. There are also swings, whirligigs, and other amusements for the females of his family, but the strangest was a sort of "Montagne Russe" of masonry, very steep, and covered with plaster, down which, he said, the ladies used to slide. Of these females, however, we saw none;—indeed they were all staying at his town house in Calcutta. He himself received us at the head of a whole tribe of relations and descendants on a handsome flight of steps, in a splendid shawl, by way of mantle, with a large rosary of coral set in gold, leaning on an ebony crutch with a gold head. Of his grandsons, four very pretty boys, two were dressed like English children of the same age, but the round hat, jacket, and trousers by no means suited their dusky skins so well as the splendid brocade castans and turbans covered with diamonds which the two elder wore. On the whole, both Emily [Mrs. Heber] and I have been greatly interested with the family both now and during our previous interviews. We have several other Eastern acquaintance, but none of equal talent.

The only reference to Raja Rammohan Roy is the following, in connection with the controversy about the desirability of replacing the Oriental by a Western system of education:

"Rammohan Roy, a learned native, who has sometimes been called, though I fear without reason, a Christian, remonstrated against this [Eastern] system last year, in a paper which he sent me to be put into Lord Amherst's hand, and which for its good English, good sense, and forcible arguments, is a real curiosity, as coming from an Asiatic."

The zealous Bishop already found the followers of the Raja a potent force against the proselytization of the Hindus:

"Our chief hindrances are some deistical Brahmins, who have left their own religion, and desire to found

a sect of their own, and some of those who are professedly engaged in the same work with ourselves, the Dissenters."

In another letter the Bishop speaks as follows of the indigo-planters :

"The indigo-planters are chiefly confined to Bengal and I have no wish that their number should increase in India. They are always quarreling with and oppressing the natives, and have done much, in those districts where they abound, to sink the English character in native eyes."

Regarding the Bengali character, the following passage from the Journal has been often quoted :

"I have, indeed, understood from many quarters, that the Bengalees are regarded as the greatest cowards in India ; and that partly owing to this reputation, and, partly to their inferior size, the sepoy regiments are always recruited from Behar and the upper provinces. Yet that little army with which Lord Clive did such wonders, was raised chiefly from Bengal. So much are all men the creatures of circumstances and training."

The visit to Dacca was naturally followed by a description of its historic ruins, as well as an account of the now extinct Nawab Nazims of Dacca.

"This potentate (Nawab Shamsheddowlah) is now, of course, shorn of all political power, and is not even allowed the state palanquin which his brother (whose heir he is) had, and which his neighbour, the Nawab of Murshidabad, still retains. He has, however, an allowance of 10,000 sicca rupees per month, is permitted to keep a court, with guards, and is styled "highness"...He has been really a man, Mr. Master tells me, of vigorous and curious mind, who, had his talents enjoyed a proper vent, might have distinguished himself. But he is now growing old, infirm, and indolent, more and more addicted to the listless indulgences of the Asiatic prince ; pomp, so far as he can afford it, dancing-girls, and opium, having, in fact, scarce any society but that of his inferiors, and being divested of any of the usual motives by which even Asiatic princes are occasionally roused to exertion"...The Nawab

\* Compare the vivid description of the life of a native prince under British suzerainty in H. W. Nevinson's *The New Spirit in India* (London, 1908) : "...Some wretched prince, whom we allow to retain on sufferance the pomps and trappings of barbaric splendour, just as an idiot heir is allowed a rocking horse and wooden sword by his trustees... It is in the spirit of interested trustees for idiot children that the British government gives the Maharaja the artillery to play with, and arms his handful of troops with muzzle-loaders that I had despaired of ever seeing in use. An ordinary and enfeebled ruler might thus solace himself with pretty shows for a life of miserable impotence, just as Napoleon's son played at soldiers in the Austrian palaces. Such is the end of most of those who are born to rule our Native States. Fantastic palaces in every street, marble courts where fountains

called this morning according to his promise, accompanied by his eldest son. He is a good-looking elderly man, of so fair a complexion as to prove the care with which the descendants of the Mussalman conquerors have kept up their northern blood. His hands, more particularly, are nearly as white as those of an European. He sat for a good while smoking his Hookah, and conversing fluently enough in English, quoting some English books of history, and showing himself very tolerably acquainted with the events of the Spanish War, and the part borne in it by Sir Edward Paget. His son is a man of about thirty, of a darker complexion, and education more neglected, being unable to converse in English." Returning the visit two days later the Bishop writes : "Nothing was gaudy, but all extremely respectable and noblemannerly. The Nawab, his son, his English secretary, and the Greek priest whom he had mentioned to me, received us at the door, and he led me by the hand to the upper end of the table. We sat some time, during which the conversation was kept up better than I expected ; and I left the palace a good deal impressed with the good sense, information, and pleasing manners of our host, whose residence considerably surpassed my expectations, and whose court had nothing paltry, except his horse guards and carriage."

In a letter written from Dacca, dated July 13, 1824, the Bishop says :

"Two-thirds of the vast area of Dacca are filled with ruins, some quite desolate and overgrown with jungle, others yet occupied by Mussalman chieftains, the descendants of the followers of Shah Jehangir...These are to me a new study. I had seen abundance of Hindu babus and some few rajas in Calcutta...All the Mussalmans of rank whom I have yet seen, in their comparatively fair complexions, their graceful and dignified demeanour, particularly on horseback, their showy dresses, the martial curl of their whiskers, and the crowd, bustle, and ostentation of their followers, far outshine any Hindu ; but the Calcutta babus leave them behind, *totò cœlo*, in the elegance of their carriages, the beauty of their diamond rings, their Corinthian verandahs, and the other outward signs of thriving and luxury. ...Many of the younger Mussalmans of rank, who have no hope of advancement either in the army or the state, sooner or later sink into sots, or kindle into dacoits and rebels. As a remedy for this evil, I have heard the propriety suggested of raising corps of cavalry...which might be commanded by the natives of highest rank...They might easily, [the Bishop is careful to add] it was said, be stationed so as not to be dangerous, and at the same time to render regular troops disposable for other purposes."

Nearly a hundred years have gone by since the Bishop wrote, but the suggestion has not yet materialised.

play all the summer, bedizened elephants in lordly rows, bejewelled girls beyond the dreams of Solomon, studs of horses ceaselessly neighing, changes of golden clothes for every hour of the day and night, heaps of golden coin piled high in treasuries, drink deep as wells, exquisite foods selected from Paris to Siam— Oh, but to be weak is miserable !"

On the way to Dacca, the Bishop stopped his boat at Shibnibas, and saw the ruins of Maharaja Krishnachandra's palace. He was led

"to a really noble Gothic gateway, overgrown with beautiful broad-leaved ivy, but in good preservation, and decidedly handsomer, though in very much the same style, with the 'Holy Gate' of the Kremlin in Moscow. Within this, which had apparently been the entrance into the city, extended a broken but still stately avenue of tall trees, and on either side an wilderness of ruined buildings, overgrown with trees and brushwood, which reminded Stowe of the baths of Caracalla, and me of the upper part of the city of Kaffa. I asked who had destroyed the place, and was told Serajuddowlah, an answer which (as it was evidently a Hindu ruin) fortunately suggested to me the name of the Raja Kissen Chund."

The Bishop was not slow to observe, what many other European travellers both before and after him have remarked, that

"The manner in which the Hindus seemed to treat even their horned cattle, sacred as they are from the butcher's knife, appears far worse than that which often disgusts the eye and wounds the feelings of a passenger through London."

Recounting the story of the Rohilla chieftain Hafez Rahamat Khan, the Bishop says :

"A sad stain seems to rest on the English name for the part they took in this business 'the Rohilla War', and this, with the murder of Nandkumer, and the treatment which the Raja of Benares met with, are the worst acts of Mr. Hastings' administration."

Oudh, in the Bishop's time, was

"In fact the most polished and splendid court at present in India. Poor Delhi has quite fallen into decay."

The following opening lines of a letter written by Lord Amherst on the 10th December 1824 will go to show that even a hundred years ago India could boast of one or two independent sovereigns.

"To His Majesty the King of Oudh. I have lately been informed, by a letter from the Lord Bishop of Calcutta, of the gracious reception which his Lordship experienced from your Majesty, and of the gratification which he derived from his visit to your Majesty's court at Lucknow." The public buildings of the King of Oudh were according to the Bishop, 'extremely costly, and marked by a cultivated taste', and 'his manners are very gentlemanly and elegant, though the European ladies who visit his court complain that he seldom pays them any attention.'

The principal defect of the king was his aversion to public business.

"He was fond, however, as I have observed, of study, and in all points of Oriental philology and philosophy is really reckoned a learned man, besides having a strong taste for mechanics and chemistry.

Like James he is said to be naturally just and kind-hearted, and with all who have access to him he is extremely popular."

The Bishop had, from the Company's officials, heard a good deal of the misgovernment of the king of Oudh's territories, but after his visit he was definitely of opinion that "the misfortunes and anarchy of Oudh are somewhat overrated," and he says :

"I can bear witness certainly to the king's statement, that his territories are really in a far better state of cultivation than I had expected to find them."

Again :

"I was pleased, however, and surprised, after all that I had heard of Oudh, to find the country so completely under the plough, since were the oppression so great as is sometimes stated, I cannot think that we should witness so considerable a population, or so much industry."

The same reflection crossed the Bishop's mind when, later on, he marched through the desert tracts of Rajputana and the Jât district of Bharatpur.

"The population did not seem great, but the few villages which we saw were apparently in good condition and repair, and the whole afforded so pleasing a picture of industry, and was so much superior to anything which I had been led to expect in Rajputana, or which I had seen in the Company's territories since leaving in the southern parts of Rohilkund, that I was led to suppose that either the Raja of Bharatpur was an extremely exemplary parental governor or that the system of management adopted in the British provinces was in some way or other less favourable to the improvement and happiness of the country than that of some of the native states."

Perhaps the key to this mystery would be found in the rejoinder of a Bhil mountaineer quoted elsewhere by the Bishop :

"You Sahib Log, who will let nobody thrive but yourselves !"

Reverting to Oudh, we come across the the following significant passage in the Journal :

"I asked also if the people thus oppressed desired, as I had been assured they did, to be placed under English government ? Captain Lockitt said that he had heard the same thing : but on his way this year to Lucknow, and conversing, as his admirable knowledge of Hindustani enables him to do, familiarly with the sowars who accompanied him and who spoke out, like the rest of their countrymen, on the weakness of the king and the wickedness of the government, he fairly put the question to them, when the Jamadar, joining his hands, said, with great fervency, 'Miserable as we are, of all miseries keep us from that.' 'Why so ?' said Captain Lockitt, 'are not our people far better governed ?' 'Yes', was the answer, 'but the name of Oudh and the honour

of our nation would be at an end.' There are, indeed, many reasons why highborn and ambitious men must be exceedingly averse to our rule; but the preceding expression of one in humble rank savours of more national feeling and personal frankness than is always met with in India."

The Bishop, though a man of religion, was, like all Europeans of education and position, also interested in politics, and in a letter to the President of the Board of Indian Affairs he says :

"I have not been led to believe that our government is generally popular, or advancing towards popularity."

And he lays his finger, surely enough, on the real cause of the deep-seated discontent :

"One of these is the distance and haughtiness, with which a very large proportion of the civil and military servants of the Company treat the upper and middling class of natives."

He goes on to contrast manners of the French in this respect, and writes as follows in his Journal :

"I took this opportunity of enquiring in what degree of favour the name of the French stood in this part of India, where, for so many years together, it was paramount. I was told that many people were accustomed to speak of them as often oppressive and avaricious, but as of more conciliating and popular manners than the English sahib. Many of them, indeed, like this old colonel, had completely adopted the Indian dress and customs, and most of them were free from that exclusive and intolerant spirit which makes the English, wherever they go, a caste by themselves, disliking and disliked by all their neighbours. Of this foolish, surely, national pride, I see but too many instances daily and I am convinced it does us much harm in this country. We are not guilty of injustice or wilful oppression; but we shut out the natives from our society, and a bullying, insolent manner is continually assumed in speaking to them."

The ill treatment of a beggar woman at Lucknow led the Bishop to indulge in the following sage reflections :

"I had noticed, on many occasions, that all through India anything is thought good enough for the weaker sex, and that the roughest words, the poorest garments, the scantiest alms, the most degrading labour, and the hardest blows, are generally their portion. The same chuprasi, who in clearing the way before a great man, speaks civilly enough to those of his own sex, cuffs and kicks any unfortunate female who crosses his path without warning or forbearance. Yet to young children, they are all gentleness and indulgence. What riddles men are and how strangely do they differ in different countries! An idle boy in a crowd would infallibly, in England, get his head broken, but what an outcry would be raised if an unoffending woman were beaten by one of the satellites of authority! Perhaps both parties might learn something from each other..."

The following account from the Journal

will be read with a melancholy interest by Hindus and Mahomedans alike :

"The 31st December [1824] was fixed for my presentation to the Emperor [Akbar Shah]...opposite to us was a beautiful open pavillion of white marble, richly carved, flanked by rose-bushes and fountains, and some tapestry and striped curtains hanging in festoons about it, within which was a crowd of people, and the poor old descendant of Tamerlane seated in the midst of them. Mr. Elliot [the Resident] here bowed three times very low, in which we followed his example. This ceremony was repeated twice as we advanced up the steps of the pavillion...I then advanced bowed three times again, and offered a nuzzur of fiftyone gold mohurs in an embroidered purse...He has a pale, thin, but handsome face, with an aquiline nose, and a long white beard. His complexion is little, if at all, darker than that of an European. His hands are very fair and delicate, and he had some valuable-looking rings on them...We were then directed to retire to receive the 'khilats' (honorary dresses) which the bounty of the 'Asylum of the World' had provided for us...It ended by my taking my leave with three times three salams...whence I sent to Her Majesty the Queen, as she is generally called, though Empress would be the ancient and more proper title, a present of five gold mohurs more, and the emperor's chobdars came eagerly up to know when they should attend to receive their buckshish...I had, of course, several buckshishes to give afterwards to his servants, but these fell considerably short of my expenses at Lucknow...For my own part I thought of the famous Persian line,

'The spider hangs her tapestry in the palace of the Cæsars,'

"and felt a melancholy interest in comparing the present state of this poor family with what it was two hundred years ago, when Bernier visited Delhi, or as we read its palace described in the tale of Madame de Genlis."

Visiting Jaypur, the Bishop considered the castle of Amber to be superior to the castle of Delhi, and of Windsor :

"For varied and picturesque effect, for richness of carving, for wild beauty of situation, for the number and romantic singularity of the apartments, and the strangeness of finding such a building in such a place and country, I am able to compare nothing with Amber (Umer)."

Similarly, the castle of Jodhpur was extremely magnificent.

"It is strange to find such a building in such a country. In England I should hardly be believed if I said that a petty raja in the neighbourly of the salt desert had a palace little less, or less magnificent than Windsor."

Elsewhere in upper India, the green verdure and the rich cultivation drew forth from the Bishop the sad remark :

"It is strange, indeed, how much God had done to bless this land, and how perversely man has seemed bent to render his bounties unavailing."

The following paragraph will be read with interest :

"We passed a large encampment of 'Brinjaris', or carriers of grain, who pass their whole time in transporting this article from one part of the country to another, seldom on their own account, but as agents for more wealthy dealers... From the sovereigns and armies of Hindustan they have no apprehensions. Even contending armies allow them to pass and repass safely, never taking their goods without purchase or even preventing them if they choose from victualling their enemies' camp. Both sides wisely agree to respect and encourage a branch of industry, the interruption of which might be attended with fatal consequences to both. How well would it be if a similar liberal feeling prevailed between the belligerents of Europe : and how much is our piratical system of warfare put to shame in this respect by the practice of those whom we call barbarians [ sic. ] !"

Contrasting Hindu and Mahomedan courts, the Bishop says :

"Even at the court of Jaypur, I was struck with the absence of that sort of polish which had been apparent at Lucknow and Delhi. The Hindus seem everywhere, when left to themselves, and under their own sovereigns, a people of simple tastes and tempers, inclined to frugality, and indifferent to show and form. The subjects of even the greatest Marhatta prince sit down without scruple in his presence, and no trace is to be found in their conversation of those adulatory terms which the Mussalman introduced into the Northern and Eastern provinces."

In the opinion of the Bishop and the European residents of central India,

"Mussalman governors are wiser and better than Hindus." "The Mussalman Jaigirdars, Gafur Khan, Amir Khan, and a few others, make better sovereigns than the Hindu princes. Though remorseless robbers, so far as they dare, to all their neighbours, they manage their raiyats better, are themselves better educated, and men of better sense than the generality of rajas and ranas, and are sufficiently aware of their own interest to know that if they ruin the peasantry, they will themselves be losers."

The Rajputs, Captain Macdonald informed the Bishop, were steeped in drunkenness and sensuality and were inordinately fond of opium, while they have a blood-thirstiness from which the great mass of Hindus were very far removed. The country had been "reduced by Marhattas and Pindaris to a state of universal misery." Elsewhere Bishop Heber speaks of

"the annual swarm of Pindari horsemen, who robbed, burned, ravished, enslaved, tortured and murdered over the whole extent of territory from the Rann to the Bay of Bengal."

Again he speaks of the Marhattas,

"at whose door, indeed, all the misfortunes of this country are, with apparent reason, laid."

The followers of Swami Narayan now range over the four districts of Ahmedabad, Kathiawad, Junagarh and Bhownagar. Bishop Heber had heard very excellent accounts of his teaching and influence, but was rather disappointed in his conversation.

"I found that when expostulated with on the worship of images, the pundit often expressed his conviction of their vanity, but pleaded that he feared to offend the prejudices of the people too suddenly, and that, for ignorant and carnal minds, such outward aids to devotion were necessary." "I asked about castes, to which he answered, that he did not regard the subject as of much importance but that he wished not to give offence : that people might eat separately or together in this world, but that above, 'oopur', pointing to heaven, those distinctions would cease, where we should be all 'ek ekhee jat', like one another."

Though the sect now draws its members from all castes, they do not interdine, and we know that the 'fear to offend' which was betrayed by Swami Vivekananda and Bejoykrishna Goswami on this side of India, to name only two prominent religious teachers of modern Bengal, has yielded the same disappointing results.

From one of Mrs. Heber's notes we find that already the Parsees were

"partners in almost all the commercial houses, as well as great shipbuilders and shipowners. The 'Lowjee Family', a large vessel of two tons, in which I came from Calcutta, belongs to a family of that name."

In the Deccan.

"The great body of the Marhatta people are a very peaceable and simple peasantry, of frugal habits and gentle dispositions : there seems to be no district in India, of equal extent and population, where so few crimes are committed."

Mr. Elphinstone had preserved, so far as possible, the indigenous institutions, such as the native juries, or punchayets.

"Eventually, these institutions, thus preserved and strengthened, may be of the greatest possible advantage to the country by increasing public spirit creating public opinion, and paving the way to the obtainment and profitable use of further political privileges."

Bishop Heber had the most unbounded praise for the vast learning, ability, versatility and sympathy of Mr. Elphinstone, whom he regarded as 'in every respect an extraordinary man.' Sir Thomas Munro, according to him, was 'a fine, dignified old soldier with a strong and original understanding and a solid practical judgment,' but his manners were reserved and grave. In Ceylon, the Bishop's observant eyes could detect a

great evil in the system of forced labour, and he says :

"A man can hardly be expected to pay much attention to the culture of his field, when he is liable at any moment to be taken off to public works."

Bishop Heber speaks in high terms of the architectural antiquities of Hindustan, of the observatories at Benares, Delhi and Joypur, and defends the Hindus who were regarded by his countrymen as a degenerate race, whose inability to rear such splendid piles was a proof that these last belong to a remote antiquity.

"I have seen, however, enough to convince me, that both the Indian masons and architects of the present day only want patrons sufficiently wealthy or sufficiently zealous to do all which their ancestors have done." "It is necessary to see idolatry to be fully sensible of its mischievous effects on the human mind."

Referring to the popular Hinduism he saw prevalent among the ignorant masses of India in his time, the Bishop speaks of

'the degrading notions which it gives of the Deity,' 'the endless round of its burdensome ceremonies,' 'the system of caste, a system which tends, more than anything else the Devil has yet invented, to destroy the feelings of general benevolence, and to make nine-tenths of mankind the hopeless slaves of the remainder,' and 'the absence of any popular system of morals, to live virtuously and do good to each other.'

We must remember that he was speaking of times when the people had sunk to the lowest depths of degradation, when the Bishop could say of the Hindus :

"I really never have met with a race of men whose standard of morality is so low, who feel so little apparent shame on being detected in a falsehood, or so little interest in the sufferings of a neighbour, not being of their own caste or family; whose ordinary and familiar conversation is so licentious; or, in the wilder and more lawless districts, who shed blood with so little repugnance."

It was even a moot point among Englishmen of those days whether the Hindus had any title to be called civilized. This of course was due to their appalling ignorance and overweening self-conceit, but whatever support they had for their contention was furnished by the utter demoralization of the people. Yet, in the same letter from which the above extracts have been made, occurs the following spirited defence of Indian civilization, not from literature or history, but from the actual testimony of contemporary facts :

"I know of no part of the population, except the mountain tribes already mentioned, who can, with

any propriety of language, be called uncivilized...to say that the Hindus or Mussalmans are deficient in any essential feature of a civilized people, is an assertion which I can scarcely suppose to be made by any who have lived with them. Their manners are, at least, as pleasing and courteous as those in the corresponding stations of life among ourselves: their houses are larger, and according to their wants and climate, to the full as convenient as ours: their architecture is at least as elegant, and...I really do not think they would gain either in cleanliness, elegance, or comfort, by exchanging a white cotton robe for the completest set of dittos. Nor is it true that in the mechanic arts they are inferior to the general run of European nations...Their goldsmiths and weavers produce as beautiful fabrics as our own, and it is so far from true that they are obstinately wedded to their old patterns, that they show an anxiety to imitate our models, and do imitate them very successfully. The ships built by native artists at Bombay are notoriously as good as any which sail from London or Liverpool. The carriages and gigs which they supply at Calcutta are as handsome, though not as durable as those of Long Acre. In the little town of Monghyr, three hundred miles from Calcutta, I had pistols, double barrelled guns, and different pieces of cabinet work brought down to my boat for sale, which in outward form (for I know no further) nobody but perhaps Mr.—could detect to be as of Hindu origin: and at Delhi, in the shop of a wealthy native jeweller, I found brooches, ear-rings, snuffboxes, &c., of latest models (so far as I am a judge), and ornamented with French devices and mottoes."

And as a proof of the adaptability of Indians, he mentions that

"After all our pains to exclude foreigners from the service of the native princes, two chevaliers of the Legion of Honour were found, above twelve months ago, and are still employed in casting cannon and drilling soldiers for the Sikh Raja, Ranjit Singh."

Proceeding, the Bishop observes :

"With subjects thus inquisitive, and with opportunities of information, it is apparent how little sense there is in the doctrine that we must keep the natives of Hindustan in ignorance, if we would continue to govern them...the question is, whether it is not the part of wisdom, as well as duty, to superintend and promote their education while it is yet in our power and to supply them with such knowledge as will be at once most harmless to ourselves, and most useful to them."

This last extract gives us, incidentally, a glimpse into the educational policy of the East India Company.

The Bishop was a learned divine, and of course all the prejudices that belong to his class; he was a man of the early nineteenth century, and we belong to more advanced times; yet, if we think of it, his views on men and things, in the light of the more accurate and up-to-date information at our command, require few alterations to

prove acceptable to us. A good shepherd of the Lord, he had yet to the full the spirit of daring adventure and enterprise so characteristic of his countrymen; he could travel up and down and across India, visiting all her famous temples and wonderful works of art, and climb mountains which in those days were almost inaccessible; the absence of steam and electricity, and the dangers of travel in those unsettled times, when every man carried arms and no road was safe, did not deter him, so great was his inquisitiveness and his desire to administer the comforts of his religion to his flock. The enlightened mind and the keen power of observation which he brought to bear on men and affairs, his love of the grand, the beautiful, and the picturesque in nature, his cultivated taste, his well-ordered and regulated mode of life on land and river, the sanitary precautions he took for his large party during his long and arduous journey, his broad humanity and kindness of disposition, his power of enjoying all the good things which his position placed at his command with judgment and moderation, his piety and devotion to duty, and his patriotism—he gave his country-

men the benefit of all that he saw and learnt during his visits to the native courts and by mixing with the people in different provinces,—all have their lessons for us. An educated Indian gentleman in reading parts of the Journal with me, could find nothing but ridicule for the little errors regarding mythological characters and events which are to be found in his accounts here and there, due to his ignorance of Sanskrit, which had not yet commenced to be studied in Europe, and could hardly appreciate the greatness of the man. It revealed to the writer a sad feature of the conservative and self-centred Indian temperament, which did more than anything else to retard our progress. Until we acquire the largeness and breadth of mind necessary to judge others correctly, and cultivate a true sense of proportion, a just standard of comparison by which to test ourselves as well as aliens, in a word, until we develop the right mental attitude, we can hardly expect to make up leeway in those directions in which improvement is essential in order that we may take our place among the progressive nations of the world.

BIBLIOPHILE.



Heigh-ho! Attention!—By the courtesy of the artist Mr. Dines Ranjan Das.



## THE HOMAGE TO SIVA OR THE GENIUS OF THE EAST

By ROMAIN ROLLAND.

(A French edition of the excellent book of Ananda Coomaraswami, "The Dance of Siva, Fourteen Indian Essays", has just been published in Paris by Monsieur F. Rieder, as one of the series of books known as "Foreign Modern Prose Authors" which is edited by Leon Bazalgette. The translation into French has been effected by Madeleine Rolland, sister of Romain Rolland; and Romain Rolland himself has written, by way of presenting the work to the Parisian public, the following Introduction to the book, which we reproduce here with his permission.)

TO some of us in Europe, the civilisation of the West has come to be no longer sufficient or satisfying. Children of the West, dissatisfied with the genius of the West, we now find ourselves all alone straightened into a corner in our ancient home, and, without in any way disparaging or disowning the finish, the brilliance and the heroic energy of a course of thought which conquered and dominated the world for more than two thousand years, we have nevertheless been obliged to admit its insufficiencies and its shallow pride. We, therefore, are some who cast hopeful glances towards Asia.

Asia, the great land, of which Europe is but a peninsula, the van-guard of the army, the prow or rostrum, so to speak, of the heavy ship, weighted with the treasures of age-old wisdom. It is from Asia that our gods and our ideas have come down to us; but through loss of contact with the natal Orient, we in the West have, in the course of the circuitous march of our peoples in the wake of the sun, twisted and distorted the universality of these great ideas, in order to achieve the objects of our narrow and violent endeavours.

And now, the races of the West find themselves cornered in the midst of an inextricable impasse and are ferociously and frightfully mangling one another. Let us take away our mind and thoughts from this dreadful spectacle of a blood-bespattered crowd! Yes! In order to find again the open air and enjoy it, let us transfer ourselves to the high plateaux of Asia!

Indeed, Europe has never unlearned or misunderstood the paths and readings of Asia when it was a question of pillaging, fleeing and exploiting the material wealth of these

lands, under the banner of Christ and that of civilisation. But what advantage has she derived from the spiritual treasures of the East? These treasures lie buried in stray collections and archaeological museums. A few brilliant Academy tourists alone have nibbled at the crumbs thereof. The spiritual life of Europe has not profited therefrom.

Who, amidst the disarray in which the chaotic conscience of Europe is now struggling, has endeavoured to examine whether the civilisations of India and China have not solaces to offer to our disquietudes, and models, perhaps, to our aspirations?

The Germans, gifted with a vitality which is more importunate and more easily afflicted with dissatisfaction, have been the first to seek from Asia the food which their famished souls failed to find to their taste in Europe; and the catastrophes of the recent years have precipitated this moral evolution, which is constituted of disillusionment of political action and exaltation of the inner life. Noble pioneers like the Count Keyserling have popularised the wisdom of Asia. And some of the purest German poets too, like Hermann Hesse, have felt the witchery of the thought of the East.

Although similar currents begin to make themselves evident in France also, and although a few enthusiastic but little-known Frenchmen can be reckoned amongst the pioneers of the Awakening of Asia, France has strictly held itself aloof from this movement of curiosity and sympathy. The recent travel of Rabindranath Tagore and his appeal for a common institution of Euro-Asiatic culture have nowhere in Europe evoked less response and attention than in France. A wall of complacent indifference, Alas! too much separates this land from the rest of the

life of the world. Recently, the choleric Bjornson has rightly reproached France for this indifference. But he was not just in failing to recognise the incessant efforts of a small band of Frenchmen for opening a breach in this wall of indifference. And the present series of books edited by my friend Bazalgette,\*—the fraternal friend in the Whitmanian sense of all that is human,—is itself a proof thereof. Let us widen this breach! And let, across the opening, the message of India sound forth!

Ananda Coomaraswamy is one of those great Indians who, nourished like Tagore on the culture of Europe as well as that of Asia, have become conscious of the duty of working towards the achievement of the union of the thoughts of the East with those of the West, for the welfare of humanity. The spectacle of the recent war which has made manifest the immediately impending downfall of the European edifice, has demonstrated to them the urgency of their mission. At the same time as the poetic voice of Rabindranath Tagore invites us to collaborate with his International University of Shantiniketan, Coomaraswamy raises his cry of alarm, and he tells us: "Save Asia! Her idealism is in danger! If you do not do it, tremble lest Nemesis should direct against you, through the instrumentality of Asia herself, the very imperialism of lucre and violence with which you will have armed her! The degradation of Asia will cause your ruin! Her elevation alone will be your happiness!"

But proud Europe does not willingly admit that she may have need of Asia whom she has trampled under foot for centuries without even a suspicion crossing her mind that she was thereby only playing the role of Alaric amidst the ruins of Rome. Rome nevertheless conquered the Barbarian conquerors, even as Greece had once conquered Rome—even as India and China will finally conquer Europe—with their spiritual wisdom and greatness of soul!

It is the object of Coomaraswamy's book to demonstrate the power of this spiritual wisdom and all that it holds in latent reserve, for the greatness and happiness of humankind.

\* The series known as "Modern Foreign Prose Authors" in which is included the French translation of the "Dance of Siva". Leon Bazalgette has been the first in France to translate the complete works of Walt Whitman and Thoreau.

In a collection of essays, apparently disjointed but proceeding really from the same central idea and converging towards the same object, there stand depicted before us the calm and comprehensive metaphysical thought of India, her conception of the universe, her social organisation which was perfect in its own time and could also adopt itself to the rhythm of new times, the solution which India offered for the problem of the woman: family, love, marriage, and finally the magic revelation of India's art. Through all this great structure denoted by the immense soul of India, the same spirit of Sovereign synthesis asserts itself. No negation! Everything is harmonised and adjusted. All the forces of life group themselves like a forest with a thousand moving hands, conducted by Nataraja, the master of the Dance. Every detail has its place in the scheme, every being has its function, and all are associated in the divine concert producing with their diverse sounds and with "dissonances themselves", in the phrase of Heraclitus, "the most beautiful harmony." While in the West a hard and cold logic scrupulously separates dissimilarities, and encloses them, culled and sorted, in distinct and separate compartments of thought, India taking into consideration the natural differences of beings and thoughts, tries to combine them amongst themselves, in order to establish, in its plenitude, the total and entire unity. Here, the "couples" of the opposites form the Rhythm of Existence. Spiritual purity does not fear to ally itself with sensual delights; free sexualism is here combined with the highest wisdom. The masterpieces of Art unite in themselves beauty with science and religion. And everywhere, the *Life Intense* stands out prominent in multiform but closely-arranged sheaves. Everywhere the regard of the *One* is evident in the centre of millions of eyes. Even as Tagore has sung in immortal verses:

"In every splendour of sound, vision, perfume,  
I will see Thy Infinite Joy residing.....  
.....The Taste of the Infinite Liberty  
While a thousand trammels bind me still to  
the wheel....."

Undoubtedly the edifice of this life of India reposed entirely on a faith, and (like all faiths) on a fragile and impassioned hypothesis. But amongst all the faiths of Asia and of Europe, the faith of Brahmanical India appears to me to be that which embraces the maximum of universal thought.

Of course, I do not deprecate or disparage the other faiths. The ecstatic intellectualism of primitive Buddhism or the smiling serenity of Lao-Tse are extremely dear to me ; but I note therein sublime moments of exclusion and giddy heights of the life of the soul. And what makes me love, above all others, the Brahmanical philosophy is that it appears to comprehend all the faiths of Asia. More than all the faiths of Europe, the Brahmanical faith could harmonise with the great hypotheses of modern science. The Christian religions have tried in vain to accommodate themselves to the progress of science ; they could hardly disengage or disembarass themselves from the Heaven of Hipparque and Ptolemy which they had learnt even at the time of their inception. On the contrary, when, after allowing myself to be carried, by the powerful rhythm of Brahmanical thought, on the curve of the Lives, ascending and descending by turns, I re-enter the present century and find before me prodigious efforts of new cosmogonies proceeding from the genius of an Einstein or following freely from the discoveries of the modern age,\* I do not find myself in any strange or foreign atmosphere. I hear in the course of the voyage of my soul across the stellar infinite, into the sidereal abyss, amongst the "Universal-Isles," the "Spiral Nebulae," the innumerable "Milky Ways," the millions of worlds which roll along the "Space-Time" round which rays of stars ever travel and create fantastic shapes, "doubles", and mirages on opposite points,—I hear, still resounding, the cosmic symphony of the worlds which succeed one another, disappear and reappear, with their living souls, their races of men and gods, according to the law of the Eternal Becoming, the Brahmanical Samsara,—I hear Shiva dancing in the heart of the world, in my heart.

I do not ask my European friends to embrace any one faith of Asia ; I only invite them to taste the happiness of this magnificent rhythm, this deep and slow breath. They will learn there what the soul of Europe (and

of America)\* is most in need of to-day—the calm, the patience, the virile, never-failing hope, the joy, serene "*like a lamp in a windless place, which never flickers...*" (Bhagavad-Gita).

The Occident, excited and exasperated over the task of achieving social and individual happiness, warps and perverts its own life, and by its frantic haste nips in the bud, the very happiness which it pursues. Like a tired-out horse which between its ear-straps sees only the blinding road before it, the European's look too sees nothing beyond the limits of his individual life or his group, his fatherland or his party. Within these narrow limits, he longs to realise the human ideal. It is necessary for him at all costs to prove to himself that he will see with his own eyes the realisation of this ideal, or (supreme sacrifice which he consents to make in deference to the slow character of human progress!) that his children would be able to pluck the fruits of his labours. From this, spring those perpetual hopes of a tumultuous character, destined to an early death and invariably shattered, those dreams of Earthly Edens, that precipitation and blind violence so characteristic of the civilisation of the West. And when of necessity the disillusionment comes and this mirage of an ideal slips away from one's fingers, the feeling comes that all is lost ; and the brief period of feverish exaltation is followed by a long period of morbid depression.

The great Brahmanical philosophy knows nothing of these violent turnings of the balancing-pole. It does not expect a miraculous transformation of the world from one war or one revolution or one stroke of mercy. It takes in within its view immense periods, centuries of human ages, the successive lives of which, in concentric circles, gravitate and slowly proceed towards the Centre, the place of Deliverance, already realised in certain souls of "Precursors". It never feels discouraged or impatient. It feels it has time ! The falls and reverses on its path could not daunt it or provoke its ire. Error is not sin, in its view, but only youthfulness and inexperience. It waits for the whole cycle of Time to gradually accomplish itself. It sees the Wheel turn and expects. And its regard which

\* Among others, the admirable cosmic theory recently propounded by Emile Belot, Vice-President of the French Astronomical Society. (See, in the Magazine, "Science and Life," Paris, August-September 1920, the article giving a summary of his great labours : "The Origin of the Worlds and the Structure of the Universe, in accordance with the Discoveries of Modern Science.")

\* It goes without saying, that all that I write about Europe applies similarly to the European races which have peopled the New World

passes beyond the horizons of mutable good and evil, lucidly and calmly judge the Stream of the souls which pass away—indulgent towards the weakness of the weak and severe only for the strong. For, this proud philosophy demands more from the strong than from the weak; and all its conception of the hierarchy of the castes, which appears, on first appearance, so disdainfully aristocratic, is based on the elevated principle (diametrically opposed to the egotistic democracies of the West) that in the measure in which one rises in the scale of society, in that same measure his duties increase and his rights diminish! Besides, however low one may be, every man can elevate himself; and every man knows that he can, sooner or later, attain, by the normal change of his existence, the culminating point of the Curve, whence, through the path of the Return, the soul will escape all Time and its vicissitudes.

This is effected the great reconciliation of the infinite Diversity of beings and desires with the Eternity of the Rhythm which binds them all in one same current which goes towards Unity.

But the question is not that this grand structure of thought and philosophy should throw over Europe the golden shadow of its cupola. No, it is not a question of Europe becoming another Asia. But let Europe not wish that Asia should become Europe! Let Europe learn to respect this great personality of which she is only the complement. And without wishing (hopeless dream indeed!)

to infuse an artificial life into the forms of the past, let these two worlds, uniting their respective geniuses, pave, by their union, the path of the Future!

This is the opinion which Ananda Coomaraswami nobly and holdly expresses at the end of his book offering as a corrective to the ardent nationalism of Young India, the high Idealism of Asia:

"For the great idealists of Young India, mere nationalism never satisfies. Patriotism is merely a parochial feeling.....The higher souls have greater and more beautiful functions to fulfil.....*The Life*, and not merely the life of India, demands our loyalty... ..the efflorescence and growth of Humanity is worth more to us than a mere party victory.....The elect people of the future cannot be a nation or a race but an aristocracy of the earth, combining in itself the energy of European action with the serenity of Asiatic thought....."

The hand thus extended by India, we take it and clasp it in ours. Our cause is the same: to rescue human unity and its full harmony. Europe, Asia, our forces are different. Let us unite them for the achievement of the common work, viz., the greatest possible civilisation and highest possible human genius. Teach us to know all, Asia, and thy wisdom of living too! Learn from us to act!

*Paris, January 1, 1922.*

*Translated by*

L. V. RAMASWAMI.

## PRAYER

Open thou mine eyes that I may see  
Beyond the dark night of the

chasm'd soul,

That in the dewdrop I may find Thy sun,  
Open Thou mine eyes.

Shroud me with silence

wherein I may hear

Thy laughter in the quiet ancient

mountains,

That I may sense Thy tidings

in the storm,

Shroud me with silence.

Unfold my heart that

trembling I may know

The mystic blossoming of world on world

Deep in that shadowless immensity,—

My dreaming heart enfold.

E. E. SPEIGHT.

## MY DAYS IN EUROPE

By DR. SUDHINDRA BOSE, LECTURER, STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA.

THE French philosopher Voltaire maintained that human nature was different in England from what it was elsewhere. It does not seem to me that Voltaire was altogether right; but when I reached France I did find a vast deal of difference in the psychology of the French and the English. The French, unlike the English, were quite willing to believe a man honest until he proved himself to the contrary. Let me give an instance. The customs officials at Paris railroad station refused to open my trunks and examine their contents.

"Did you say you are an American citizen?"

"I did."

"All right. You can go. We trust you."

The French, in my judgment, are much nearer to warm Oriental temperament than the cold phlegmatic English. Even the most obtuse traveler cannot but be aware of the subtle spiritual affinity between France, and let us say, India. Down below the surface there is the unmistakable kinship of the French and Indian spirit of creative idealism.

France has suffered more from the ravages and horrors of the last war than any other country in Europe. Yet I have seen evidences to indicate that the French are not only willing to forget the sufferings of the past, but are ready and eager to go ahead with the work of the day.

Unfortunately, France has more than her share of unkind critics. They claim that France has gone mad with militarism and imperialism. Whether that assertion is absolutely right or wrong, one can at least appreciate the French point of view, can at least see that the present nervousness which is apparently manifested in certain quarters in Paris is not wholly without a cause. And does not the well-

known French proverb, "The scalded cat fears cold water," give us a clue to the understanding of the public opinion in the French Republic?

The Frenchman, it seems to me, has the widest range of mind of which an European is capable. He has very little of provincialism in his intellectual make-up. If ever there was a cosmopolitan in Europe, a Frenchman most emphatically is.

The French ways, whatever their shortcomings may be, are democratic. There is absolutely no colour or race prejudice in France. "We have solved the colour problem," told me a Parisian high up in government circles, "by not having any. We, in fact, scarcely know what you in America mean by colour consciousness. That phrase is not to be found in our French dictionary."

The bar of colour distinction does not exist in France. She does not have, never did have, any ingrained colour or race prejudice. A yellow, brown, or black man in France is totally unaware of the shadow of "the bar sinister" which darkens his life almost every minute in Anglo-Saxon countries. In the social relationship between a Frenchman and an Asian, or an African, there is no colour line. It is a common sight to see raw-boned, jet-black negroes of the United States go hand in hand with dainty French girls on Paris boulevards.

People are not considered inferior in France just because of their race or complexion. Whatever inferiority they may possess is the inferiority only of opportunity:

Norman Angell wrote in an American paper the other day.

"In France, the negro members of the Chamber of Deputies, or of the legal profession, or of the governmental adminis-

tration, or of the army and the church, have not merely no official difficulties, they have no social difficulties, in their relationship with their white colleagues. They dine in the homes of members of the Cabinet, plead for white clients in the courts, and it would never occur to their French colleagues to treat them with any sort of social exclusion."

The French etiquette is a very complex affair, and I do not presume to understand its philosophy in every detail. I noticed, however, that the French are very courteous to foreigners. A Frenchman will think nothing of talking to strangers without a formal introduction. The average Frenchman is kind, gentle, and affable. He talks with his hands and his eyes, no less than with his tongue; but he is always polite. He is the soul of courtesy. Even the ordinary policeman in the street, who has a fierce looking sword dangling by his side, is courteous. You ask him a question—what happens? He comes to attention and gives you an elaborate salute. Then he proceeds to answer your questions most minutely, and as you start to go, he salutes you again.

The French are among the thriftiest people of Europe. They waste nothing. Time and again you see poor folks pick up discarded cigaret stubs from the street to smoke them again. This is not highly sanitary I will admit; but the Frenchman cannot bear to see anything go to waste.

"England," said Winston Churchill, "is a paradise for the rich and hell for the poor." France is a country not only for the wealthy, but for the poor as well. There you can buy from a vegetable stand on the street corner, a penny's worth of sliced pumpkin if you like. There you can



A Mountain Pass in the neighbourhood of Digne, France

purchase half a banana, if you wish. The Frenchman is indeed an economic soul.

It was a great pleasure for me to note the keen and sympathetic interest taken by the French people in matters Indian, which range all the way from art and literature to politics. A recent striking illustration of the active good-will of France towards India is the gift to Tagore's Visvabharati a complete set of French books on Indology. These volumes were donated by Indian enthusiasts of France. In this connection I cannot help thinking of the proposal made not long

ago by the India Society of London to get hold of the priceless art collection of Mr. Abanindranath Tagore. The members of the Society, apparently eager like harpies to make gains from every possible opportunity, did not even have money "to put it over"; but they decided to appeal to Indian princes to buy these art treasures for English people, and take them out of India forever. This plan, its sponsors generously pointed out, "would bring about better understanding between India and England"! Wasn't that rich? When I told my friends in France about it they were prodigal in knowing smiles. They remarked that the condition of the British mind, which could suggest such a scheme, was pathological; it needed alienists more than art.

The time is here when no means should be omitted to strengthen the growing ties of friendship between India and France. A forward step in that direction has already been taken by the organization of the Hindusthani Association of Paris. The inaugural program of the society, in which I had a humble share, was attended among others by ten "immortals" of the French Academy and four members of the Cabinet. As I stood on the rostrum facing that large and distinguished audience, which filled to capacity two rooms of Musee Gimmet, I realized that the soul of France did respond to the heart-throbs of Hindusthan.

From what I have seen of the French educational system, it seems that Indian students will make no mistake in going to France for advanced study and research. They will meet with a warm welcome in French colleges and universities. Moreover, they will find the cost of living much more reasonable in France than either in England or in America.

The French professors I met are, in their special fields, intellectual giants—many of them. Yet they are as profound in learning as they are simple in their ways. There is no touch of highbrow about them.

The relation between the teacher and the student is one of utmost cordiality. Usually students have standing invitations

from their professors to call at their homes at any time they please. I became acquainted with a professor of the University of Paris who not only helps his foreign students to write articles and prepare addresses in French, but actually goes out of his way to hunt rooms for them.

There is an idea in some Anglo-Saxon countries that France is a somewhat effete nation, which has outlived its glowing youth. That is far from being true. France is a leader "in the vanward of Western civilization," strong in "the illuminating intelligence, the undaunted courage, the tireless industry of her people." Capable, self-reliant, and brave, she has produced in recent times scores of scientists, dramatists, artists and novelists. She is today the foremost state on the continent of Europe.

The foreign commentators of French life never fail to notice the decline in both marriages and births in France and predict that if France fails to remedy the facts, she will succumb. These critics overlook that the births still exceed the deaths in number. France, unlike the island country across the channel, does not favour large families. France holds to the view that the true national strength lies not in its numbers, but in its quality.

Another point which ought not to be passed over in silence: there is a considerable misunderstanding about the French social ethics. The misunderstanding is largely due to the assumption of the tourists who imagine that France is exclusively a land of jazz, wines, amours, gay night life, faithless wives, and unmarried mothers. The native Frenchman of the better type is apt to consider such a sweeping charge as being without much of ground-work in fact. He has a high opinion of himself and his institutions, and he is likely to regard the foreigner as "the dangerous amoralist, the wolf in the French fold." This is the view which has been given expression to in the careful study of Lawrence Jerrold's *France: Her People and Her Spirit*. According to Jerrold, here is what the members of a



(Climbing Alps in Switzerland.)

typical French family would say about its own moral standard:

'Let us first of all beware of outsiders,' they say, 'for ours is the real ark. Can we ever be sure of the chastity of a woman who is not of French blood, French breed, with our old traditions in the marrow of her bones? The English girl? Sweet, charming, but those flirtations! The American girl? So delightfully vivacious, such a change from our quiet girls, but—that freedom, that self-centeredness! How about her when married? Simultaneously, can we ever be sure that a foreigner will make a decent husband? Chic, distinguished, or enterprising, go-ahead, money-making, they are indeed. But the real domestic qualities, those that make a safe husband, a good father, the solid head of a house—can we be sure of finding them in a man who, through no fault of his own, of course, has never learned at the French hearth to look at life seriously? Let us, after all, keep to ourselves. We may not be so adventurous, so picturesque as other peoples. But we are

content to go on leading our old-fashioned lives. The foreigners who come to see us amuse us a great deal. For the serious things of life, for the duties of husband and wife and parents, for the family virtues, we prefer to stick to our own simple traditions. Sometimes we go to a cafe, and the foreigners' vivacious manners there divert us for an evening. But afterward we are glad to get back to our own quiet, plain French home.

From France I went to Switzerland. I discovered that while it is a great honor to be an American citizen, it has also certain disadvantages in Europe where every American is supposed to belong to the Rockefeller or Morgan family. The American must have a well-loaded pocket-book for his European tour. When he leaves a hotel in England, France, or Switzerland, he has to run the gauntlet of a half dozen or more employees—from the boot's assistant to the maitre d'hotel all standing with outstretched palm, waiting for a tip for doing what, after all, was their duty. These hotel servants are a species of despicable profiteers.

Pedestrian Yankees must be a rarity in Switzerland. I shocked one Swiss hotel proprietor most severely when I grabbed my little two-pound satchel, and started to walk for the railroad station only two or three blocks from the hotel.

"Don't you want a porter to carry your valise?" asked the proprietor.

"I think not."

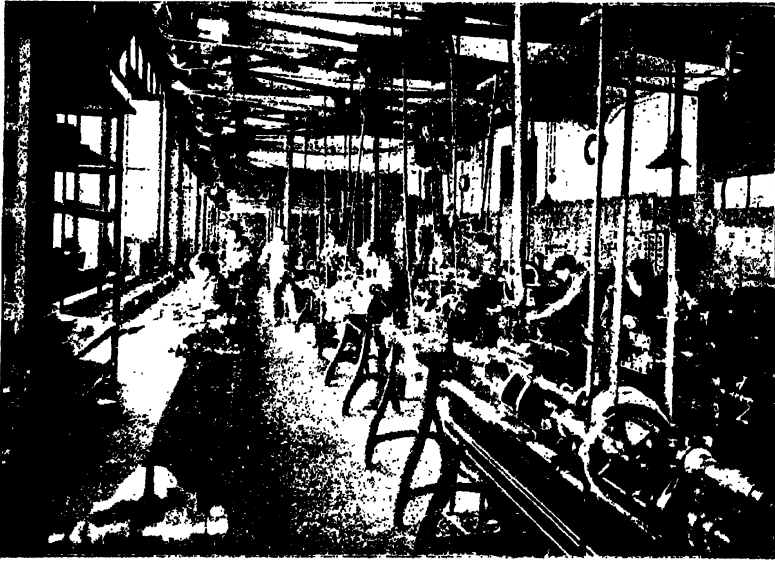
"Surely you want a cab, monsieur?"

"Oh, no."

The hotel man was terribly puzzled. It was just impossible for him to understand how an American and a gentleman could get along without a carriage or at least a valais!

I spent most of my time in Switzerland at Geneva. And of all the educational institutions I visited there, I was particularly impressed by the Municipal School of Watch-making. It was founded in 1824, and has ever since been an important factor in maintaining those high traditions of clock and watch-making, for which Geneva is famous throughout the world. The director of the school regretted that there has been only one student from India so far, although there have been scores from China and Japan.





A Class of making small instruments in the Watch-making School in Geneva.



A Class of Girl Apprentices in the Watch-making School in Geneva, •

Anyone who has studied up to matriculation in India is eligible for admission. The medium of instruction is, however, French. It takes four years to graduate from the school.\*

The prime object of my visit to Geneva was to confer with the men entrusted with the machinery of the League of Nations. I interviewed many a statesman and diplomat at Hotel de International, the headquarters of the League. They were very obliging, and furnished me with loads of books and pamphlets. I could not, however, share their infatuation about the League of Nations. The views they expressed were colored by a sort of sentimental jaundice.

"What is the plan of the League," I asked a member of the Permanent International Secretariat, "to deliver the oppressed nations of Asia from the yoke of European imperialism?"

"That's not the concern of the League," was his quick response.

\* Students desiring further information should communicate with the Director of Ecole Municipale d'Horlogerie, Rue Necker, 2, Geneva, Switzerland.

The League of Nations may not be made up of, as intimated by a New York journal, "a professional-criminal class, a delectable crew of professional thieves, liars, overreachers and confidence men." It is, however, an organization of the victorious nations to keep and hold their spoils, to promote their "own narrowly nationalistic and ruthlessly imperialistic interests." The Leaguers had no genuine desire to bring about a reorganization of the world on the basis of justice and humanity. All they wished, in the words of an American periodical, is "a reorganization of the general mechanism of economic exploitation, with a view to minimizing the risk and cost of war." The League is a rotter.

I have tried to make a first-hand acquaintance with the underlying facts of the League. If I may now be permitted to make a suggestion to the Asian, whose soul is not dead to the call of his country, it will be this:

Keep out! Keep out! Keep out!

*Hall of Liberal Arts.  
Iowa City, U. S. A.*

## THE NEW PRESIDENT OF CHINA

### A PERSONAL IMPRESSION OF LI YUAN-HUNG

By JOHN A. BRAILSFORD.

"SOME have greatness thrust upon them." Such is Li Yuan-hung, now for the second time President of the Middle Flowery People's Kingdom (*Chung Hua Ming Kuo*) which we call the Republic of China. A less ambitious man would be hard to find. When I visited him at Wuchang three days after the outbreak of the great revolution in 1911, he told me of the thrusting of greatness upon him at that time. The men who had engineered the rising at the instigation of Dr. Sun Yat-sen held a

sword at his throat and gave him this choice: "You must proclaim yourself head of the revolution or die immediately." He chose not to die. I hardly credited the story at the time. It was obvious that most of the men in that Babel of disorder at the revolutionary headquarters were running an enormous risk and would be doomed to execution if the Imperial Government sent any strong force against them. Though Li Yuan-hung seemed less fearful than others, might it not be that he was trying,

through the foreign journalist, to assure the Peking rulers of his innocence? So it seemed. But the burly, good-humoured soldier, who could laugh over things even in that tense atmosphere, had told me the simple truth.

Why had he been chosen for greatness? He had had no part in the engineering of the revolution. It was only by the accident of the premature bursting of a bomb that the outbreak had begun at a time when the revolutionists themselves had no strong leader to take command. They were in urgent need of a man respected and loved by the common soldiery of the Wuchang garrison. That was the first consideration. It was by chance rather than design that they chose one who was able to win the regard of the Chinese people of both North and South, and of foreigners also. What the plotters wanted at this time was a loyal and enthusiastic following of a few thousand fighting men who would resist the first onslaught from the Imperialists. Li Yuan-hung was the friend of the common soldier. His sympathy for the men in the miserable life of the barracks, his efforts to provide entertainment and education for them had already come to the knowledge of foreigners. And besides, he was honest. A Danish merchant in Hankow told me how Li Yuan-hung, as purchasing officer for the local forces, had come to him to buy field glasses. Now it was the almost universal custom of salesmen in China at that time to pay a "commission" to any official purchasing goods on behalf of the Government—in other words a bribe to secure the order. Often there was competition in bribery. The merchant said something to Li Yuan-hung about giving him "the usual commission." The reply was in effect this: "I came here because I thought you would not offer that."

Li was one of the few who realized how the custom of "squeeze" (the popular name for commission payments) was ruining China. He declined to receive or to give bribes. The consequence was that he had remained poor and had been kept in a subordinate position while un-

scrupulous men of far less capacity had been promoted over his head. He was simple Colonel.

But Li Yuan-hung in any military position was a paradox. He is one of the most pacific-minded men of a pacific race. All his victories have been victories of peace. Throughout the revolutionary fighting in 1911 and 1912 he issued many appeals to the forces of both sides to renew their friendship and restore peace. His proclamations were the very reverse of those which Western commanders put out during warfare. Where we would expect men to proclaim their own divine mission and to denounce the villainess of the enemy, shrieking about atrocities, here was the leader of a most momentous revolution asking pardon of his fellow-countrymen for his part in the tragedy that had brought brother into mortal conflict with brother. "Peace without victory"—the motto which President Wilson so readily changed to "force without stint"—was the motto of Li Yuan-hung throughout the conflict, even when his own life was in imminent danger. And peace without victory he attained. His forces were utterly defeated by those of Yuan Shih-kai, which were supposed to be fighting for the Manchu Dynasty against the Republican movement. And the outcome was that the Manchu rulers were compelled to abdicate and the Republic was established. Was there ever such a land of contradictions?

To explain this paradox we should have to tell of the tortuous diplomacy of Yuan Shih-kai, who was falsely true to the Imperial authority until he found it in his power to be truly false to the Republicans. He secured himself in the Presidency, handed a sop to the real leader of the revolution, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, and had Li Yuan-hung made Vice-president.

Li Yuan-hung continued to hold authority at the metropolis of Central China—the triple city of Wuchang, Hankow and Hanyang. The almost universal respect and affection in which he was held made peace possible in that region during a most difficult period. Of course, there

were minor disturbances, including several plots against his life. It was long before he could be induced to allow the execution of any of these conspirators. In other parts of China there were tens of thousands of executions of those who were suspected of opposing the authority of Yuan Shih-kai, and I remember one or two occasions when forty or more were executed in a batch at Wuchang. But always Li Yuan-hung was accounted a man of unique mercy. I visited him often in the times of most intense agitation, and found him always in kindly humour—worried perhaps, but never vindictive. When I went (as correspondent of the American Associated Press) to ask whether he were really dead, as rumour had reported, he enjoyed the joke greatly. He is a man who can laugh.

Li Yuan-hung refused to join the revolt of the Southerners in 1913 against Yuan Shih-kai, who had proved himself false to Republican institutions, and had flouted the authority of the Parliament. The quarrel was a little academic, as the Parliament could hardly be described as representative. Li Yuan-hung considered that China would find her way to a new national life more quickly along the path of peace than in strife over systems. It was difficult to decide whether personal ambition or devotion to principle was the leading motive of some of the leaders on both sides. It is impossible to say yet whether Li Yuan-hung was right. The Southern forces were defeated in 1913, but many of the same leaders are still upholding the standard of Sun Yat-sen at Canton, and certainly their record appears far better than that of the military usurpers who have held sway at Peking during most of the past eight years.

Li Yuan-hung in those early years of the Republic was the one man in favour with large masses of the people both north and south of the Yangtse. Yuan Shih-kai, it seems, was afraid of his popularity. He frequently requested him to come to Peking. Li Yuan-hung always replied, quite truthfully, that he felt his services were more needed in Central China. At last Yuan practically compelled him. The

Vice-President was taken to Peking and was placed on that very island in the artificial lake of the Forbidden City where the Emperor Kuang Hsu had been held a prisoner by the old Empress Dowager. All honour was paid to Li Yuan-hung. But he was as powerless as a bird in a gilded cage. I visited him on that island just before leaving China in 1914. It was sad to see his patient impatience with the enforced inactivity. He was in great distress at that time over the Japanese invasion of Shantung. There were tears in his eyes when he appealed to two of us—insignificant newspaper men—to try to stir a righteous protest from our respective countries against this seizure of China's "sacred province." I knew only too well that the powers which had prevented China's own official protest from coming to the knowledge of the British people would hardly succumb to any effort of mine to break through the censor's barrier and reach the popular conscience.

But Li Yuan-hung was not destined to waste all his days in the prison-palace. Yuan Shih-kai, after his unsuccessful attempt to set up an imperial throne for himself and his heirs, was gathered to his fathers. His prisoner became president.

And what mighty deeds did he do as head of the nation to justify his present recall to that office? None that I know of. He was not even successful in his efforts to reconcile the rival factions. He was unable to save his country from the encroachment of her neighbour (though undoubtedly, by keeping the peace with Japan, he helped to prevent a far worse tragedy). He failed also to check the rising of the ex-brigand Chang Hsun, who tried to restore the infant Emperor. Late in 1917 Chang Hsun attacked Peking. Li Yuan-hung made no attempt at resistance, but sought refuge at the Japanese Legation. A sad exhibition of weakness and insincerity it seemed, on the part of one who had wept over his nation's ill-usage at the hands of Japan. I do not know the intimate circumstances, but it certainly appeared that foreign correspondents were justified at the time in condemn-

ing Li Yuan-hung as "weak, irresolute." He went into "disgraceful" retirement, as F. A. Mackenzie of the London *Daily Mail* recorded. Chang Hsun, after a few short days of triumph, was easily defeated. China became a Republic again. But Li Yuan-hung was no longer president. Can one imagine any Western choosing such a man again for the highest office? It does not seem that Li Yuan-hung sought the Presidency at this time any more than he sought the leadership of the revolution when a sword was held at his throat. He is not considered clever. "He has a good heart but a poor head," the Chinese used to say of him. Foreigners have still less regard for him. The idol of the foreigners in China was Yuan Shih-kai, the man of power who asserted his authority over the great nation at all costs, lopping off the heads of his opponents by the myriad. Li Yuan-hung is not the man to unite China under one strong central authority. Probably the drift toward a loose federalism will go on unchecked, and the Western moneylenders will be distressed; for it is more difficult for debt-collecting diplomats to deal with a multitude of local Governments and private Chinese borrowers than with one great central authority.

Li Yuan-hung, though he bears the title of Field-Marshal, has no army at his bidding, as have Wu Pei-fu and Chang Tso-lin. In his apparent weakness lies his real strength as a leader of China. No man who rises to power by military

force can hope to hold the confidence of a people that regards all violence as proof of undeveloped character. Military power might establish a little brief authority—it would be brief in Chinese eyes even if it lasted a couple of centuries—but such authority would be little respected and less loved. What they ask of their President is that he shall reconcile the conflicting parties and enable the people to pursue their daily toll and maintain their home life in peace and with more freedom than is possible in most of the great nations of today. Li Yuan-hung has come to the Presidency once more in response to the demand for a reconciler. Will he fulfil that mission? Can he induce Dr. Sun Yat-sen and the present leaders of the North to come into friendly co-operation? It will not be easy.

Li Yuan-hung was born in the ancestral village about twenty miles from Hankow 58 years ago. He began training for the fighting services at the age of eighteen. He was about 30 years old when the Chino-Japanese war began; he commanded a gunboat in that campaign, in which China suffered a great defeat. Afterwards he superintended the construction of the forts of Nanking. Thence he went to Wuchang and was in charge of his regiment there at the time of the revolution. Li Yuan-hung, the soldier has a remarkable record of successive defeats. Li Yuan-hung the man of peace has won great victories, and may yet win greater.

## THE SOVEREIGN AS THE HEAD OF RELIGION IN THE MUGHAL EMPIRE

### I

EXAMPLES are numerous in Oriental history of sovereigns claiming the position of the spiritual leader of their people. It may have been due to the natural vanity of man or to the astute political design of securing to one's self the supreme authority in Church and

State alike, and thereby making the sovereign's position unassailable, or to a combination of both these motives. The lord of half a million swords does not feel happy unless he can flatter himself that he has won the unforced love and spontaneous obedience of his subjects. He has a natural weakness for, thinking that he

is not as other men are, that he is akin to the gods, and that he rules by a divine right as a semi-divine being. Flatterers had instilled the same idea into the mind of the Roman Emperors and the Stuart kings of England.

It found an easier lodgement in the Islamic State. That State is a theocracy, and its sovereign, in strict theory, is God's representative on earth. He is the commander of the faithful in the battlefield and the public prayer alike. He is the only Khalifa of the time and if he is worthy of his position, then the mantle of the Arabian Prophet has descended on him, and he ought to be not only the leader of the national army but also the highest living exponent of the faith (*mujtahid*). Only the military type of the State and exigencies which made a rude unlettered soldier instead of a deeply-read theologian the only successful sovereign in most Islamic lands throughout the middle ages, prevented this claim from maturing. The actual experience of a long series of centuries gradually disabused the public mind of the idea that the Sultan was necessarily also the Mujtahid or Imam. But he might be so.

Anthropomorphism or the worship of God in the form of man, is the besetting sin of the Aryan race. The Persians could not shake it off even after their conversion to a strictly monotheistic religion like Islam, and the variety of incarnations adored by the Persian people along with Islamic tenets proves how fertile a field for manworship Iran is. We find a full account of these religious movements in Browne's *Literary History of Persia* (vol. I. Ch. 9). Sufism, to which the Persians among all Islamic races have made the largest contribution, also favours the recognition of inspired or superhumanly gifted spiritual preceptors.

The *Insan-i-kanil* or Perfect Man is the title given by Muhammadan mystics to the highest type of humanity, i.e., the theosophist who has realised his oneness with God. This theory of the Perfect Man is based on a pantheistic monism which regards the Creator (*al Haqq*) and the creature (*al Khulq*) as complementary

aspects of Absolute Being,—or as a Hindu would say the *Purusha* and the *Prakriti* are two aspects of one and the same thing. "Man," as an Arabian mystic writes, "unites in himself both the form of God and the form of the universe...He is the mirror by which God is revealed...We ourselves are the attributes by which we describe God; our existence is merely an objectification of His existence."...The Perfect Man, who typifies the emanation of Absolute Being from itself and its return into itself, moves upward through a series of illuminations until he ultimately becomes merged in the Essence,...when the seal of deification is set upon him. He now becomes the Pole-star (*Qutb*) of the universe, and the medium through which it is preserved; he is omnipotent, nothing is hidden from him; it is right that mankind should bow down in adoration before him, since he is the vicegerent (*Khalifa*) of God in the world (*Quran*, II, 28). Thus, being divine as well as human, he forms a connecting link between God and created things. According to orthodox Muslims this representative Superman is the Prophet Muhammad...Al Jili holds that in every age Muhammad assumes the form of a living saint, and in that guise makes himself known to mystics. [*Encyclo. Islam*, ii. 510.]

So much for the craving of the Sufistic Muslims in general and the men of the Persian race in special, for a divine teacher in a human form in their own age. The Hindu is even more ready to welcome an *avatar*, because it is his creed that such avatars have appeared by the million in the past and God is sure to incarnate Himself when the age requires it by reason of the excess of sin and the agony of spiritual hunger unsatisfied by the existing teachers. (*Bhagabat-Gita*.)

## II

While earnest believers were expectant for such a superman *guru* or Lord of the Age (*Sahib-i-zaman*), it would be in accordance with human nature to find that there was a vast number of interested people who wished to secure material gain by professing religious adoration

to the sovereign, as the cynical Al Badauni has pointed out.

The religious atmosphere of India was quivering with electricity in the first half of the 16th century. Chaitanya and Nanak preached and converted during this period, and their new creeds, by supplying the exact spiritual needs of the age, became world-conquering within India. Other movements, deviating from the old orthodox faith, also arose in India, as has been clearly shown by Blochmann in the Introduction to his translation of the *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, particularly the Mahdavi sect, i.e., men on the look out for a new Mahdi or Supreme spiritual guide. [The Mahdavis lingered in Bijapur well beyond the middle of the 17th century.]

The Emperor Akbar was led to claim this position, partly by his natural vanity, but more by the flattery of his favourites, as Al Badauni has pointed out.

Though illiterate, he secured his own recognition as the *mujtahid* or infallible interpreter of the *Kuran* and of all disputed points of Islamic theology (1579). His coquetry with Hinduism, long and secret conversations with famous Hindu sannyasis and pandits, his edict of toleration for all Hindu practices, and finally his adoption of several Hindu rules of conduct and ceremonies, led the Hindus to regard him as one of themselves. They styled him *Jagat-guru*, or the spiritual guide of the universe, while the coterie of his Muslim adorers (mostly Persians) called him the *Insan-i-kamil* and the *Sahib-i-zaman*.

As the religious guide of his subjects, Akbar adopted, at first secretly and cautiously, many of the attributes and prerogatives of a prophet and even of an incarnation. It excited the intense disgust of his orthodox Muslim subjects and was often checked by the fear of a revolt of the Muslim soldiery at the call of the old-type Mullahs.

I quote from his courtly flatterer Abul Fazl:—

"Wherever, from lucky circumstances, the time arrives that a nation learns to understand how to worship truth, the people will

naturally look to their king, and expect him to be their spiritual leader as well; for a king possesses, independent of men, the ray of divine wisdom...Now this is the case with the monarch of the present age...Men versed in foretelling the future, knew this when his Majesty was born, and they have since been waiting in joyful expectation.

"His Majesty, however, wisely surrounded himself for a time with a veil, as if he were an outsider or a stranger to their hopes. But can man counteract the will of God? He could not help revealing his intentions...He is now the spiritual guide of the nation. He has now opened the gate that leads to the right path and satisfies the thirst of all that wander about panting for truth.

"Men of all nations, old and young, friends and strangers, the far and the near, look upon offering a bow to his majesty as the means of solving all their difficulties, and bend down in worship on obtaining their desire when his majesty leaves the court, there is not a hamlet town or city that does not send forth crowds of men and women with vow-offerings in their hands and prayers on their lips, touching the efficacy of their vows [made to the Emperor] or proclaiming the accounts of the spiritual assistance received [by secretly praying to him]...His Majesty gives satisfactory answers to every one, and applies remedies to their religious perplexities. Not a day passes but people bring cups of water to him, beseeching him to breathe upon it...Many sick people whose diseases the most eminent physicians pronounced incurable, have been restored to health by this divine means.

"Notwithstanding every strictness and reluctance shown by his majesty in admitting novices, there are many thousands, who have cast over their shoulders the mantle of belief, and look upon conversion to the New Faith as the means of obtaining every blessing." (*Ain* i. 163-166.)

The initiation ceremony and rules of life of the members of this new sect are described in the *Ain-i-Akbari*, i. 165-167, and I need not quote them here.

In addition to the *kurnish* and the *taslim* which all persons presented at court had to make to the sovereign, the disciples of Akbar had to perform the *sijdah* or prostration by bowing down the forehead to the ground. This is an exercise performed at the Muslim prayer, and therefore the orthodox regarded it as a ceremony exclusively due to God. Akbar yielded to the public discontent and very prudently restricted the prostration to the hall of private audience. Its popular

name was *zaminbos* or kissing the ground before the throne. This abject mode of showing respect prevailed in ancient Persia as well as the Hindu States. Religious leaders are entitled to it, as we see daily around us. Abul Fazl justifies it by saying that "They look upon a prostration before his Majesty as a prostration before God; for royalty is an emblem of the power of God." (i. 159)

It was a practice intensely hateful to the Muslims, and though Jahangir continued it, Shah Jahan had to yield to public opinion and abolish it at his accession.

The *darshaniyas*, or men who did not begin their day's work nor break their fast without first gazing on the Emperor's face as on an idol in the morning,—formed another sect of his worshippers, and they followed a special set of rules. (*Ain*, i. 207.)

Even the slaves of the imperial household were, in name at least, converted into the Emperor's disciples. As the court-historian writes,

"His Majesty, from religious motives, dislikes the name *banda* or slave; for he believes that Mastership belongs to no one but God. He, therefore, calls this class of men *chelas*, which Hindi term signifies a faithful disciple. Through his Majesty's kindness, many of them have chosen the road to happiness (i.e. embraced the divine faith of Akbar)". (*Ain* i. 253.)

### III

The tradition of the Emperor being the spiritual guide of the people and of his initiating personal disciples, continued in Aurangzib's reign, though that Emperor attracted men by his reputation for strict orthodoxy, ascetic rigour of life and power of working miracles, for which he was called *Alamgir*, *Zinda pir*! or 'Alamgir the living saint.' In 1690, when the Emperor was encamped at Badli on the bank of the Krishna, Salabat Khan the *Mir-i-tuzuk* presented to him in the court of justice a man, who said, "I have come from the far-off land of Bengal, wishing to be your Majesty's disciple. I hope that you will favour me by granting my desire." Aurangzib smiled a sarcastic smile and gave the Khan about Rs. 100 in cash and some bits of gold and silver

to be presented to the man, saying, "Tell him that the favour he is really expecting from me is *this*!" The man flung the money away and threw himself into the river. He was rescued by the court attendants. The Emperor ordered him to be taken to a famous Muslim scholar of Sarhind, with a request to admit him as a disciple. (*Masir-i-Alamgiri*, 333-334.)

As a token of the religious veneration paid to the Emperors, they continued throughout the Mughal period to be addressed by their sons and subjects with epithets characteristic of prophets, such as *Qibla wa qaba*, i.e., the central point to which the faithful must turn in prayer, like the Black Temple at Mecca or Solomon's Temple at Jerusalem, the *Quth* or Pole-star of the faith, and *Pir wa murshid-i-alam-wa alaman* or *du-jahan* or *din wa dunya*, i.e., the spiritual guide and preceptor of the world and its inmates, or of this world and the next.

In imitation of Akbar, his contemporary, the Bijapuri Sultan Ibrahim Adil Shah II, took the title of *Jagat-guru*. He is popularly said to have inclined to the Hindu faith and practices, lived on milk and even worshipped the Hindu god Narsoba in a small temple on the western edge of the inner ditch of the citadel of his capital. His Muslim historian has taken pains to rebut the charge that he apostatized from Islam. (*Basatm-i-Salatin*, 259-260, 264,) but admits that in popular speech he was called *Jagat-guru*. [Also *Bombay Gazetteer*, xxiii, 636.]

The Mughal Emperor, as we have seen, claimed to be *Jagat-guru* or world's Supreme Religious Head. But this Pope was married, and it would have been inconsistent if his principal wife did not partake of his spiritual attributes. Thus we find that Jahangir's wife, a Jodhpur princess and the mother of Shah Jahan, was entitled the *Jagat Gosaini*, or female Pope of the World! (*Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, 5.)

There are many historical parallels to this aspect of the Mughal monarchy. The Abbaside Khalifs of Baghdad rose to the throne on the crest of a religious movement in favour of the family of



Ali and they claimed the spiritual homage of the Muslim world by reason of their descent from the prophet's family as completely as the political allegiance of their subjects.

So, too, the Safavi dynasty of Persia at first created an influence and a strong following by posing as religious leaders, and then easily seized the throne of that country. The Sikh *gurus* began as religious guides pure and simple, and ended by becoming warriors and rulers of men. Even now they are designated as the 'ten Padishahs' by their votaries.

#### IV

Apart from the position of *Jagat-guru* or the direct and personal religious preceptor of his subjects or an inspired and miracle-working saint, which was aspired to by Akbar and Ibrahim Adil Shah, and that of a darvish on the throne or living saint which Aurangzib loved to be called,—the Mughal Emperor, by constitutional law, filled the office of the executive head of the dominant creed. As the "Khalifa of the Age" it was his duty to enforce the orthodox faith, which was the Sunni form of Islam. Political considerations and the legacy of his more tolerant predecessors compelled Aurangzib to use the talents of many Shias,—both of Persia and Central Asia,—but their lot was not a happy one. In the war of succession with his brothers in the earlier years of his reign, he had owed much to Mir Jumla, a Shia; but in his old age his bigotry was intensified and made his court no place for this sect. We find many illustrations of the anti-Shia feeling in this Emperor's letters and even in the official history of his reign.

To him a Shia was a heretic (*rafizi*), and he usually calls the Persians carrion-eating demons (*Irani ghul-i-bayabam*); but this tone may have been partly due to his political rupture with the Safavi Shahs. In one of his letters he tells us how he pleased with a dagger presented to him by a noble man, which was named *Rafizikush* or Shia-slayer, ordered some more of the same shape and name to

be made for him. [*Ruqat-i-Alamgiri*, 133].

The result was that his Shia officers had to practise hypocrisy in order to save themselves.

Sarbuland Khan, a grandson of a King of Badakhshan, was Aurangzib's second Bakhshi from 1672 to 1679. Once his Majesty complained that Sarbuland's words savoured a little of Shia-ism, to which the Khan replied, "Yes, many of the Sayyids of Bukhara belong to this sect. My speech still bears traces of the effect of my former association with them. But I have not been confirmed in this faith. Through ill luck, I have withdrawn myself from this creed but not yet attained to that"! This Sarbuland Khan, we are told by the same authority, used to favour the Persians and recommend them to the Emperor for high offices. Though Aurangzib distrusted that race, he was forced to employ them on account of their unrivalled ability in book-keeping and finance. [Hamid-uddin's *Ahkam*, § 38 and 39.]

The position of the Shia nobles in Aurangzib's court was bad enough on account of their master's orthodoxy; but it was rendered worse by the jealous hostility of the Sunni nobles, most of whom belonged to a different race, namely the Turani or Central Asian. Indeed, in the 18th century, the Persian and Turkish parties—or Iranis and Turanis as they were called,—were sharply divided at the Mughal Court, just as they had been under the Bahmani Sultans of the Deccan in the 15th, with disastrous consequences to the latter. Even European visitors like Bernier and Manucci could not fail to notice the antagonism of interest and sharp contrast of policy between these two races in the Delhi imperial service, especially when an embassy from Persia was expected [*Storia do Mogor*, ii, 50-53, Bernier, 146-153]. Marriage did not tend to heal this sectarian conflict, because the Shias naturally liked to marry within their own circle, and Sunnis were known to have refused the hands of Shia brides. Thus, we learn from Hamid-uddin Khan's *Ahkam* that Ruhullah Khan I, the Paymaster-General

of Aurangzib (1686-1692), made a will on his death-bed, declaring that he had renounced the Shia faith for Sunnism, and requesting the Emperor to give his two daughters in marriage to Sunnis. Now, though this Ruhullah Khan was very highly connected,—his mother being a sister of the Emperor's mother,—the hand of his daughter was refused by Siadat Khan, a petty nobleman, who asked, "How do we know that she too holds the Sunni faith? In case she persists in her ancestral religion (i.e. Shiaism), what can be done?" (*Ahkam* § 39.)

The Emperor, too, doubted the sincerity of Ruhullah's alleged conversion to Sunnism, and this surmise was proved true. The Khan, on his death-bed, had requested the Emperor to send the imperial Qazi (a Sunni) to wash and shroud his corpse. But the Qazi, on reaching the Khan's house after his death, was given a letter in which the dying man had begged him to delegate his burial arrangements to his confidential servant Aga Ikg. The Qazi knew this man to be a Shia theologian and priest disguised as a servant, and reported the new development of the case to the Emperor. Aurangzib replied in an indignant tone:—

"Let the Qazi come away from the house. The late Khan had made deception his habit in life, and at the time of his death too pursued the same detestable sin. What concern have I with anybody's religions? Let Jesus follow his own faith and Moses his own!"

But the Shias had good reasons for concealing their faith from him.\* In one letter of Aurangzib we read how he was alarmed at the coincidence that the paymaster and two *nazims* of Lahore were Shias, and immediately ordered that the former should be transferred elsewhere.

\* On 3rd Nov. 1672, an old servant of the days before Aurangzib's accession was benighted for cursing the first three Khalifs. (*M. A.* 120.) The Emperor objected to making the word *Ali* a part of any newly-created noble's title. (*M. A.* 313.) In one letter he narrates with approval how a Sunni murdered a Shia at Isfahan and escaped to safety! (*I. O. L.* 1344, f. 34 b.) Persians newly arrived in India should not be posted to any of the ports on the West Coast. (*Kalimat-Tay.* 141 a.)

(*Kalimat-Tay.* 16 a.) Very late in his reign, he objected to the practice of sending the bones of rich Shias secretly after death to Karbala and Mashhad for burial. This he regarded as a superstition. (*Ibid.* 12 a.)

# V

In Mughal India, as in mediaeval Europe, education was a branch of religion, and the educational expenditure of the State was defrayed out of the Alms Fund and through the hands of the imperial Almoner (*Sadr-us-sadur*). We have a *farman* of the earlier part of Aurangzib's reign which illustrates this arrangement. He instructs the *diwan* of Gujrat that every year teachers should be appointed at the cost of the State and stipends paid to the students according to the recommendation of the Sadr of the province and the attestation (*tasadduq*) under the seal of the teacher. The money was to be paid out of the Public Treasury. The grant was very small, as we read of only three *maulavis* being appointed, one at Ahmadabad, one at Patan and a third at Surat, and only 45 students enjoying the subsistence allowance. [*Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, 272.]

The monasteries (*khankas*) when not endowed by private donors, received larger subsidies from the Government, and they were expected to play the part of the Cathedrals of Christendom in fostering theological learning and general education.

We may conclude our remarks about learning in Mughal India, by referring to the allied subject of the Court poets. These were Persians born in Iran. By all the Emperors except the puritanical Aurangzib they were highly patronised and well rewarded for their odes. Such odes had to be written to order to celebrate victories, royal marriages, coronation, birth-day and other court festivities, and to supply inscriptions (*kutaba*) for the Emperor's favourite buildings or chair of State. One of these poets received a purse of Rs. 10,000 for a four-line epigram describing how a trained leopard struck down a wild buffalo before the Emperor Jahangir. [*Tazkira-i-Sarkhush*.]

These poets, in the 17th century, were closely related by birth or marriage to the Court physicians, who were mostly Persians. A runaway physician of the Shah of Persia was sure of a cordial welcome at the Court of Delhi.\*

Even the ladies of these Persian families of poets and doctors were learned and accomplished persons and they were employed in the imperial harem to teach the princesses and to superintend the Empe-

ror's charity to women. In the last capacity the officer was called *Sadr-un-nissa* or 'Almoner for women'. The life of *Siti-un-nissa*, the friend of the Empress Mumtaz Mahal and governess to her daughters, gives us a charming picture of culture within the harem in the glorious times of Shah Jahan. [See my *Studies in Mughal India*, pp. 21-26.]

JADUNATH SARKAR

( Patna University Readership  
Lecture, 15 Feb. 1921. )

\* Abdul Hamid's *Padishahnama*, ii. 367—8.  
*Alamgir-namah*, 45.

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

[ Books in the following languages will be noticed : Assamese, Bengali, English, Gujarati, Hindi, Kanarese, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Punjabi, Sindhi, Tamil, Telugu, and Urdu. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text books and their annotations, pamphlets and leaflets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., will not be noticed. The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged, nor any queries relating thereto answered. The review of any book is not guaranteed. Books should be sent to our office, addressed to the Assamese Reviewer, the Hindi Reviewer, the Bengali Reviewer, etc., according to the language of the books. No criticism of book reviews and notices will be published.—Editor, M. R.]

### ENGLISH.

**HINDU CULTURE:** By K. S. Ramaswamy Sastry, B. L. S. Ganesan, Madras, 1922. Price Rs. 3.

This book of 216 pages, well-printed and neatly bound, has a foreword from the pen of Sir John Woodroffe, and is written on the same lines as his wellknown *Is India Civilised?* There is a third book, *The Illusions of New India*, by Mr. P. N. Bose, which is also written with practically the same object. But whereas in the last two books, and especially in the last, there is some attempt at offering reasoned arguments for the conclusions arrived at, and Sir John's book possesses an added interest in the fact of its being written by a cultured Western whose admiration for our civilisation tickles our vanity, the book before us does not profess to offer any reasons at all, but is a summary of the conclusions arrived at on various aspects of Indian civilisation by appreciative writers, or rather it is a summary of only the favourable opinions of those writers, utterly ignoring opinions which are unfavourable. Entirely one-sided as it is, it has nevertheless its value for those students who want to correct the impressions formed upon a study of the more numerous class of writers, mostly Western, who see nothing but evil in our civilisation, and who base most of their conclusions on our present degraded political and social condition. Written from the standpoint of an advocate, the book will not of course carry conviction, for which the reader will have to look up the original sources, named

and unnamed, from which the author draws his inspiration, and if the reader does so, as the writer of this review has done, the conclusions he will arrive at will be hardly as dogmatic and optimistic as the author's, and his admiration, if he uses the historical and comparative method, which the author calls 'a great Western instrument of thought sure to be productive of great results' (p. 177), will be qualified with many misgivings and assume a soberer hue, of which he will find no indication in this little volume.

The author was prompted to write this book by the attacks on Indian civilisation in Mr. S. C. Mookerji's *The Decline and Fall of the Hindus*, which he calls 'a small and waspish booklet,' and against the author of which he indulges in vehement personalities. We are not concerned to defend Mr. Mookerji, whose book we have not read, but we notice that Sir John Woodroffe calls him his 'friend' and that he has both the courage of his opinions and (for I know him) a strongly-felt attachment to his country. In fact, it seems to us that those Indians who are constantly singing psalms of glory at the altar of Indian civilisation are wanting in both, and if we look for truth and originality, we will find more of it in books written by those who want to rouse their countrymen and explode their complacent faith by the shock of strong language, on the principle that desperate diseases require desperate remedies (though calm historic judgment alone can convince and produce a lasting impression), and we can therefore well understand the sense in

which Sir P. C. Ray calls Mr. Mookerji's book 'the book on India's regeneration.'

Sir John Woodroffe quotes Voltaire who spoke of the Hindus as 'a peaceful and innocent people, equally incapable of hurting others or of defending themselves.' The sting of the quotation lies in its tail, and to take one aspect only of our civilisation, it is worth enquiring how we have become so utterly incapable of defending ourselves, and whether the attitude of what is, is for the best, will help us to develop that quality, so essential to our racial self-preservation. But the author does not seem to be troubled by any qualms on that score, for he is emphatically of opinion that Hindu civilisation is 'predestined to last for ever' (p. 15).

Throughout, however, there is a subconscious vein of mistrust, which is, we believe, responsible for many of the exaggerations in which the book abounds, in the solidity of the rock of Hindu culture on which the author takes his stand, and the author seems to be aware that much will have to be surrendered to the imperious demands of the Time Spirit in the course of its triumphal progress in the modern age' (p. 154).

This is why perhaps the author cannot shut his eye to 'a few redeeming features on which alone I rely as holding out a promise of better times' (pp. 176-77). These features, according to our author, are 'a new and powerful feeling of faith in science and love for scientific study and methods and investigations,' the introduction of the historical and comparative method of studying social and artistic phenomena, the new-born national feeling, the new democratic spirit which will bring into existence a more intimate sense of brotherhood and a more vivid sense of mutual interdependence, collective charity and 'the modern passion of pity and the joy of social service and social emancipation.' It will also be interesting to enquire how many of the orthodox fold would be willing to subscribe to the following opinion of their ardent champion:

Nor can one for a moment defend or praise the innumerable castes or the caste feuds and jealousies as they exist in India today. They are a travesty of the real system of caste. They are a source of individual decline and national decay; so there are sources of national decay in the existing Hindu system after all. The counteraction of such evils is an act of individual duty and of national righteousness (p. 150).

The defence of Hindu culture often consists in the familiar trick of claiming every new and favourable development as proceeding out of itself. There is no harm in this so long as the development is recognised as essentially necessary for the growth and perfection of our civilisation. To take one instance: "Hindu culture learnt from its rebellious child Buddhism, which in its haste to get rid of animal sacrifices threw overboard the Vedas as well, a new tenderness for life or rather an intensification of its old tenderness for life. It learnt from Islam, which persecuted it but could not subdue it, a new and intimate sense of brotherhood or rather an intensification of its old sense of brotherhood. It learnt also to realise more intensely that image worship is a means and not an end. It learnt to realise also that it must not forget the transcendence of God in His Immanence. Not one element was newly learnt. But the new emphasis on some of

its old aspects and elements was itself of the greatest value" (p. 119).

There is much truth in what the author says on the comparative merits of eastern and western culture, if we remember, as he says elsewhere (p. 1), that this does not imply the absence of some elements in the one which the other possesses, but is rather a difference of emphasis than of content. "Each, in fact, is the complement of the other. The degradation of the one is in the limiting of the inner vision to the earth, the revelling in natural and human beauty as the only summations of loveliness, and the worship of mere machinery. The degradation of the other is in vague abstraction, the forgetting of manifest Godhead in the search after the unmanifest Beauty, and mere quietism. The danger of the one is undignified rest in intermediate satisfactions. The danger of the other is non-attainment of distant satisfactions. The fulfilment of the one is in a clear rationality a clear vision of earthly beauty, and a clarity of earthly enjoyment. The fulfilment of the other is in spiritual realisation, a vision of heavenly enjoyment, and a clarity of spiritual joy" (p. 77).

In the hands of a discriminating reader, the book will prove useful, but as they are not in the majority, we can safely predict that the book will have a large sale, though we are not so sure of its producing the right effect, the sort of effect, that is, that will prove really beneficial to the country.

SPEECHES AND WRITINGS OF M. K. GANDHI:—*G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. Third Edition. Rs. 3. Pp. iv + xii + 64 + 848 + 47 + viii.*

The publishers truly call this 'an exhaustive, comprehensive, and thoroughly up to date edition.' It contains a detailed table of contents, an Index, appendices containing foreign appreciations and other matters, a detailed biographical sketch, and extracts from articles in the *Young India* and *Nava Jiban*. The volume begins with South Africa and ends with the Mahatma's incarceration in Ahmedabad Jail. This big volume, neatly printed and nicely bound in cloth, is being offered to the public at the moderate price of Rs. 3, and is sure to be sold out in no time. The foreign appreciations show that more than any Indian on the horizon of India, the Mahatma succeeded in attracting the attention of the apathetic West to Indian affairs. And of all the Indian appreciations, we are glad to note, none is more whole-hearted and full-throated than that of the other great man of India who has now become a worldfigure, Dr. Rabindranath Tagore. It reminds us of the wellknown Sanskrit adage, that it is only the great who appreciate the great.

THE TRUTH OF LIFE: By *Barindra Kumar Ghose. The "Arya" office, Pondicherry. 1922. S. Ganesan, Madras.*

In this beautifully got up pamphlet, in language not unworthy of Aurobindo himself, his younger brother hints somewhat mystically at the dawn of a new era and speaks of a synthetic resurrection; of Tolstoyism, he says that India has evolved infinitely greater verities than that. But those who would like to have an idea as to what those verities are, will be lost in a maze of brilliant word painting. The booklet ends in a note which is however quite clear. We quote from the last paragraph: "Already harbingers of the new

race are coming into the world bringing the new light and emanating the supramental powers; these are our spiritual men and avatars... That is what Aurobindo is bringing into the world. He has already ensouled the truth and is perfecting it in himself and others in order to show that it is possible for man to be divine." M. Paul Richard and Mr. Aurobindo Ghose's brother have fully prepared us for the advent of the next avatar. Now that Tolstoyism has gone down with the Mahatma, it was time for Mr. Aurobindo Ghose to display his cards.

*THE MAKING OF A REPUBLIC: By Kevin R. O'Shiel. S. Ganesan, Madras. 1922. Price Rs. 1-8 o.*

Mr. O'Shiel, a gifted Irish writer, narrates in these pages the thrilling story of how America wrought her freedom. The United States did not challenge imperial supremacy without courting an extremely intensive repression campaign. Her meetings and organizations were suppressed as 'illegal', disaffected persons were deported and martial law was proclaimed. America, as Ireland, had her 'loyalists' too, who ranged themselves against the patriots, urged there-to either by fear or by self-interest and were guilty of traitorous deeds. But America flinched not. She answered the onslaughts on her freedom with an intensive and rigorous boycott resulting in a loss of £3,000,000 to England. Her women organised as the 'daughters of freedom', sat at the spinning wheel to clothe the country, while all, excluding faint hearts, worked for economic freedom. "Freedom's highway is a narrow and a thorny road strewn with many obstacles, and those who would walk there must have perseverance, earnestness, self-restraint, and above all, courage, moral as well as physical. An academic belief in liberty is well enough, but it will never set free a country."

*THE AIMS OF LABOUR: By the Rt. Hon'ble Arthur Henderson, M.P., Secretary of the Labour Party. S. Ganesan, Madras. 1922.*

This little book was issued by the author in December 1917 when he was a member of the Imperial War Cabinet. The War was still in progress when the articles were written, and an appeal to moral principles was then in vogue. As Lcky has truly said, 'the essential qualities of national greatness are moral, not material'... If democracy is to take full advantage of the glorious opportunities before it, it can only be as a people individually strong in determination, and fired by moral passion and lofty ideals led by men and women inspired to action by high purpose and unselfish ambition. Democracy will be effective in proportion to the intensity of its spiritual and moral faith, and the power of democracy as a whole will be measured by the loyalty of the individual to principle and by his belief in the moral power of right as against wrong." The democratic ideal is thus set forth: "We must ensure that what is presently to be built up is a new social order, based not on fighting but on fraternity,—not on the competitive struggle for the means of bare life, but on a deliberately planned cooperation in production and distribution for the benefit of all who participate by hand or by brain—not on the utmost possible inequality of riches, but on a systematic approach towards a healthy equality of material circumstances

for every person born into the world—not on a dominion over subject nations, subject races, subject colonies, subject classes, or a subject sex, but in industry as well as in government, on that equal freedom, that general consciousness of consent, and that widest possible participation in power, both economic and political, which is characteristic of true democracy." The following beautiful and inspiring poem of John Addington Symonds is quoted in the title page:

These things shall be! a loftier race  
Than ere the world hath known shall rise,  
With flame of freedom in their souls,  
And light of knowledge in their eyes.  
They shall be gentle, brave and strong  
To spill no drop of blood, but dare  
All that may plant man's lordship firm  
On earth, and fire, and sea, and air.  
Nation with nation, land with land,  
Inarmed shall live as comrades free:  
In every heart and brain shall thro'—  
The pulse of one fraternity.  
New arts shall bloom of loftier mould  
And mightier music fill the skies,  
And every life shall be a song  
When all the earth is paradise.

GURU ARJAN DEV: *The Fifth Sikh Guru. (No. 1 of Sikh Literature series). International Printing Works, Karachi. As. 4.*

This pamphlet gives an inspiring account of the fifth Sikh Guru. The lives of the Sikh Gurus present instances of noble self-sacrifice, unflinching courage and constancy, and heroic martyrdom which have hardly been excelled anywhere in the world and as such they are well worth study in these days of waning faith and polished manners and mercenary ideals.

*THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA: A brief historical survey of parliamentary legislation relating to India. By Sir Courtney Ilbert. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press. 1922.*

This book is written somewhat on the lines of Cowell's Tagore Law Lectures with which our law students are familiar. The author divides the development of British power in India "into three, or possibly four, periods" the first period terminating with the grant of the Dewani, the second with the Sepoy Mutiny and the transfer of the sovereignty from the East India Company to the Crown, the third with the Morley-Minto reforms. "Perhaps a fourth period should now be added and might be called the period of constitutional experiments."

"The Act of 1909 undoubtedly accelerated the pace of constitutional changes, a pace which was further accelerated by the events of the great war. Both Lord Morley and Lord Minto expressly disclaimed any desire or intention to advance towards parliamentary or responsible government. But events are stronger than reformers, and the goal which was emphatically disclaimed in 1908 was as emphatically and authoritatively announced in August 1917."

"The royal message [read at the inauguration of the new Indian legislature on February 9, 1921,] contained the following significant passage: 'For years, it may be for generations, patriotic and loyal Indians have dreamed of Swaraj for their

Motherland. Today you have the beginnings of Swaraj within my Empire, and the widest scope and ample opportunity for progress to the liberty which my other Dominions enjoy?"

The author concludes: "The ideal aimed at by the British Government in India had previously been a benevolent despotism administered by an intelligent bureaucracy. That ideal has now to be reconciled with the desire for self-government with which all Englishmen are bound by their instincts and traditions to sympathise, and which no Englishman can afford to condemn...the executive and legislature at Westminster can best discharge their imperial responsibilities by giving as free a scope as possible to the trial of the great experiment which they have authorized and by refraining from any form of unnecessary, captious, or irritating criticism. Some ten years hence, when the Statutory Commission has reported, it will be easier to say where, how and why the experiment has succeeded or failed. In the meantime our watchword should be patience, sympathy and hope."

**CREATIVE REVOLUTION:** By Prof. T. L. Vaswani. Ganesh & Co., Madras. Price Rs. 1-8-0. 1922.

This is one more volume from the prolific pen of Prof. Vaswani, in which he re-states his political creed in twenty short articles. India's future is not in a revolt, but in a re-evolution, not in sword and bloodshed, but in return to her own life, in a patient building up of Swaraj, in education, in rural life, in cottage industries, in Swadeshi courts, in the making of new minds. We shall be great in the day we recover faith in ourselves.

**THE ETERNAL WISDOM:** By Paul Richard. Vol. 1. Ganesh & Co., Madras, 1922.

This book is neatly printed and strongly bound in cloth and as regards get up, would do credit to any European firm.

The contents are as striking as they are novel in character. This is the first of three volumes in which the work will be completed. The best thoughts of the best religious and ethical writers in all languages, the most inspiring sayings of great authors, the profoundest passages from the scriptures of all nations have been culled and grouped together under appropriate headings—The Upanishads, Buddhist literature, Islam, Judaism, Christianity, Amiel, Emerson, Schopenhauer, Pascal, Montaigne, Kant, etc., among modern authors, ancient classical writers of Greece and Rome, Chinese, Japanese, Egyptian, Persian thinkers, even Babism and Bahaism—all have been laid under contribution. Runkrishna Paramhansa is frequently quoted. It is really a collection of immortal thoughts, culled from every known source. The book is worth its weight in gold, and should be of immense help to those who aspire to live the noble life.

POL.

**WINE IN ANCIENT INDIA:** By Dhirendrakrishna Bose, B. A. Published by K. M. Conner & Co., 130 Bacheazar Street, Calcutta. Pp. 51. Price 1 s. 6 d. or 12 as.

Contains quotations, from various sources, on wine drinking in Ancient India with author's remarks.

**THE ETHICAL AND RELIGIOUS PHILOSOPHY OF IDEALISM:** By N. C. Mukherjee, M. A., Professor of English Literature and Moral Philosophy, Ewing Christian College. Available at the North Indian Christian Tract and Book Society, Allahabad. Pp. XIX+215+179. Price Rs. 3-8 (cloth).

In the author's prefatory note we find the following passage:—

"I have found great help from two sources. The first is the writings of British Idealism which has in a way anticipated this task and has grappled with the problem of how to be true to the old traditional thought and yet outgrow its insularity: the second, the Christian standpoint. I have not found Christian experience, I humbly beg to add, an intellectual lumber; but a very present help instead in all intellectual difficulty. Further, that it is my conviction, that in the national synthesis awaiting our country, Christianity will play an increasing part not merely as an adjunct of Western Civilization, but as an independent force."

The "Introduction" has been written by Professor J. S. Mackenzie who considers the book "to be a work of real value".

The book is divided into two parts, viz.,—

(i) Idealism and the Ethics of Martineau.

(ii) Idealism and Christian Theism.

and, in fact, these two parts are really independent works even having different paginations, only bound under one cover.

The first part is divided into five chapters, the subjects dealt with being (1) Martineau on the object and mode of moral judgment, (2) Idealism and the conception of Law, (3) Is Martineau's Ethics Individualistic? (4) Martineau's View of Moral Freedom and Idealism and (5) Idealism and the Validity of the Moral Idealism. The Good as self-contradictory.

Our author has not followed any particular philosopher in writing the book. His object is to make a synthesis of Idealism and Martineau's Intuitionism, and his criticisms of these are acute and interesting. In this connection the author has ably criticised the ethical theories of Rashdall, Mackenzie and other moralists.

The second part of the book is divided into four chapters, viz.,—

(1) Professor Pringle-Patterson on Creation, (2) God and the Absolute, (3) Idealism and Immortality and (4) Idealism and the Problem of Evil.

This part also is carefully written, and worth reading. But his interpretation of the monistic doctrine "Tat tvam asi" is wrong and what he says of Christ's monistic idea is more than doubtful. Even Professor Mackenzie writes in the Introduction—

"I cannot, however, quite follow him in thinking that some of those affirmations of Unity that are so common in India, such as 'I am God' or 'Tat tvam asi' can be justified, except in a sort of anticipatory sense. I may add that, so far as I can make out from a study of the record, it does not appear that Christ adopted any such mode of statement. The passages in which he appears to do so are of very questionable authenticity and are outweighed by others in which it seems clear that he explicitly rejects any such identification."

The author has not explained what he means by "Christian theism" and where it differs from "Deism or popular theism or from philosophic Theisms."

We have not been able to accept our author's Christology which is now obsolete except among orthodox Christians. But his Christianity does not form any essential part of the book and may be safely ignored.

The book is a valuable production and we have read it with interest and profit.

MATIESCHANDRA GHOSH.

"A HISTORY OF INDIAN PHILOSOPHY": By Surendranath Das, *pta.*, M. A., Ph. D. Vol. I, Cambridge, 1922.

Since the time when H. P. Colebrook opened the field of research in Indian Philosophy by his celebrated essays, European knowledge on that subject has been gradually progressing. The investigation of this subject will probably open the richest store of profound and subtle philosophic thought humanity has ever produced, and it is going on in different countries without interruption and a very considerable amount of work has been achieved and many results established. Some of the Indian Philosophical Systems have been particularly favoured. The Sāṃkhya and Vedānta among the Brahmanical systems, the Bauddha and Jainas among the non-Brahmanical, have seen their principal texts edited and translated, their philosophical constructions analysed. But great as the work already done may be, it is a very long way from completion. Not only are the beginnings of the principal systems and their oldest period merged in darkness, but even some of the later developments, where material is abundant in profusion, have as yet not been seriously tackled. Such outstanding personalities as the Vedāntists Śrīharsha and Madhusūdana Sarasvatī have not yet been introduced to the European Scientific world. The greatest Buddhist philosophers Dignāga and Dharmakīrti are hardly known either in India or in Europe. Nevertheless the time is come when some general review of the whole field becomes to a certain extent possible and highly desirable.

Such a work has been undertaken by S. Dasgupta, Professor of Sanskrit, Chittagong College, Bengal, under the title "A History of Indian Philosophy", the first volume of which has just appeared from the Cambridge University Press. It is the object of this short notice to draw the attention of the readers of this Review to this remarkable publication. The author being Indian by birth has studied his native śāstras from infancy and as a matter of course, in many a subject he possesses a knowledge vastly superior to what any European Professor of Sanskrit can hope to acquire. But in addition to that he devoted much time to the study of European Philosophy and may be said to possess a thorough and profound knowledge of it. Thus it is that in this person we have an excellent example of the wholehearted cooperation of the scholarships of the occident and the orient which is an indispensable condition of progress in the fields of research. An Indian of the old school might possess vast and profound knowledge of his philosophical systems, but this knowledge will be so to say dead, i.e., of no avail to European scholarship, with which he cannot even come in touch. But to express Sāṃkhya in the terms of Schopenhauer and Spinoza, or Dharmakīrti in the terms of Kantian philosophy is the only manner of making them

understood. Exception has been sometimes taken to such comparisons and the fear has been expressed that by such methods we are modernising or Europeanising Indian conceptions, putting into the mouth of ancient Hindus ideas they never had dreamt of. But this censure can affect only superficial, unfounded and hasty comparisons. The problems which philosophy went in to solve were the same in India as in Europe, the methods of course were quite different and the object of the historian is to trace the continuity of problems through the diversity of methods.

In his first volume Professor Dasgupta deals with the Buddhist and Jaina systems and with the six chief brahminical ones. The most brilliant part of his exposition is that in which he deals with the Sāṃkhya system. In a previous work upon the Yoga system\* he has already exposed his views on that system, and so high an authority as Professor H. Jacobi of the Bonn University, had had no hesitation in calling this work "brilliant" and "acute". The Sāṃkhya system is perhaps the one best known in Europe through Professor Garbe's various and numerous works on it. Nevertheless some fundamental features of the system remained a puzzle. The *buddhi* is *jada*, i.e., consciousness unconscious, that everything consists of the mysterious stuffs called *gunas*, which nevertheless represent one single matter—*Pradhāna* and these could not be made comprehensible either by themselves or by any historical review of them and were tacitly disposed of as want of logic in the Indian mind. But convinced as I am that the Indian mind possesses rather an excess, than a deficit of logic, I am always restive at such explanations. Professor Dasgupta makes it plausible that at least some of the Sāṃkhya schools understood under *sattva* intelligence stuff, under *rajas*—energy stuff, *tamas*—mass stuff. We thus have three fundamental elements, mind, matter and energy, which are quite intelligible by themselves as fundamental principles of existence and on the other hand are historically linked up with other Indian systems where they appear, of course, under different names. In his analysis of Buddhist Abhidharma, Vasubandhu reduces the system of elements—*dharma*s—to the same three fundamental elements called *rūpa* *vijñāna* and *samskāra*—matter, mind and forces. Moreover the *sattva* intelligence stuff is very similar to the Buddhist representation of *rūpaprāsāda*, a translucent stuff of which all sense organs are composed of. Prof. Dasgupta following Dr. Söl calls these fundamental elements "reals" and Prakṛiti is only a special condition of equilibrium between them. I would prefer the terms "fundamental element" as the translation of *guna* in this light to the term "real" which, if the Herbartian reals are alluded to, is rather obsolete and does not suggest anything definite by itself. Of course such an interpretation of the *gunas* puts the unity and reality of the Prakṛiti in danger and there has been no deficiency in later attempts to escape the difficulty

\* 'The Study of Patanjali' by S. Dasgupta, Calcutta University, 1922.

† Deutsche Literaturzeitung, 8. 4. 22, article on Bhagavadgītā, 'geistvollen und scharfsinnigen Buch The Study of Patanjali.'

by new interpretations, i. e., that of Venkata. It is generally believed in Europe by Prof. Garbe and others that the atomic theory of matter is inconsistent with the Samkhya system and the occurrence of the term *paramanu* in the yoga sūtras has been explained as not implying technical meaning. Therefore Vijnana Bhikshu has been supposed to have introduced into the system a theory which is altogether foreign to it. Professor Dasgupta makes it clear that there is no more contradiction for the Samkhya to admit atoms than there is in admitting the existence of mahābhūtas and tanmātras and indeed all other tattvas.

It is in the nature of the subject that the history of Indian philosophy consists in a number of separate histories of different systems. Such an arrangement is at the present stage of our knowledge unavoidable though it involves some difficulties. Thus for example the question arises, where is the Buddhist construction of logic to be dealt with? in the history of Buddhist philosophy or in the history of the Nyāya system? Its connection with the Buddhist religion is not so close as to be inseparable. The Tibetan historian Bu ston rinpo-che informs us in his "History of Religion" (chos-ibyun) that logic was regarded by many as a profane science and included in the section of general or technical sciences. On the other hand in the development of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika system the works of the Buddhist Dignāga and Dharmakīrti occupy such a permanent position that it is quite impossible to omit them at this place. The same applies partly to the connection between the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika and Mīmāṃsā systems. Though we do not go so far as to admit that Vaiśeṣika was only a branch of Mīmāṃsā, as Prof. Dasgupta seems to believe, nevertheless the connection in some parts is so close as to make separation difficult. In future when all these interconnections have been detected by detailed investigations a general history will be perhaps possible; at present Prof. Dasgupta acted wisely in keeping to the old arrangement. A full discussion of all the questions raised by Professor Dasgupta's work would require nearly as much space as his book itself occupies. Reserving a fuller discussion for a future occasion we at present would be glad if this short notice succeeds in drawing to it all the attention which such a great work deserves.

TIL. STCHERBATSKY,

Professor of the University of Petrograd, and  
Member of the Russian Academy of Sciences.

A HISTORY OF INDIAN PHILOSOPHY. VOL. I:  
By Surendranath Das Gupta, M.A., Ph.D., Professor  
of Sanskrit, Government College, Chittagong, Bengal,  
Lecturer in Beng. Lit. in the University of Cambridge.  
Published by the Cambridge University Press, London  
Pp. 528.

The book is divided into ten Chapters, viz. :—

(i) Introductory. (ii) The Vedas, Brahmanas and  
Their Philosophy. (iii) The Earlier Upanishads. (iv)

(v) Sāṃkhya. (vi) The Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika Philosophy.  
(vii) Mīmāṃsā Philosophy and (viii) The Sāṃkhya School  
of the Vedānta and also an Index (pp. 495—528).

The Vedic and Brahmanic Period has been briefly dealt with. The treatment of the Upanishadic Period is also brief. Many works on the subject have already been published and the author has therefore limited himself to the dominant current flowing through the earlier Upanishads. Regarding the Buddhist Philosophy, the author says—"My treatment of early Buddhism is in some places of an inconclusive character. This is largely due to the inconclusive character of the texts which were put into writing long after Buddha in the form of dialogues and where the precision and directness required in philosophy were not contemplated. This has given rise to a number of theories about the interpretations of the Philosophical problems of early Buddhism among modern Buddhist scholars and it is not always easy to decide one way or the other without running the risk of being dogmatic; and the scope of my work was also too limited to allow me to indulge in very elaborate discussions of textual difficulties. But still I also have in many places formed theories of my own, whether they are right or wrong, it will be for scholars to judge."

In one place the author says—"With the Upanishads the highest truth was the permanent self, the bliss, but with the Buddha there was nothing permanent. This is the cordial truth of Buddhism... There is no Brahman or Supreme permanent reality" (page 111). Yes, this is the accepted opinion. But we venture to differ. Buddha has, at least in two places, posited the existence of the Absolute (Vide Udana, Pataligāmi, 2-4; and Iti-Vuttaka, 43). What is called the unborn, unoriginated, uncreated, uncompounded in these places is the same as the *Brahman* of Vanjavalkya and Sankara. Moreover the *Nirvana* of Buddha is nothing but the *Nirguna Brahman* of the Upanishads.

The chapters on the Jaina Philosophy and the Kapila and the Patanjali Systems are well written. The author has criticised the Samkhya Philosophy from the Nyaya-standpoint. Some of his remarks are acute. But in one place he says :—

"Again their cosmology of a mahat, ahankara, the tanmatras is all a series of assumptions never testified by experience nor by reason. They are all a series of hopeless and foolish blunders" (p. 276). This stricture is unjustifiable. We may well compare *Prakṛiti* to *Sushupti* (Deep sleep) and *Ahankara* (egoism) is the fully-developed stage of self-consciousness. The *mahat* which is also called *Buddhi*, is an intermediate stage. Whatever may be the modern interpretation of *Buddhi*, originally it must have been the "just-awakened" state of *Prakṛiti*—a state which may be compared to that of a child or that of a man who is just awakened from sleep. The five *tanmatras* are psychic elements of sound, touch, colour, savour and odour. The *Mahābhūtas* are externalisation of the five psychic elements.

The stages of the development of *Prakṛiti*, according to our interpretation of the original Samkhya, are (i) *Prakṛiti* (in Deep Sleep), (ii) The awakening of *Prakṛiti*, (iii) Self-consciousness, (iv) The psychic elements, (v) The material world as the external manifestation of the psychic states.

In one sense the Samkhya system is a form of subjective Idealism which has been fully developed by Fichte.



The author's treatment of the Nyaya-Vaisesika Philosophy is excellent and exhaustive.

The ninth chapter treats of the Mimamsa Philosophy and is well written.

In chapter X the author deals with the Sankara School of the Vedanta. On receiving the book, the first thing I did, was to turn over the leaves with a view to seeing how Gandapada's philosophy was interpreted and I was perfectly satisfied. Some of the chapters of the Karika might or might not have been written by Gandapada but there is no denying the fact, that it is the 'Neo-vedantic' version of the Buddhist Philosophy.

It is a very valuable contribution to the literature of Hindu Philosophy and we congratulate the author on the production of the work. He has, in this book, combined eastern culture with western scholarship. The exposition is clear and explicit. It will supersede all the histories of Indian Philosophy that have been hitherto published. We doubt not, it will be prescribed as a Text Book for Higher Examinations in all the Universities in and outside India. It is indispensable to the students of Philosophy.

**THE NEO-ROMANTIC MOVEMENT IN CONTEMPORARY PHILOSOPHY:** By Shishir Kumar Maitra, M.A., Ph. D., Late Director, Indian Institute of Philosophy, Amalner. Published by the Book Company, Ltd., College Square, Calcutta Pp. 7+268. Price Rs. 5.

The book is divided into nine Chapters, viz.,—(i) General Idea of the Neo-Romantic Movement (ii) The Individualistic Romanticism of Nietzsche (iii) The Race-Romanticism of Chamberlain (iv) The Rhythmic Romanticism of Keyserling and the poetico-religious romanticism of Dilthey (v) Voluntarism and the doctrine of Freedom (vi) Pragmatism (vii) Philosophy of Values (viii) Vitalism and Energism (ix) Philosophy of Bergson with concluding remarks and Index.

In the preface, the author has given a definition of Romanticism. It is "an attempt to view the real in its concrete totality. It is his love for the total, the complete, which makes the romanticist dissatisfied with the rationalists' interpretation of the world. The romanticist is not tied to feeling or the will or any other single principle, though in his anxiety to escape the narrowness of rationalism, he very often stops at one or other as a temporary resting place, as a provisional halting ground in his onward march towards a full and complete realisation of the nature of reality. Romanticism is different from irrationalism, for it aims not merely at a demolition of the rationalist's structure but at a positive construction of its own. The romanticist, in fact, is never satisfied with a merely negative attitude but always seeks a positive constructive world view. His view point also embraces the rationalist's as part of a wider whole, as we see in Bergson who assigns to intellectualism the whole of our practical life."

The book is well-written and worth reading. But instead of drawing his materials for some of the Chapters from Aliotta's Summary, he might have gone to the fountain sources.

In Chapter VII, we miss the name of Hoffding whose "philosophy of value" should have been described by the author, though it has been ignored by Aliotta.

MAHES CH. GHOSH.

## HINDI.

**TATTWA DARSANA, PTS. I AND II.**—By Swami Atmanandaji. Publisher Seth Ranchhoddas Bhawanbhair, Duncan Road, Bombay. Pp. 997. Price not mentioned. 1921.

The problems of philosophy are treated in this work from the stand-point of both eastern and western thinkers. The general tendency of the author is to explain things in the light of Vedanta doctrine. This is a good comparative study of many knotty points of philosophy, and the attempt to ransack materials from every important doctrine is praiseworthy. Though the conclusions of the work may not everywhere be justified, yet the mode of writing is commendable. The unique feature of the work is that there are 2084 sutras divided into 4 chapters, and these sutras are written in Hindi and explained at great length. This work adds to the thoughtful literature in Hindi. The glossaries are useful, though somewhat too much elaborate. Printing mistakes abound all through the work.

**SWARNA-DESKA UDDHARA:** By Indra Vedalankara. Published by Nandalal, Gurukul, Kangdi. Pp. 78. Price 10. as. 1921.

This is a political drama showing how the evils of a country were cured by the efforts of its own inhabitants. The style of the play is chaste and songs are often full of charm and grace.

**MARWAR MEN BEGAR O LAG-BAG:** By Ganesh Narayan Srimani, B.A. Published by Kunwar Chandrakarn Saradai, Rajputana Madhyabharat-Sabha, Ajmer. Pp. 32.

Mr. Srimani is to be thanked for the yeoman's service he has done towards the depressed classes of Marwar in which state 'begar', i.e., forced labour, and other unjust taxes and practices prevail. This sort of social evils should be mercilessly exposed and criticised. We hope the author will direct his searchlight on the other native states which foster the same and similar evils.

**CHITRA VAMSA NIRNAYA, Pt. I.**—By Kamtaprasad Srivastava. Published by the author, Kalimahal, Benares. Pp. 134 and VII. Price 12 as. 1921.

The author has laboured for 20 years and amassed materials for a complete history of the Kayasthas of the Chitragupta clan who are divided into 12 classes outside Bengal. Both the traditional and historical records have been brought under contribution, and the author has made some original researches into the matter of the origin of the Kayasthas. The history has been traced from the earliest to the modern times. The Kayasthas of the Chandrasena clan are incidentally mentioned. The introduction by Prof. Ramdas Gour, M.A., is judiciously written.

**SWARAJYA:** By Siwandprasad Singh, B.A. Published by the Hindi-Gruntha-Bhandara, Benares City. Pp. 48+X. Price -6/- as. 1921.

A few ideas on Swarajya or self-government are expressed in this little book in a good style. The urdu poem of Syed Meherban Ali which is added at the end of the book is quite out of place.

1. *Farbajanik Seva*—pp. 24.
2. *Tairno ki Bidhi*—pp. 16.
3. *Bansi Babu ki Bulbul*—pp. 17.
4. *Scout Burnham*—pp. 39.
5. *Pancha 'Swakara'*—pp. 13.

All these five pamphlets are edited and published by Paba Sitaram, Santabag, Jui, Cawnpur, under the auspices of the Cawnpur Aryakumar-Sabha.

The literature of the Boy Scout Movement is fast growing in U. P. All these pamphlets are sure to be useful and interesting to the boys. The first is an exposition of the duties of a Boy Scout. The second teaches the tactics of Swimming. The third is a story showing how tamed birds may be trained to render useful services to men. The fourth is the short life of Scout Burnham of South African fame who endangered his life on many occasions. The fifth teaches how the culture of the 'self' is at the bottom of every enterprise of men.

RAMES BASU.

### MARATHI.

**TILAK CHARITRA :** By Gangadhar Krishna Lele, B.A., and Vaman Tryambaka Apte, B.A. Published by Sankar Hari Mule, Budhwar Peth 596, Poona. Pp. 350 + XI. Price Rs. 2. 1921.

The life and work of the late B. G. Tilak are delineated in this work in their various phases. The authors have tried to be as comprehensive as possible. This work has supplied a long-felt want. The short introduction written by Ganesh Srikrihna Khaparde is interesting. The get-up should have been improved.

**LOKMANYANCHIA SWARGIYA SANDES :** By Lakshman Narayana Joshi. Published by Sankar Hari Mule, Maharashtra Granthalaya, Poona. Pp. 96. Price 10 as. 1921.

A few thoughts on politics and the last war are recorded in this work. The message of the late B. G. Tilak whose life-mission was 'work' and nothing else, will inspire those who lack courage and inspiration.

**KABITA-SANGRAHA, PTS. I AND II :** By Sitaram Maharaj. Published by Krishnarao Sitaram Desai, Malwan, Ratnagiri. Price Re. 1 + Re. 1. 1920-21.

Philosophical poems of the author are collected under various heads. The poems are of the old-day type 'abhangas', written expressly to teach moral lessons, without any touch of imagination. The life of the author is given in the second part. This sort of poetical exercise cannot enrich a literature; especially any modern literature cannot suffer such didactic poems to be ranked with creative literature.

RAMES BASU.

### TAMIL.

**MAHATMA GANDHI :** A translation of the Rev. Holmes' second speech in full and of the extract of his first speech. Publishers V. Narayanan and Co., 4, Kondi Chetty St., Madras. Pp. 50 + ii. Five annas.

This is an useful addition to the political literature of Tamil Nadu. The language of the translator is simple and elegant and maintains throughout the tenour of original speeches. The book could have been well printed on better paper and printer's devils too avoided.

MADHAVAN.

### GUJARATI.

**Haji Mahomed Smarak Granth ( હાજી મહમદ સમારક ગ્રંથ ) :** By Ravishankar Mahasankar Raval, of Ahmedabad. Printed at the Diamond Jubilee Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Cloth bound. Pp. 526. Price Rs. 6. (1922).

The Late Haji Mahomed Allarakhia Shivaji, a Khoja Mahomedan, in the very short public literary career he was destined to run, had achieved much, and the illustrated monthly he edited, called the Twentieth Century ( વિમિસદી : વીસવી સદી ), was an epoch-making event in Gujarati Literature. Just as in the writing of novels, the fashion set by Saraswati Chandra was being imitated for a long time, so in his publication of periodicals Haji Mahomed has been imitated by his contemporaries, and successors. A man of great refinement and taste, the possessor of one of the finest libraries in India of books bearing on Omar Khayyam, he was by nature adapted for the work he inaugurated. He knew how to make others write for his periodical, he knew whom to send for a particular subject, he discovered latent talent. Sweet persuasiveness was a trait of his character, and needless to say, he made a host of friends. His ambition was to produce a *Strand Magazine* in Gujarati, and his inborn aptitude for selecting proper illustrations and going to proper artists for his work went a long way in the carrying out of his ideal. Every issue of his periodical was always properly, profusely and attractively illustrated, and during its brief existence, what with its humorous skits and what with its historical romances it was able to penetrate into almost every house of Gujarat. The enterprise however did not pay. It died with the death of its editor, and that for two reasons. Excessive expense, in spite of a high rate of subscription, had made it insolvent, and secondly no one else could be found to continue it, possessing Haji Mahomed's intuitive equipment for the task. This memorial volume, which contains various accounts of Haji Mahomed's life and activities from the pens of his numerous friends, and articles contributed in his memory, is the loving tribute paid to him by a close friend and constant artist, Mr. Raval. The artistic get up of the book with nearly one hundred and thirty-five illustrations of the very best type and its contents leave nothing to be desired. If the deceased himself had thought of bringing out a memorial volume, he could not have improved upon this. The love, affection and regard which his friends bore him, have been fully reflected in the feeling mementos furnished by them. The volume, in our opinion, is a unique work and will take a high place in the ranks of such books.

**SHRI DHANYA KUMAR CHARITRA ( શ્રીધન્યકુમાર ચરિત્ર ) :** By the Late Ratilal Girdharlal Kapadia, B. A., published by the Jain Dharma Prasarak Sabha of Bhavnagar, printed at the Sharda Vijay Printing Press, Bhavnagar. Cloth bound. Pp. 707. Price Rs. 2-8. (1922.)

This is a translation from Sanskrit of a prose work, which itself is an amplification of a poetic work (by a Jain Sadhu Jaikirti Suri, and called the

દાન કરવાનું), on charitable gifts by Shriyut Jnan Sagar Gani. It sets out in very simple Gujarati in the forms of stories and sub-stories, the merits of gifts and help to the deserving (સુપાચદાન). The style is made specially easy, so that even children and women can understand the blessings of donations to the deserving poor.

VASANT, a very short story of 12 pages, written by the late Mrs. Aryaman Mehta, deserves notice simply because it is written by a woman. It is the story of a little boot-black, who because of his honesty succeeded in life.

VIBHISHAN NITI: By Brahmacharis Satyabrat and Narendra, published by Kavi Popatlal Sharma. Printed at the Purandara Pathak Printing Press, Bombay. Paper cover. Pp. 84. Price Rs. -8 (1922.)

The well known dialogue between Vibhishan and Ravan has been rendered into Sanskrit and their translation into Gujarati. It necessarily is concerned with moral truths.

RUP LILA: By Bhagvandas Lakshmisankar Mankad, B. A., of Rajkot. Printed at the Adarsha Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Cloth cover. Pp. 176. Price Rs. 2 (1922).

A collection of original songs and poems relating to the loves of Krishna and the Gopis and scenes of Nature, couched in sweet language, with just a flavor of Kathiawadi dialect: the book is well worth reading.

JAY BHARATI: By Shyda, printed at the Akhbari Islam Printing Press, Bombay. Cloth cover. Pp. 112. Price Re 1-4 (1922)

A most spirited poem written in a heroic vein, in the form of *musaddas*, i.e., six line stanzas, as written in Persian and Arabic, it brings out very feelingly the love of the poet for India and recalls her past with an exhortation to all her sons to unite in bringing about her regeneration, without distinction of caste or creed. The writer is a Mohammdan but he is equally at home in the religious literature of the Hindus as of his own community. The stanzas err very often according to the canons of prosody, but when we remember that the composer has received education of the most elementary kind, we should be prepared to overlook this fault in view of the composition being very well executed on the whole.

RAILWAY KAYDA: ( રેલવે કાયદા ) Part II: By Jairoj Gokaldas Nensy.

This is a very small handbook containing Railway rules in Gujarati for information of the travelling public.

RAS ( રાસ ): By Keshavlal Hargovind Sheth, printed at the Saraswati Printing Press, Umreth. Paper cover. Pp. 64. Price as. -12 (1922.)

This collection of poems written with a high ideal, viz., to give ladies some popular songs in the new style, contains compositions good, bad and indifferent, but all the same, many of them can be sung well, and that is at least a favourable feature of this book.

KAVI VANI ( કવિવાની ) PARTS 1, 2, 3: Published by the Vile Parle Sahitya Sabha, printed at the Lady Northcote Printing Press, Bombay. Cloth cover. Price 3-6: 0-5-6: 0-6-6 (1922).

The new National schools required text books of select Gujarati poems—old and new, and these three parts furnish a very representative selection.

THE PRESENT POLITICAL STATE OF RUSSIA ( રશીયાનું વાસ્તવિક રાજ્યતંત્ર ): Printed at the Hindustan Printing Press, Bombay. Paper cover. Pp. 95. Price as. 0-6-0. (1922)

It was necessary that those who do not know English should become acquainted with the present "Soviet" state of Russia. William Foster's book is one of the latest productions on the subject and this translation furnishes a very good picture of that unhappy country at the present moment.

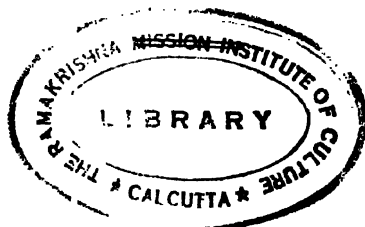
NAGAROPATTI ( નાગરોપત્તિ ): By Manshan-  
kar Pitambaras Mehta, Bhavnagar, Printed at the Diamond Jubilee Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Cloth cover. Pp. 102. Price Re. 1-0-0 (1922).

The Nagar Brahmins of Gujarat and Kathiawad are a most important and intelligent community, almost the premier one in this province. No systematic attempt was till now made to trace their origin. Mr. Manshankar certainly deserves to be congratulated for the way in which he has utilised all available sources to compile his book, though one may not agree with all his conclusions. It is sure to furnish interesting reading to members of other communities also.

PRACHIN SAHITYA ( પ્રાચીન સાહિત્ય ): By Mahadev Haribhai Desai and Narahari Dwarkadas Parikh, Printed at the Diamond Jubilee Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Pp. 125. Price as. 12 (1922).

A series of books for resuscitating the past of India has been planned and this book, which is a translation of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore's Prachin Sahitya, telling the tales of the Ramayana and other events in his own inimitable style, is a laudable effort to acquaint Gujaratis with it. We are afraid, however, that the book will be found difficult to be understood by the masses.

K. M. J.



## SAYAJI SCIENTIFIC TERMINOLOGY

( श्री सयाजी वैज्ञानिक शब्द-संग्रह । प्रकाशक, विद्याधिकारी कचेरी—भावा-सरमाळा, वडीदरा राजा ।  
वडीदरा इ' स' २९२० )

**T**His list of about 8000 Scientific terms in Gujarati has been compiled by the Translation Bureau of the Education Department of His Highness The Maharaja of Baroda with a view to enrich the language for the diffusion of western science among the people. As such it is one of the acts of His Highness which have made his administration progressive in his State. Western science must be made accessible to those who do not and cannot learn the English language. For, apart from the value of scientific knowledge as an instrument of education our material prosperity depends on the study of the sciences, not by the few of University education but by the majority of those who form the backbone of our country. We have therefore to consider how best the object may be obtained and what system of scientific nomenclature and terminology adopted.

The list has been before us for some time, and the delay in reviewing it is due more to the intrinsic difficulty of the task than to the want of leisurely study which it demands. The importance and difficulty of preparing a list of scientific terms which may satisfy all who have bestowed any thought on the subject can be appreciated only by those who have ever attempted to write on any scientific topic in their Indian vernaculars. We therefore welcome this list as a contribution to the solution of one of the most intricate questions which confront us.

We shall briefly state the problems which are involved in the preparation of scientific terminology for India. (1) Should the terms be such as may be adopted in all Indian languages? In other words, should the terms be common to all the principal languages, or should each language have a set as different as its common words? The importance of the question will be easily realized if we point to analogous problems. The idea of having one language for the whole of India which may be used by the masses and not by the few educated only is certainly Utopian. But the idea of our common script for the various languages may not be extravagant. There was in Calcutta a society एकाक्षरविद्वान् परिषद् whose object was to introduce a common script (Devā nagari) for the whole of India. The task is undoubtedly beset with difficulties; but all well-wishers of the country will hail with

delight any practical scheme for the unification of our various scripts. Europe and America have various languages, but most countries have one common script, viz. the Roman script. Similarly, in spite of the differences in the languages most of the scientific terms are *essentially* the same. The advantage is obvious, and as an illustration we may state that it is possible for a student of science of our Indian universities to be able to understand scientific literature in German in less than three months' study of the language. There are more than one hundred and fifty different languages in India but these are reducible to half a dozen types, and there is no reason why we should not have a common set of scientific terms. Mahatma Gandhi has advised us to learn the Hindi language, and if our brethren speaking the Dravidian languages can take to it, the question of a common vehicle of thought is to a large extent solved. For, there still remains the question of unifying Hindi and Hindustani or Urdu. The two languages have the same grammar but not the same vocabulary, and the consequence is that pure Hindi drawing its words mostly from Sanskrit is unintelligible to an Urdu-knowing person as much as Urdu drawing its words mostly from Persian and Arabic is to a Hindi-knowing one. Gujarati, we understand, has analogous difficulties. There are Hindi Gujarati, Parsi Gujarati, and Mahomedan Gujarati, the three generally agreeing in grammar but not in vocabulary. When we desire to have a common scientific terminology we want all the languages to adopt a certain set of words which will be an addition to the stock of each, just as they have been assimilating English words.

(2) The difficulty is, however, not yet solved. For, Sanskrit being the language of the literature of Hindu civilization, a Hindu will naturally understand a Sanskrit word more easily than an Arabic word. The contrary is the case with a Mahomedan. Bengal is peculiarly fortunate in this respect. It may not be known to the readers outside Bengal that though Mahomedans form as large a population as Hindus, both speak and write the same language which sometimes, as in the famous song बन्दे मातरम्, closely approaches Sanskrit. If this has been possible in a large province in the matter of its language of every day use, it

is perhaps not idle to expect, in view of the preponderance of the Sanskrit languages, non-Sanskrit languages to adopt Sanskrit terminology. Of course this will undergo such changes as the peculiarities of each language will demand. So long as the stem is visible, it matters little what the forms of the leaves and flowers are. At any rate Sanskrit can easily be made the basis of the scientific names of natural objects, such as animals and plants, for the simple reason of these being known mostly by Sanskrit names however modified or corrupted they may have been. Here again an exception has to be made to the Dravidian languages whose words for natural objects are entirely different. Yet it is preposterous to think that we can assimilate into our languages thousands of Latin names of things with which we are familiar by their Indian names. We shall have to construct our Floras and Faunas in which the Latin names of Europe will find mention only for the use of advanced students. This alone is a stupendous task requiring patient labour for years. But once these are prepared, time-honoured medical sciences of India at least will be saved the confusion caused by the various vulgar names by which the medicinal plants are known in each province, sometimes in different parts of the same province.

There are yet other issues which require careful consideration. (3) Should all scientific terms in use in English be rendered into Sanskrit, or some into Sanskrit, some into the language of each province, and others bodily taken into it? This question is far more intricate than the above, and there was discussion for years in the Journal of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad of Calcutta in which the present writer took some part. There are two classes of words in use in science, viz., (a) words expressing action or process, and (b) words which may be called proper names. There was unanimity in the opinion that the first class of words should be translated into Sanskrit or into Bengali whichever comes handy. But the second class of words could not be so easily disposed of. Besides the names of natural objects, there are the names of artificial objects which owe their origin to some act or process. For instance, take the simple word 'engine' with its various adjectival adjuncts, like the steam engine, oil engine, gas engine, locomotive engine, etc. The word **यन्त्र** 'a machine' is too vague to stand for an engine, which name, by the way, has been adopted by the common people. Take again the name 'theodolite' or 'the level' of Engineers. There are hosts of such names, some of which, in our opinion, should be bodily taken into our languages. But where is the line to be drawn? And we know: every controversy hinges on details.

The name of chemical elements and compounds were found to be most difficult to deal with. There were enthusiasts who would not be satisfied unless each of the hundred elements

and their thousand compounds were given Sanskrit names and the latter names formed in conformity with Sanskrit grammar. And the advocates of this opinion, among whom there was the late talented Principal Ramendra Sundar Trivedi, formed the majority. The present writer was the only person who was opposed to this idea, and wrote an elementary text book of chemistry in which the English names were shortened and given a Bengali appearance. These names may have a history, but are mere symbols to a foreigner. In the majority of the names the etymology is of little value. It was found that whatever ingenuity might be displayed in coining Sanskrit names of the elements, it was almost impossible to preserve Sanskrit grammar in naming the compounds. There was again the larger question of symbols, formulae and equations. When these were devised, a new chemistry would be created to the utter bewilderment of the teachers who had been taught in English and the taught who might seek further knowledge in that language. We cannot forget that the language of chemistry is highly technical and that a large number of chemical compounds are commercial products and as such are sold by their English names. Will our Doctors practising European system of medicine persuade themselves to eschew the Latin names and use the names of medicines which an Academy might coin? Will the druggists learn two sets of names of their drugs? If these were few, or if the drugs were occasionally required only in large towns, we might insist on the doctors' and druggists' learning the Indian names. There are also European doctors who cannot be expected to prescribe medicines in our way. Our Homœopathic practitioners, whose status and relation with their Western brethren are not rigorously defined, never think of discarding such names as Aurum or Natrum muriaticum however common the articles bearing the names may be. The simple reason is that when any one learns an art from another, he adopts the equipment and learns the names from his teacher. Go to an engineering workshop and you will find the Indian workmen naming not only the tools but also their work as they have heard from their masters or in the way their ears could catch the sounds. In the same way the ancients did not hesitate to accept Greek names of the signs of the Zodiac in spite of the Sanskrit names they had been using. Because they are mere symbols, and symbols are an insignificant part of a language. How many of us know or care to know that **गन्धक** is so called because it emits a peculiar smell when thrown upon fire, or that the common tree **वृक्ष** received this name because it covers a large space? Look at the English language which has incorporated many of our Indian words. In fact, the test of a living language is found in the power of assimilating foreign words and the ideas conveyed by them, and it

is precisely in this way that a language grows just as our body grows by assimilating food which is foreign to it. It was principally these aspects of the question which led the writer of the chemistry freely to incorporate English names and treat them as Bengali in forming the compound names. He was ridiculed by an eminent critic, but has the satisfaction of witnessing after two decades a complete change in the attitude of his opponents. For practical world is not a dream-land where fancy's creation can have an abiding place. English names are now freely used in books and lectures, and no one, we believe, is worse for them.

There is yet a fourth issue, and we have to decide whether the English terms should be literally translated or the concept expressed by a suitable word. It is well-known many scientific terms have undergone changes in definition since they were invented. For instance, the term 'cell' as understood in modern Biology is no more a closed cavity than oxygen a generator of acids in Chemistry. In the majority of cases it seems advisable to examine the derivation and to coin suitable equivalent in order that we may easily recall the original if we happen to know them in English. The task of finding equivalents again is by no means easy. A term has, however, no chance of currency even in the limit of the language of a Province unless it satisfies three conditions, viz., (1) it should be easily understood, that is to say, it should convey some idea of the fact itself; (2) it should be short and easily pronounced; and (3) it should easily lend itself to the formation of adjectives and compound words. It is not possible for a single person, however competent he may be in his subject, to be happy in coining new names, or to discover the desired equivalent in Sanskrit literature, if Sanskrit be recognised as the chief basis.

The Bangiya Sahitya Parishad took up the question of scientific terminology more than a quarter of a century ago, and lists of terms relating to different branches of science were published from time to time in the Journal of the Society. It was, however, soon recognised by some of the leading members who were interested in the preparation that such lists were almost as useless as hoarded wealth, since Bengali was not the medium of instruction in schools and colleges, and no text-books were wanted in the language except a few elementary ones for use in Bengali schools. Moreover it was found that authors of standard works and not necessarily compilers of terms are the best judges of their suitability. The initial impetus being thus lacking the lists were not collated, emended and enlarged, and published in a book form. In the mean time, writers on scientific topics in Periodicals and Newspapers have been freely coining fresh words according to their ability and temporary necessity, often oblivious of the fact that the scientific terms of a language are of more permanent value than

the metallic coinage of a country. We fully appreciate their difficulties, but the fact remains that they have often added fresh difficulties by giving currency to terms which have to be discarded because the authors have confined their attention to portions of a vast domain instead of surveying the whole. It is often hard to check the spread of wrong terms, especially if some reputed writer happens to be the father. To give a few well-known instances from Bengali. The name 'thermometer' means an instrument for measuring (*thermos*) heat; and it was given the name তাপ-মান accordingly. The word has long been in use, and physicians and Para writers of Newspapers have been writing such nonsense as 100 degrees of heat. Imagine the confusion of ideas for which this single word is responsible. It is no argument to say that the English name is equally faulty. Why should we go through the same earlier stages of evolution which the English names underwent when we have the correct idea before us? Far more appropriate would be the word উষ্ণ-মান, if not শীত-মান. Both the words উষ্ণ(ত্ব) and শীত convey the idea of temperature exactly. We speak of শীত (which is गरम in Urdu) as bearable or unbearable and it may not be generally known to the readers that our almanacs annually publish forecast of summer temperature in the name of শীত as they do of cloud proportion, rain-fall, wind and many others. It is an undoubted advantage to restore a word of common use and make its meaning precise by definition. The idea would then filter down to the masses without their being aware of it. Besides, we want a word for calorimeter, and তাপ-মান is the right word for it.

We are glad to note that thermometer has been named উষ্ণ-তাপ-মাত্র in the Sayaji list, but feel surprised that the same word has been made to stand for calorimeter also which has been named উষ্ণ-মাত্র. There is no difference between তাপ-মাত্র and মাত্র in meaning.

We find that 'heat' has been translated as উষ্ণ and that 'temperature' has been omitted, though the instrument for measuring it is there! Sanskritists would perhaps find fault with the form উষ্ণ instead of উত্তপ্ত in the compound words. We are, however, personally in favour of the form উষ্ণ in spite of Sanskrit grammar for the simple reason that the people are not expected to know Sanskrit. Besides, it is simpler to use the word উষ্ণ for temperature, and উষ্ণ-মাত্র for thermometer.

Take again the word coined for Eugenics. It is যুগলজন বিদ্যা, much in evidence in our monthlies. The word is barbarous, to say the least

of it, and shows how recklessly writers have been coining new words many of which are bound to be still-born. The word has this additional weak point that compound words cannot be easily derived from it. We suggest **सुखन विद्या** for the science and easily derive **सुखनिक** for Eugenists and eugenic, and **सुखनिकता** for the principles and practice of the science. (We find the Sayaji List has **सुखन शास्त्र** for Eugenies which though somewhat better is not free from the defects stated just now.)

The two examples given above will show how difficult it is to satisfy the primary conditions for successful preparation of scientific terminology. The field is vast, but workers are few. A large number of words so far coined are undoubtedly satisfactory, though we cannot forget that a larger number is nothing but haphazard creations of jumble by writers who had apparently no thought for a system—many have faith in Dictionaries, Anglo-Sanskrit or Anglo-vernacular. But dictionaries are seldom reliable, because the authors are precisely in the same position as we are. They are helpful in suggesting words, which, however, cannot be accepted without critical examination. If the words occur in Sanskrit, even then we are not sure of correct identification by the authors of the dictionaries unless there is evidence to show that they possessed scientific knowledge sufficient to enable them to hit at the right thing. A regular search in Sanskrit literature is necessary before we bring forward a new word, not only because the old words offer connecting links with the present, but also because we may be sure they are more expressive than their modern substitutes. Sometimes we find the required terms in unexpected quarters. A syphon, for instance, is **स्युष** in Bhaskaracharya whom few would consult for such an instrument. It is, however, far more descriptive than **वक्त्रवाही** invented by us. In fact we are struck with admiration by the simplicity, elegance and suitability of the names invented by our ancestors. Look at the surgical instruments of Susruta and think of the names given to them.

We doubt if any of us could invent half the names so well. The fact is, we translate English ideas, while the ancients had the real things before them. The same difference is observed in the mental attitude of the English-educated and the uneducated at the present day. A motor car is a **हवा गाड़ी** to the latter, while it is **वहन गाड़ी** in the Sayaji List because there is the word 'motor' obtruding itself.

The Nagari-pracharini Sabha of Benares shewed commendable zeal in the cause of education by publishing a good-sized volume of scientific terms under the name Hindi Scientific

Glossary. We cannot too highly admire the earnestness, perseverance and devotion of the Sabha in bringing the work to a successful termination. The services of a large number of well-informed gentlemen, among whom there were some whose authority was well recognised, not only of the United Provinces but also of others were requisitioned. And what we value more is the system followed in the selection of words. The Glossary dealt with seven branches of science and was published in 1906. It was the result of assiduous labour extending over eight years under the able and indefatigable editor, Srijut Syamsundar Das. It has imperfections, as the Editor acknowledges, but it must be justly said that it serves the most useful purpose of a working basis. The chief defect, if we may venture to call it, is the fact that the Glossary was intended for use in Hindi only as the name indicates. There are certainly hundreds of terms in the Glossary which any Sanskrit language may adopt, because these are Sanskrit. But there are others for which every other Sanskrit language must find equivalents to suit it. It was premature at that time to attack the larger question of an Indian terminology. But we are sure this question would have arisen, had the Sabha included Biology and Geology in the Glossary.

We have too long let the Dravidian languages alone and do not consider it our duty to be in touch with them. Yet the four principal languages of the south are spoken by no less than one-fifth of the population of India and have a history more ancient than those of the north. These languages also must have felt the necessity of scientific terminology. We are not aware what lines they have adopted. We understand a Translation Bureau has been established under the Education Department of His Highness the Nizam's Government. Urdu is the medium of instruction, and we suppose scientific terms in Urdu have been coined. We imagine also that Arabic which once gave science to Europe has contributed a large number of terms. The terminology will, however, be of considerable interest to us by showing what chance there may be of a common terminology, and especially of nomenclature for the whole of India. Mysore and Travancore like Baroda, where the medium of instruction is the peoples' vernacular, cannot have remained idle, for in their case the matter is urgent. We hope some of the readers of this Review will kindly give us brief accounts of the attempts which have been made in the different languages known to them.

The attempts so far made in the different languages may not have been successful, but being more or less independent will show the line along which a common nomenclature and also terminology may be prepared. The first step should therefore be to appoint a Central Committee for the whole of India and a standing committee of specialists and non-specialists in each Province, if it does not exist, and the first

business of the Central Committee will be to collect opinion of and discuss general principles with, the Provincial Committees. These will then be reviewed at a Conference of the representatives of the committees and passed with such modifications as may be considered necessary. Each Committee will now be asked to prepare lists, which after scrutiny by two editors from the Provincial Committee will be placed before the Conference for discussion and final adoption by the country. The list thus prepared should of course be published in Nagari for use of the public, subject to revision and emendation every tenth year. It is needless to remind the readers that many a question affecting India as a whole has to be decided in a similar way. To name another outside politics, a common almanac (not of course the calendar) cannot have chance of adoption unless it is backed by an authority, the opinion of the country. Conferences are neither new to us, they date at least from the pre-Buddhistic period, and one remarkable instance is recorded in Charaka at which physicians met to discuss matters relating to medicine.

We have dwelt at length upon the fundamental problems involved in the preparation of scientific terminology as an introduction to the Sayaji List in the hope that the enlightened and forward Baroda will kindly take the lead. For, we are informed by the Editor of the Hindi Scientific Glossary that "the first organised effort to publish a series of scientific work in any Indian vernacular was made in the year 1888 by Prof. T. K. Gajjar under the patronage of His Highness Maharaja Sayaji Rao Gaekwar of Baroda. In that year His Highness was pleased to sanction a sum of Rs. 50,000 for the purpose of creating a vernacular series of works on scientific and technical subjects". There is no wonder that Prof. Gajjar did not find the task as easy as he anticipated". We have enumerated some of the difficulties which he had to overcome. But times are now somewhat changed, and the chaos of early days has now taken definite shape.

Now let us turn to the Sayaji List and see how far it has succeeded in meeting the issues. In the preparation, we are told, many Dictionaries of the English, Sanskrit and Marathi languages, the Hindi Scientific Glossary, the terms proposed by the Bangiva Sahitya Parishad, and various books by reputed authors including अनुज्ञप्ति, and some of the Purans have been consulted. Even a partial survey of the books mentioned is sure to furnish a stock of words at once appropriate and useful.

But as we glance at the contents of the List, three facts strike us: (1) That out of the 8000 words a large number has no claim to be regarded as technical. For instance, barley बर, bear-garden बरबाड़ा, bicycle दिक्कौ,

calf बत्तरी, charcoal कोयलो, dairy दोरखाना, fry नौनाख (?), garlic लसख, hall बखष (?), imitation अनुसरख, अनुकरख, kiln भट्टी, local खासिक, madeira मदिरा (?), news सबाचार, News-paper सबाचार-पत्र, pomade, pomatum केसादहन, &c., &c. (2) That the words having been arranged in an alphabetical order it has been difficult to ascertain whether any important terms have been left out and whether the differences in the definition of related terms have been maintained. The authors would have been well advised, had they treated the terms of each branch of science separately. The nomenclature of Chemistry has been dealt with at one place, much to the convenience of readers. One should have liked to see the same plan followed in other cases, especially because the List is a tentative one and as such subject to revision. We believe this procedure would have enabled the authors to avoid the apparent mistakes which have crept into the List. For, instance, sinew झारु, muscle झारु, नाइपेन्नी; notochord पृष्ठबन्ध, vertebra करिड्का, vertebrate पृष्ठ-बन्धी; Sapotaceae राखबनी वन (of the order राख which, however, we do not know); Santalaceae चन्दनसुत कुटुम्ब (the family of चन्दन). More numerous are the cases of omission.

For instance there is granite, but not gneiss; genus, but not species; induction (of Logic) but not deduction; hybrid, but not cross; node (of Botany), but not internode; catabolism, but not anabolism; muscae volitantes (of medical science), but not cataract; mastodon, but not mammoth; &c. (3) There are names or terms, many of which we confess we seldom came across. For instance, hydrophore in physics, hydrophyle in Botany, hyetology in meteorology, Oenology in Chemistry, &c. Our attention is drawn to these little known terms in the List which is by no means exhaustive. It seems the compilers went through a large English Dictionary like Webster's and culled the words for which they could suggest equivalents. A far easier and wiser course would have been to collect the terms from the Index of standard books on each science, elementary or advanced, according to the requirement.

In naming the subjects of which terms are given, the authors do not appear to have been consistent, some are called विद्या, others शास्त्र. Anthropology is named नृवंशविद्या at the opening page, but जातिविद्या in the body. Similarly philosophy तत्त्वविद्या and तत्त्वज्ञान, politics नवशास्त्र and राजनीति. We do not know why the authors could not make up their mind in naming the subjects. We are, however, opposed to the use of the word शास्त्र to mean a science. To the



majority of Hindus the word conveys the idea of a sacred treatise or scripture, and though we have such names as लीतिवशाज्, ज्ञानवशाज्, or अक्षरवशाज्, these naturally imply branches of knowledge written in Sanskrit often by persons who are considered as authorities.

The nomenclature of Chemistry has been given in one place. We notice that except the few Sanskrit names of metals known to us, all the elements have been given either Sanskrit or Sanskrit-looking names. Thus

Actinium किरा  
Aluminium आलुमिना  
Bismuth बिस्मथ  
Cadmium कादम  
Cobalt कोबाल्ट  
Didymium द्विदु  
Hydrogen आर्द्रवायु  
Oxygen प्राक्वायु  
Nitrogen नत्र  
&c. &c.

In this attempt at Sanskritizing the names we find neither rhyme nor reason. We cannot discover any principle followed in the coining. At any rate it is unsystematic, whatever ingenuity may have been displayed in certain cases. We admit, certain boldness is required in naming new things, but unless the names indicate some obvious and striking property they have no chance of being accepted. We are not in favour of some names ending in क्, some in वै, some in अक्ष, some in व, &c., &c. Hydrogen has been named आर्द्रवायु which in our languages can mean only moist air. Far better is उज्ज्वल given in the Hindi Glossary.

More systematic is the attempt at finding the names of compounds. For example, *etc* is इत असल्फेट गन्धकित्, *ite* आसित असल्फिट गन्धकित्, *ic* क् as phosphoric प्रक्खर्कक, &c. Such desperate attempts to give an Indian garb to mongrels serve no useful purpose. If we can reconcile ourselves to इत for *etc*, why can we not make *etc* एत? Where is the harm if we call *ide* इद instead of इक् as proposed? The nomenclature of Organic Chemistry would have revealed to the authors the absurdity of fanciful creation. The few names of Organic compounds given in the List, which are unfortunately not put together, do not give us much hope of success.

Fewer still are the names of rocks and minerals. Neither are they available unless one goes through the entire List. We therefore pass

on to physics. Let us take the units of measurement.

Metre मीत्र  
Decimetre दशममि  
Centimetre सतांशमि  
Millimetre मील सप्तर्षि  
Kilometre सहस्रमि

These few examples will show that this part of the work did not receive much attention. There is novelty in translating 'Gramme' and 'Kilogramme' by ग्राम् and सहस्रग्राम्. Perhaps the idea occurred from our weights पात्रक; but while our weights रति (रत्निका) and माषा represent actual weights of the seeds, a ग्राम् would be fictitious. As a Kilogramme and *seer* (Sansk. शरत्) are equal, it is possible to construct a metric system based on this fact.

None of the units of heat, work, and electricity occur in the list, though curiously enough Volt वोल्ट and Volt-ampere वोल्ट-अम्पियर are there. But माण cannot stand for ampere. Electricity has been called विद्युत्; but we want a word for lightning which in Bengali at least is known to the people as बिजुत्. The Sayaji List has omitted lightning and has therefore no need for it. We notice that in the Hindi Glossary too electricity is विद्युत् and lightning is तड़ित्. As far as we know the popular word for the latter is बिजली or बिजुत्, and not तड़ित्. It will be an useless attempt to take up common words in use by the people and to give them the definitions of science without sacrificing accuracy. In Bengali we have adopted तड़ित् and even ताड़ित to distinguish it from बिजुत्, and to signify that it is something related to it.

In Astronomy no attempt has been made to name the constellations or the principal stars except a very few. But Cepheus has no claim to be called किरोटो. The term ecliptic does not occur, but there is longitude रेखाच. It is not clear whether रेखाच is terrestrial or celestial. In either case it is a misnomer. On the other hand बिजु-उत्त certainly denotes celestial equator. It is more difficult to guess why a circle has been translated as ग्लोब which we ordinarily take to mean a ball, a globular body. It seems the authors of the List did not consult the Hindi Glossary or the Bangiya lists which

are full in astronomical terms. It is to be remembered that in the preparation of astronomical and mathematical part of the Hindi Glossary, the Sabha was fortunate in having the advice of late M. M. Sudhakar Divedi whose authority in the matter of Sanskrit mathematics was unquestionable.

The largest number of names occur of course in Zoology and Botany, and the Sayaji List abounds in Biological terms. Unfortunately, as we have to remark once more, these have not been placed together and we find it difficult to test their appropriateness. Fortunately for an Indian terminology the names of classes and orders of animals and plants can be easily and correctly translated into Sanskrit, and the Sayaji List has been happy in this respect. There are, however, some errors in identification of animals and plants. For instance, shark is शक and not कुशोर, Hordeum (vulgare) is शव and not जुवार, Morinda tinctoria (citrifolia) is शव and not मल्लिष्टा. We do not know Gujarati and are therefore not in a position to offer opinion on the identification of plants and animals whose Gujarati names have been given. More serious are, however, such errors as the following :—

Bryology शैवस्यविद्या  
Algology शैवस्यविद्या  
Or  
Bacterium सूक्ष्मजन्तु  
Bacteriology जन्तुविद्या  
Bacillus देवजन्तु  
or even  
Lily लिली : पद्म  
Linen लिन ( while Linum is correctly called  
लिनरी ).

Human Anatomy and physiology have contributed certain terms. Physiology has been named देहविद्या, देहवर्णविद्या : neither of which appears to us satisfactory. The first is too vague and may denote even morphology, and the second is cumbrous. We suggest शरीरविद्या for physiology, and शरीर आकार for anatomy, leaving शरीर to dissection. We find mesentery is recognised as अन्तर्पेषि, अन्तःस्थ. It is neither the one, nor the other. It is remarkable that while this word occurs in the List, stomach and intestines do not. There are supra-renal ( capsule ? ), and pons ( varoli ? ), while there is no pancreas. Spinal chord has been rendered as पृष्ठदण्ड, पञ्चदण्ड. How a chord could suggest दण्ड is more than we can guess unless the 'chord' has changed its place with 'column'. Nerves, again, have been given the name मज्जातन्तु, नाडी, both

of which are objectionable. For मज्जा is marrow and nerves may and do occur elsewhere. नाडी is no other than a नाडी a tube, though it commonly denotes bloodvessels. In ordinary parlance it is the pulse. (The Hindi Glossary has नाडी both for nerves and pulse!) That derivation of a term may lead us astray is well illustrated by the name श्वा, for a nerve which has been recklessly used by physicians and lay men alike in Bengal. The word 'sinew' is the same as श्वा ; but unless we can forget the Sanskrit language with its Ayurveda the sooner such abuse is stopped the better for the spread of scientific education. A nerve is undoubtedly a tube नाडी ; but there are so many kinds of tubes in our body that we must distinguish them by giving specific names. Thus रक्तवहा, रस-वहा, अन्न-वहा, प्राणवहा, वात-वहा, &c., would keep them separate and रक्तवहा नाडी is a blood-vessel, वातवहा नाडी a nerve. The word नाडी itself may be omitted, or वहा without sacrificing the meaning. For रक्त नाडी and वात-नाडी cannot mean anything else ( cf. पक्षिनाडी ), and we hope no Indian, at least no Hindu, will confound this वात or its synonyms वायु, वायु, &c., with the air or wind of the atmosphere. It is needless to say that the वात of Ayurveda and Yoga-shastra is nervous energy, and the Sayaji List is for once correct in giving वात-वृक्ष for neuralgia. For the spinal chord we have our old सुषुम्ना which is also a tube only thick in the wall. At any rate the authors would have done well by going through Charaka and Susruta at least, before coining new words.

We have repeatedly complained of anomaly in the selection of terms, the redundancy in words ending in *logy*, *meter*, *scope*, and *graph*, which could easily take care of themselves, and the deficiency in words which form the backbone of each science and therefore require careful attention. Let us take a flower and see what terms are there to name its parts.

Calyx फल, बज्ज, टापी  
Sepal कपफ  
Corolla ?  
Petal पटल

We shall go no further. We can understand फल, though we have to hunt up a word for perianth, ( परिकीर्ण in the List which is unacceptable ). But it is incomprehensible to us how बज्ज occurred to the authors, and also टोपी,

unless it is put on upside down. It is just possible that such alternative words have been recklessly copied from Anglo-vernacular Dictionaries. It is also surprising that calyx, 'a cup', did not suggest कटोरा. Sepal is कपल, but we find no such word in Sanskrit Dictionaries. If it be a misprint for कपाळ we would reserve it for carpels (omitted in the List) which become valves in certain ripe fruits. The term corolla is absent. The word पटल has sound resemblance with petal, but lacks the idea of distinct parts of a covering. दल is such a common word for petals as in वनदल that we should think twice before we abandon it.

The English terminology has an advantage that it has drawn upon two languages, Latin and Greek. We have only one source and feel handicapped in choosing words for expressing allied ideas. It is, however, possible to choose many of the terms out of the lists of synonyms given in Sanskrit lexicons. For instance, we have for leaves the words पत्र, पत्राङ्ग, वृक्ष, दल, पत्रे, वृक्ष in Amarakosha. It is to be noted that though the words are looked upon as synonyms, each conveys a distinct idea

when we examine the root. We have no time to discuss the point here, but feel no hesitation to say that some of the most important physiological truths of modern Botany are hidden in these names. It is also noteworthy that some of the words can be easily transferred to denote floral leaves such as वृक्ष for calyx, and दल for petals. Another fruitful source is the names of animals and plants, which on careful scrutiny will yield a rich harvest to the seekers of Biological terms.

We are afraid we have already tired the patience of our readers and feel we have devoted more space to the enunciation of principles and methods than to the examination of the terms. The Sayaji List has been issued as specimen evidently for inviting criticism which cannot but be more or less destructive in the limited space of a review. We wish we had space to notice the terms in coining which the authors have shown considerable judgment and practical sense. But such terms are numerous, and no comments are necessary. We shall, however, await with interest the publication of a revised and systematized edition which will benefit not only Baroda but other parts of India also and pave the way for a better understanding of the problems of modern education.

JOGES-CHANDRA RAY.

## CORRESPONDENCE

### The Calcutta University and its Critics.

The Editor of *The Modern Review* and Professor Jadunath Sarkar have no doubt done a real public service by bringing into the lime light complaints about the abuses, which are believed to exist, in the administration of affairs of the Calcutta University. What they have publicly stated is not new to us. The air was always thick with rumours about these abuses and worse things. By courageously stating them as definite charges in public print, these gentlemen have made it possible for the public to arrive at a judgment about it, they have made it possible for those in authority in the University to repudiate the charges and prove them false if they are false, to eradicate the evils to which attention is drawn, if the allegations are well founded, and on the whole, to put themselves straight with the public. Every one interested in the welfare of our Alma Mater will be glad that instead of vague rumours floating all over, we have now definite charges to deal with. And I am sure that every member of the senate and every syndic will bestir himself to discharge his duties faithfully to the Univer-

sity by trying to know the real truth about these matters and, either to join in the repudiation of these allegations or to strive to remove the evils, as the case may be. After all this, they will have no excuse for remaining inactive about these matters. I shall be really delighted to see the Senate appoint an independent committee to investigate and report on these allegations for the enlightenment of the public and for the removal of such evils as are found to exist. What is necessary is to place the University on a really sound footing. I do hope that the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University will himself come forward with a proposal for such an enquiry. If he does not, some other member of the senate ought to take it up.

I deplore very much, however, the way in which these controversies are helping to prejudice the public mind against the University as a whole. The worst of acrimonious controversies like this is that it altogether distorts the outlook of the public and makes them lose the sense of proportion. If all the allegations of the critics are admitted to be true, grave as they are, they only affect a small fraction of the wide sphere of the activities of the University. But the abuses of the examinations alleged in respect of one

or two or half a dozen candidates are readily taken by the indiscriminating public as altogether vitiating the examinations, conducted on unimpeachable lines, of thousands of candidates every year. The improper expenditure of a few hundred or thousand rupees on one or two matters in ten years, attacked with vehemence, creates the impression that the lakhs and lakhs of rupees spent every year are all wasted. Single cases of real or plausible misdeeds of the University are magnified into types and the entire scheme of beneficent activities of the University is at once brought to discredit.

While admitting that there is a risk of such consequences of every criticism of abuses on anything like a large scale, I think it all the more incumbent on critics who wish well to the University to provide as best they can against such contingencies, just in the same manner as it is incumbent on the authorities of the University to take the utmost care not to give grounds for such criticism. The critics of the University have undoubtedly seriously impaired the efficiency of the University by creating an atmosphere of distrust about it. What I want to bring conspicuously before the mind of the public is that on the whole the Calcutta University has been doing admirable work, work that we should be proud of and work which we should foster and promote to the best of our abilities, while we never let our vigilance go to sleep over the abuses that there are. The greatest of its achievements has undoubtedly been the work in the much abused Post-Graduate Department. We have only to compare the work done in this department and in the College of Science with the achievements of the other Universities of India, to mark the amount of advance that this department marks beyond the point reached by the Calcutta University in the past to realise the magnitude of the institution. Here the University has brought together a large body of scholars of undoubted ability, who are steadily engaged in efforts to assimilate all the advances made in their respective sciences in the world, and to push forward the advance by their own researches: they are associated with students, a great many of whom have already distinguished themselves by their scholarship in after life: and in the admirably equipped libraries and laboratories, facilities are provided for their carrying on their work on a scale never dreamt of before, and not approached anywhere else in India.

I am quite prepared to concede that this picture is not without its shadows; that side by side with scholars of undoubted merit and ability others have been introduced who are worthless and who owe their posts to nepotism. I quite agree that all the students or even the bulk of the students in the post-graduate classes are not earnest in their studies and perhaps undesirable bye-ways are provided which many avail themselves of to get good degrees. But I do not believe that there is any University in the world in which such students are not to be found in varying numbers. A University is judged by its best students and not its worst. The function of post-graduate teaching is not to ram knowledge down the throats of students, but principally to provide facilities for study which it is for the student to take advantage of. If the bulk of the students are not of a character to take advantage of facilities of their own initiative, the reasons are to be found at least as much in the abnormal social, economic and educational conditions of the

country as in the arrangements for which the University is responsible. Perhaps there is a great deal of evil for which the University is responsible. Perhaps it has spread itself too much.

Perhaps the teachers are not always up to the mark. Perhaps the system under which the classes are managed demoralises, to a certain extent, both teacher and pupil. Put these are defects which are curable and, in so far as they exist, they must be cured. But because there is illness you don't say that the human body is no good. The fever is a very slight thing compared with the big current of life that is flowing in the body. It would be sheer blindness on our part to shut our eyes to the great good work that the post-graduate department is doing. It will be a most inexcusable folly on our part if we allowed the great and progressive beneficent activities of the University to die out because we have complaints against its face. It would be as much a dereliction of duty on our part to do anything to undermine its great good work as to shut our eyes to complaints about evils in it. While we criticise it and pillory its abuses let us not forget that all that we want is that the abuses should go; and every one who has anything to do with the University should make up his mind that go they shall and the University should grow more and more.

Before I conclude I shall take the liberty of saying just one word about the outcry that is raised against the University on such a large scale. Wherever you go you find critics trotting out the criticism from the files of the *Frabasi* and the *Modern Review*. I ought to feel happy that so many people take such genuine interest in the affairs of the University and want its abuses to go. But I cannot feel the satisfaction when I remember that an infinitesimal number amongst them only are prepared to do what lies in the power of each to remove the abuses. Only a few hundred of the thousands of qualified graduates of the University are enrolled as registered graduates. The rest refuse to exercise their franchise, and to help to send in independent men of ability and character to the Senate. Why should not those who are dissatisfied with the conduct of affairs of the University come in their thousands and enlist themselves as registered graduates and send only such candidates as they can trust to keep the University straight? Incidentally they would then be helping to solve the financial problems of the University. Ten thousand registered graduates could contribute a lakh every year to the funds of the University to which they owe their education. But the criticism of the doings of the University comes with the least grace from the representatives of the Government, who have the nomination of 80 per cent of the Fellows of the University. The Government could easily remove all abuses if they will nominate such men as Fellows who can be trusted to keep things straight. They could help a great deal if they would take courage in both hands and refuse to reappoint as a matter of course a number of do-nothings who simply encumber the list of Senators, and, perhaps, earn a decent income in travelling allowance. If on the contrary the Government is quite content with the list of nominated Fellows, any rebuke of the criminal wastefulness of the University comes with a bad grace from the Minister of the Government, though the Minister is not personally responsible for the present appointments. At any rate the rebukes and

rebuffs of the Government of India who were entirely responsible for the present personnel of the nominated members were entirely out of place.

NARES C. SEN GUPTA.

NOTE BY THE EDITOR.—We have omitted from Dr. Nares Chandra Sen Gupta's letter a passage relating to the application of the University to the Government for a grant, because the grant has already been made. Some autobiographical passages regarding his own motives in writing the above letter and some showing that he has no axe to grind, as also some other passages criticising the tone, temper and methods of both the critics and the defenders of the university, have also been omitted. Exigencies of space have compelled us to do this. What we have printed is also rather verbose, no doubt, but we have no time to condense it.

We have been criticising the university for years, but the senators and syndics have not properly done their duty. The senate itself not being independent, cannot appoint a really independent committee of enquiry. Dr. Sen Gupta may hope that the Vice-Chancellor himself will come forward with a proposal for an independent enquiry; but we have no such hope.

Dr. Sen Gupta blames the critics for, intentionally or unintentionally, prejudicing the public mind against the university. He appears to take it for granted that, whereas he wishes only the removal of evils, the critics have no such desire but want to kill the university and its post-graduate department;—a very charitable judgment! He seems to think that all the doings and proceedings and items of expenditure of the university are spread out before the public for its information and scrutiny, and that, therefore, the evils, irregularities, misdeeds, jobbies, etc., complained of, are not greater in number and quantity than the few that have been commented on by the critics. But the real fact is that the affairs of the university are very often treated like state secrets, and what we have exposed have been due to information which has occasionally and very often accidentally reached our hands. Therefore, there is no ground either for the generalisation that every thing connected with the university is rotten, or for the generalisation that the corruption is very small. Only an exhaustive and independent enquiry can reveal the extent and nature of the evil. We have pressed for it repeatedly, and some M. L. C's also have done so, but in vain.

Dr. Sen Gupta is wrong in taking it for granted that the examinations are "conducted on unimpeachable lines." He is also wrong in taking it for granted that the "improper expenditure is of no larger amount than a few hundred or thousand rupees on one or two matters in ten years." Has he audited the accounts, or seen the auditors' notes, or does he know what has been done in the past to make the official auditing valueless? We have never suggested or insinuated that all the university expenditure has been sheer waste. But considering that from what little of its affairs has become known, some waste has been brought to light, there is undoubtedly reason to suspect that there may have been much greater waste. Suppose, however, that the waste or defalcation or whatever else of an irregular character it may have been, has

been small or slight, is that to be overlooked? A fever may be a small thing in the beginning, but it may kill the body. Of course, Dr. Sen Gupta says that whatever evils exist should be remedied, but how could that be done without exposing them? What, however, he seems to drive at is that the critics have made too much of the defects of the university. That is a matter of opinion. Supposing, however, that his opinion is correct, what the critics can fairly ask is, why no learned and cultured person has yet shown how to criticise the university in the most angelic manner possible.

Dr. Sen Gupta seems to think that the critics of the university are blind to its achievements. He seems to be in the mood of mind of some advocates of the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy, who, whenever the Government is criticised, bring forward a list of the achievements of the British people in India and accuse the critics of ignoring them. The ideal thing to do, then, is to preface every bit of criticism either of the Government or of the University with a full list of the achievements of either! We are ready to stitch with every issue of this Review statements of these achievements, provided we are paid the postage, price of paper and printing and binding charges necessary for the purpose. We may assure Dr. Sen Gupta that we know and appreciate the achievements of the university and have not left them unmentioned in either the *Modern Review* or *Prabasi*.

"The critics have seriously impaired the efficiency of the University," &c. Of course! Those who expose the evils are the evil-doers. But those who are responsible for the evils are injured innocents!

Idlers and undesirable students there certainly are in all universities; but will Dr. Sen Gupta name a few universities where "undesirable bye-ways are provided which many avail themselves of to get good degrees," such as are "*perhaps*" provided at Calcutta?

He lectures those graduates who have not registered themselves, on their duties. But even if ten thousand of them had registered themselves, and sent independent representatives to the Senate, these would have been in a hopeless minority, and there would have been only more money to waste.

Dr. Sen Gupta says that as Government nominates 80 per cent of the Fellows, therefore it or the Education Minister has no right to complain of wasteful expenditure, thoughtless expansion, &c. We do not feel called upon to defend either the Government or the Education Minister. But Dr. Sen Gupta should try to know the whole process of nomination of the nominated Fellows. Perhaps he has also read Mr. Rama Prasad Chanda's defence of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee in the *Manasi*, in which it was stated how the latter had striven and managed to get the votes of a majority of members in the university bodies "in his clutches".

Dr. Sen Gupta will perceive by a careful perusal of our file that we have repeatedly placed before the public a definite and clear programme of university reform. Our work from the very outset has been constructive, and inspired by anxious thought for the intellectual and moral betterment of Bengal's youth. But a long and intimate acquaintance with the inner working of the Calcutta university, mostly corroborated by the private revelations of many of the

very men engaged in its work,—has made us less optimistic than Dr. Sen Gupta as to the possibility of reform under the present regime.

We press for the introduction of popular control over the policy and executive of the University, businesslike and respectable management of its finance, the reign of law and the maintenance of a proper standard (irrespective of money or personal considerations) in examinations, and the entertainment of a teaching staff possessed, *without exception*, of real scholarship, strength of character (in the widest sense of the term) and power of initiative in their own department.

### European Missionaries.

To

The Editor, *The Modern Review*.

Sir,

With regard to the "(spiritual) difference between Europeans and Indians in East Africa," pointed out by Mr. Andrews in the *Young Men of India* and reproduced therefrom in your issue of April last, p. 490, the following in my opinion is very pertinent.

"All along the (African) native is told by the missionary that he, the native, is the equal of all men, that there is no colour prejudice in the eyes of the creator and that whites, browns and blacks are equals of one another. Then [after his education] the time comes for the native to leave the missionary and seek employment. He gets a smart kick from the first European he meets and is told that the kick is very wholesome for him. He is also very emphatically told that the European is the master of the land and the native is the drawer of water and hewer of wood. This is where the trouble starts." So writes Mr. Mangal Das in the *E. A. Standard* in a letter reproduced in the *B. Chronicle*, May 9th, apropos of the Harry Thuku affair. The whole letter is luminous reading, and I would draw the attention of Mr. Andrews in particular thereto.

From this passage it would appear that the European missionaries ought to have begun by reforming their own brethren amongst the lay whites out of their greedy exploiting instincts by bringing all their influence and resources (denied to poor, subject Indians) to bear upon that object. Ought not their charitable and philanthropic energies to have been expended, so to say, at home, i.e., amongst the benighted of their own race before ever they sought to achieve their godly ambitions amongst the latter's victims? A course of self-purification entered upon by the missionaries before ever they took to enlightening the benighted, or at least the two objects pursued side by side and with equal zeal would have put them to rights with themselves. But no; as said an African chief long ago in high indignation and not without insight born of experience: "First the missionary, then the trader,—then the gun-boat, and then—Oh Lord!" (Quoted by Bosanquet.) Cetewayo, king of the Zulus, that martyr to European's ferocious greed, is also credited with a similar remark: "First comes Traveller; then Missionary; then Merchant; and lastly the Soldier. When

the Soldier comes, there is an end of the blacks." Was not the Shantung Peninsula sliced off China by the Germans in the wake of some of their missionaries having gone there, through the pretext of their murder by the foolish Chinese?

No doubt the European missionaries as a class have done great spiritual good to benighted parts of the world—but I should think that they have scope for doing equal if not greater spiritual good in the shape of reviving the human conscience of their fellow whites so as to prevail upon them to let their weaker and less enlightened fellow humans alone in God's peace and stay their enslaving and exterminating hands from their human though non-Christian and non-white brethren in all parts of the globe.

Karwar.

Yours etc.  
S. D. NADKARNI.

Mr. C. F. Andrews has written, on the above, the following note:—

"Let me relate two incidents from my own experience in East Africa:—

(i) On my first and second visits to East Africa I was taken ill when I reached Uganda, across Lake Victoria Nyanza. The leaders of the Indian Community at once took me to their devoted friends, Dr. Albert Cook and his wife and his brother, Dr. Albert Cook was the greatest Doctor in all Central Africa. Patients were sent a thousand miles to get his treatment. He was living a life of the purest sacrifice in the name of Christ whom he served. The whole Indian Community as well as the Baganda and the Europeans were under the deepest debt of gratitude to him and to the other missionaries of Namirembe, new Kampala, who were showing love in the name of Christ to all mankind.

(ii) I was taken out from Tinja (which is close to the Ripon Falls and the source of the River Nile) to a small township called Igarga, which was above 30 miles away, through country which was still in a half savage state. On the way my Indian friends—three Hindus, a Muhammadan and a Parsee, if I remember rightly,—insisted on my turning off the Tinja main road to visit an old Roman Catholic missionary with some Sisters of the Poor. I found, that the Indian Community at Tinja were devoted to these missionaries, just as the Indian Community at Kampala were devoted to the missionaries at Namirembe. It was most touching to see the old padre trying to entertain us. He had hardly anything in the world with him, he was so poor. He found some bread, but there was no butter; and he was much distressed because he could not offer us more; and we felt, all the time, that we might be depriving him of his own evening meal. He was spending his whole life in simply seeking to show ~~love~~ <sup>love</sup> to the children of the native Africans around him. And the Sisters, who were there, grown old and grey-haired in their loving service, had the little African children round them and were nursing those that were orphans. It was a sight of purest love, offered simply and humbly in the name of Christ.

I give these two incidents, without any comment except the one question, whether they do not serve to correct the onesided impression that would be likely to be conveyed by the picture presented by my friend Mr. Mangal Das in the extract quoted above. If it be said, that these instances are exceptional, my own

experience in Africa would distinctly and emphatically deny it,—though in Kenya it saddened me beyond words to note how feebly the missionaries acted in face of injustice done by the Europeans both to the Africans and to the Indians.

Like every movement that is human, the missionary movement has had its terrible weaknesses. Men and women, who have gone out with pure love for Christ in their hearts, have given way to the temptations of racial pride, or narrow bigotry or desire for

comfort. But this should not blind our eyes to the fact, that there has been another aspect,—that men and women, inspired by the constraining love of Christ, have shown as missionaries in Africa, a marvellous nobility of character, a conquest of human weakness, and a pure devotion to humanity. This I have seen again and again with my own eyes and therefore I have a right to bear witness.

C. F. ANDREWS.

## VISWA-BHARATI

( *Santiniketan University, Bengal.* )

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE AND VILLAGE ECONOMICS.

(FOUNDED FEBRUARY 1922).

**T**HIS department is located in the village of Surul, within two miles of Santiniketan itself, and a mile and a half from the Bolpur Railway Station ( E. I. Ry. loop line ), in premises which were once occupied by E. I. Ry. sheds, and before that by a collecting station of the East India Company. It is administered by the Director and the Surul Agricultural Board, a constituent body of the Viswa-bharati.

Its aims and objects include the following :—

1. To win the confidence, friendship and affection of the villagers and cultivators by taking a real interest in all that concerns their life and welfare, and by making a lively effort to assist them in solving their most pressing problems.

2. To take the problems of the village and field to the class room for study and discussion and to the experimental Farm for solution.

3. To carry the knowledge and experience gained in the class room and experimental Farm to the villagers, in the endeavour to improve their sanitation and health, develop their resources and credit; help them to sell their produce and buy their requirements to the best advantage; teach them better me-

thods of growing crops and vegetables and keeping live-stock; encourage them to learn and practise arts and crafts; and bring home to them the benefits of associated life, mutual aid and common endeavour.

4. To work out practically an all-round system of elementary education in the villages based on the Boy Scout ideal and training, with the object of developing ideas of citizenship and public duty such as may appeal to the villagers and be within their means and capacity.

5. To encourage in the staff and students of the department itself a spirit of sincere service and willing sacrifice in the interests of, and on terms of comradeship with their poorer, less educated and greatly harassed neighbours in the villages.

6. To train the students to a due sense of their own intrinsic worth, physical and moral, and in particular to teach them to do with their own hands everything which a village householder or cultivator does, or should do, for a living,—if possible more efficiently.

7. To put the students in the way of acquiring practical experience in cultivation, poultry and bee-keeping, dairying and animal husbandry, carpentry and

smithing, weaving and tannery ; in practical sanitation work ; and in the art and spirit of co-operation.

8. To give students elementary instruction in the sciences connected with their practical work, to train them to think and observe accurately and to express and record the knowledge acquired by them for their own benefit and the benefit of their fellow men.

The system in operation is as under :

The length of the ordinary course is two years. General knowledge up to the matriculation standard is presupposed. It is hoped to hold short courses in special subjects later on. The aim of the Department is to provide practical training, but it is not proposed to allow education to be replaced by drudgery or money-making. The students are required to carry out the whole cycle of work on the Farm during the year, and, since most of such work is of direct value to the Department, the students are paid for it at a fixed rate, thus enabling them to realise, as perhaps they could not in any other way, the value of their own labour, to feel their responsibility and be stimulated to a corresponding keenness. Part of the student's earnings on the farm goes towards the cost of their board and part is left for their pocket money. Each student is also supplied with a small plot of his own on which to live and work for himself, and is allowed to keep the net proceeds of the produce of his plot.

Fees :	Rs.
Caution money.....	10
Admission Fee.....	20
Monthly fee .....	26
Initial Deposit.....	5

The monthly fee only partly covers the cost of tuition, residence, light, dhobi, hospital and games, the balance being provided out of the funds of the Department.

The initial deposit is to cover the cost of farm clothes and implements, books and stationery, etc., and must be replenished from time to time when notice is given by the office.

Parents, guardians or friends should on no account send any money directly to

any student. All fees, etc., should be remitted to the office. Any request for extra money made to his parents or guardians by a student for any purpose should be made known to the office by the parents or guardians concerned, and such money should only be remitted by them to the office if the Director notifies his approval of such purpose.

Only such gifts of fruit or food, or for purposes of entertainment are allowed which can be shared by all in common.

A certain number of scholarship are set apart for poor students. No special arrangements can be made or allowed for well-to-do students, and parents and guardians are earnestly requested, in the interest of the student himself, not to ask for any such indulgence.

Students completing their course to the satisfaction of the Director and the Surul Agricultural Board will receive a diploma from the Viswa-bharati.

There will be no room for the admission of any more students until the 1st June, 1923.

#### NOTES ON THE WORKING.

Friends of the institution have been pressing for some account of the progress of the Department up to date. While the Director is anxious to take the public into confidence and would welcome their sympathy and support, he makes this somewhat premature report under protest, feeling that the work so far done has not stood the test of time.

The following facts may be of interest :

The night school which has been started for the children of the depressed classes is regularly and well attended, and so are the lantern lectures in the neighbourhood. Two troupes of Scouts have been organised in different villages and there has been a keen response both by the boys and the village elders. There is already a daily attendance of poor patients in search of first-aid, and a constant stream of villagers and cultivators who come to watch the students working on their plots, or the tractor in operation, or the sinking of the tube well. All this testifies to the breaking down of the wall of suspicion and reserve,



which is always a great preliminary difficulty.

As to internal progress :

The Scouts are being introduced to First-Aid and Fire Drill. The Carpentry class is developing considerable skill amongst the students. The Smithy is not yet fitted up. With the help of the government Research Tannery in Calcutta we hope to open a local tannery within a few weeks, some of the students and local *muchis* having received a full preliminary training. Poultry keeping has been started, but a great deal of experimental work is still needed, which is expensive and therefore slow. The dairy needs a better building than the old ruin in which it is at present, and also the addition of some good milking cows. We are still hunting for bees. In regard to other subjects that we hope to take up, so little information is available from outside, that much preliminary and experimental work will have to be done by ourselves, before we can actually make a start. On the farm, we seem to be well ahead of our neighbours, and so far our crops compare well with theirs. The students are carrying out their own scheme of sanitation and are

daily experiencing both the trials and pleasures of farming and gardening work. Their plots are already green with Groundnut, Maize and Cow-pea. Cucumber, Brinjal and Tomato have yet to be planted. It has taken some five months to transform a malarious piece of jungly garden land into a place fit for habitation and vegetable growing. Those who know the locality need hardly be told that much still remains to be done.

There is a "Surul Farmer's Union" of which the students and staff are members, each with one vote. At its monthly meeting all suggestions, grievances, complaints and matters of discipline are considered and settled. Each student contributes an article, usually on the subject at which he is working, to the "Chasha" which is the monthly magazine of the Department. The students look after their own messing arrangements, and elect their own captain every fortnight. They spend one evening a week at Santiniketan joining in whatever readings, lectures or discussion may be taking place. They also regularly play games and matches with the Santiniketan boys.

## GLEANINGS

### The Youngest Radio Operator.

"Robert Garcia, seven-year-old son of Allen Garcia, director for Charlie Chaplin, is the youngest licensed radio operator in the world. Official confirmation of his success in passing the amateur's examination with a percentage of 92 was recently received from the U. S. Radio Inspector at San Francisco.

"He had but five weeks in which to prepare for his examination.

"Several lads, many years his senior, fell by the wayside, and several men tried in vain to pass the test.

"And he, only a child of seven years, did what very few ever accomplished—passed with 92 per cent.

"Since passing the examination two manufacturers have honored him with parts for the set he is going to install. He has filed an

application for a station license and is going to put it up himself. He has declined an offer to install the set and begs his father to let him do it all alone."

### Latest Figures on the Earth's Age.

Thirty years ago Lord Kelvin said the earth was cooling at a rate which made it seem certain, "provided no new sources of heat were discovered," that 20,000,000 years ago it was unfit for the existence of life. The same reasoning, with the same qualification, showed that in another 20,000,000 years the sun would no longer be a source of light and heat for its planets. The geologists and zoologists objected that the time was too short, but they had no very definite data to found their case on.

Within recent years the discovery of the release of intra-atomic energy by radio-active substances had put an entirely new aspect on the question, at least as regards the earth. Uranium was changed through radium to lead by a long series of transformations, in which "chips" of helium were thrown off with enormous velocity, producing heat as one of their results. Indeed, the difficulty just now was to understand why the earth should not be getting hotter instead of cooler, in view of the quantity of uranium present in the earth's crust.

How could the transformation of uranium into lead be made a clock for measuring past eras? The rate of the transformation per annum was accurately known. It was excessively small, only 1.22 ten-billionths of a given quantity per annum. If they took a mineral containing uranium lead and estimated the relative amounts of these substances present they could calculate the time of the formation of the mineral in question. The result showed that the oldest or archaic rocks had an antiquity of 925,000,000 years.

But the earth's crust in some form or other was older than the oldest rocks, and from an estimation of the total quantities of uranium and lead present an antiquity of something like 6,000 million years was probable.

### Cotton That Grows on Trees.

Kapok, usually known as silk floss cotton or silk cotton, is obtained from the fruit of a tree found in the Dutch East Indies, the Straits

Settlements, Ecuador, Brazil and India. Under the microscope this floss shows a very delicate construction, consisting chiefly of fiber shaped like miniature pipes, and hollow; thus the substance is filled throughout with air which imparts to it a buoyancy which renders it particularly adaptable to manufacturing purposes.

The bulk of the world's supply of kapok at present is imported from Java. The production of India, Brazil, Ecuador and the Straits Settlements combined is comparatively negligible. Furthermore, the varieties coming from these latter countries are not as well standardized as those coming from Java and are therefore not in as great demand in this market, which is exacting in its quality requirements. Indian kapok, for instance, besides being heavy



Fruit and Cotton Kapok.



Clothes Made of Kapok.

and musty, is not always completely cleaned and freed from seeds and other foreign matter, and has neither the elasticity nor the resiliency of Java kapok. On the other hand, the Ecuadorian and Brazilian varieties are coming to the fore as trade prospect, due to earnest efforts on the part of planters to standardize the article in accordance with export needs.

The major part of the land in Java devoted to kapok culture is native owned, altho there are a number of estates under European management. The tree is found everywhere, even along the roads, and on the estates the plant is grown in conjunction with the coffee and cocoa plants.

Before the war most of the production was shipped to Amsterdam, but since 1915, due to scarcity of freight and poor market conditions in Europe, most of the trade has gravitated to America.

As time passes it would seem as if the article were entering into an increasingly larger sphere of usefulness. During the war each doughboy who braved the dangerous submarine, wore

around his waist a life-preserver made of kapok, and ever and again there comes the rumor out of Germany that at last science has found a way to spin silk from this delicate Asian fiber.

### Freak Radiophones.

A more or less apocryphal announcement from Paris assures us that the newest thing in street costumes includes a parasol equipped with a receiving radiophone. "A young Parisian inventor," we are told, "hopes to enable the damsel promenading the fashionable boulevards to enjoy the strains of the orchestral music sent out by the Eiffel Tower wireless, hear the latest scandal, and receive a report from her cook concerning the progress of the luncheon. The inventor placed the radio antennae in a parasol, so that when expecting a communication from home or desiring to hear a concert



Freak of Radio in the Umbrella.

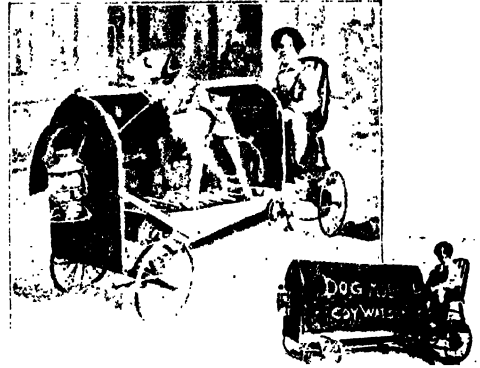
Madame has only to raise her dainty parasol and 'listen in.'

An American lad, Kenneth R. Hinman, makes receiving radiophones that make the Parisian model seem cumbersome by comparison.

This youthful inventor has reduced his miniature set to the simplest possible form. All the apparatus, except for the head phones, is confined within the dimensions of a regular safety match-box. With it he is able to receive not only telegraph signals, but music, stories, sermons, and news items given out by the broadcasting stations twenty and thirty miles distant.

### "Dogmobile."

Coy Watson, a 10-year-old boy of Los Angeles, California, motors about town in a car propelled by a Belgian work dog. The patient animal operates a treadmill concealed in the large hood and with the aid of gearing drives the car at a very fair speed.



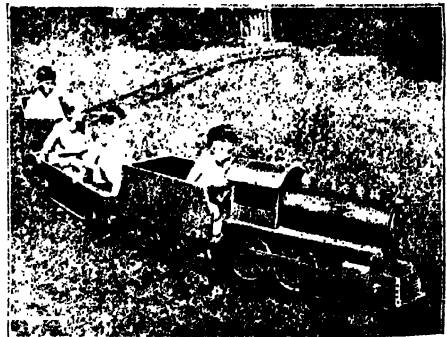
Dogmobile.

Dogs of this breed are trained as work animals in Holland and Belgium, and the treadmill is no novelty to them. Coy's dog enjoys the ride nearly as much as his young master, who finds it easy to avoid "engine trouble."

### Electric Toy Train Carries Backyard Travelers.

Backyard railways are growing out of the toy size. The latest model is run by an electric motor, and is big enough to carry a young engineer and all the kids in the neighborhood.

The current is carried in the rails, which are



Electric Toy Train.

insulated from the ground by wooden ties. The motor is of low power and little current is used, so that running the train is comparatively inexpensive and it is impossible to increase the speed to a point where an accident might result on the sharp curves.

### One-Wheeled Chair.

In Portuguese East Africa a one-wheeled roller chair is the acme of luxury in travel.

Man power is cheaper than gasoline in that part of the world, and good roads, even good footpaths, are so scarce that more than one



One-wheeled Chair for Travelling

wheel would be useless. Over the jungle trails the traveler is carried by his bearers for the greater part of the distance. Only when nearing a village can the porters lighten their load by resting the wheel on the ground.

### Beaver Fells Aspen Two Feet Thick.

What is said to be the largest tree ever felled by a beaver was recently discovered by rangers of the United States Forest Service in the Carson National Forest, New Mexico. The tree is an aspen, and the stump measures approximately 26 by 32 inches at the point where it was gnawed through by the industrious animal.

Beavers seldom fell trees so large, for they are unable to move the trunk, even after they cut it into sections. But this tree, nearly two feet in diameter, was evidently cut down for its branches. All the limbs and small twigs had been removed for food, or for building the dams and houses of the beaver colony, and only the trunk was left where it fell.

The animal exhibited the usual beaver skill in



Tree Felled by Beaver.

felling this giant. It was dropped squarely in the direction of the beaver pond, in order that the animals would have a shorter distance to carry the branches.

### First Woman Marine Engineer.

For the first time in the annals of the sea a license as a marine engineer has been granted to a woman Mrs. Carla S. Westcott, of Seattle, Wash., and she is now at work as chief engineer on a seagoing tug—no easy berth, as any sailor knows.



Mrs. Carla S. Westcott, the first Woman Marine Engineer.

Mrs. Westcott declares that women are particularly well fitted for steam engineering, since the work is light, and the chief requirements are watchfulness and close attention to duty.

### How to Dance on Swords.

How do street jugglers in India dance upon sword blades, whetted keen as razors? They step about the lattice of steel in perfect time to music, and when the dance is over there is not the slightest cut on their foot soles.



Dancing on Sword-Blades.

The secret lies in the fact that the blade of a sword is not perfectly smooth. Under a microscope a knife-blade looks like a saw. It is possible to press the palm of your hand upon it without cutting yourself, if you are careful not to move the hand across the blade. And this is the secret of the juggler's trick. Though he seems to dance, he never moves his feet along the sword blades, but raises and lowers them slowly with a perfectly vertical motion.

### Fishermen Catch Monster.

The octopus is dreaded by bathers in the tropics. A rare specimen, shown at the left, recently fell into the hands of New England fishermen. This monster devilish has eight prehensile tentacles, each with double rows of



Prisoner Octopus.

suckers, and a large, horny beak like a parrot's with which it tears the prey held fast in the tentacles. A most unusual characteristic is a thin umbrellalike membrane or web connecting the long, snakelike arms.

### Pocket Bookcase.

Rear-Admiral Bradley M. Fiske, U. S. N. retired, author of a recent book on invention, has produced a machine that he believes will reduce the cost of a book to about one sixtieth of its present value.

The typewritten pages of a book are reduced by photo-engraving to one hundredth their original size and printed on strips of paper two inches wide and five inches long. Printed on both sides, five such strips contain the reading matter of an entire novel. Admiral Fiske estimates that 10,000 copies of a 100,000-word book can be produced in this way for four cents a copy.

The microscopic print is read by placing the strips in a light aluminum frame, about six



Pocket Book-Case  
and  
The Aluminum  
Reading Frame.

inches long and weighing less than five ounces to which a powerful reading-glass is attached. This glass is moved along the printed strips by the reader's finger. The glass magnifies the characters until they become as large and easy to read as ordinary print. A roller on the frame brings the reading matter into focus. With this invention in general use, it would be possible for engineers and scientists to carry com-

plete works of reference into the field. Enough reading matter might be sent in a letter, for two cents postage, to last a prospector for six



Glands Make Man.

months. A person who likes books, but who must move so often he cannot collect them, might carry a 50 or 100 volume library in a cigar box.

### Are Little Hidden Glands our Masters?

*Personality*—the complex, mysterious quality that makes us different from each other, and by which alone we succeed or fail in life—some scientists believe to be explained, at last, by the new knowledge of the "ductless glands" that regulate our system.

The fuse that has set off the latest explosion of popular interest in this biological subject, is a book, "The Glands Regulating Personality" (Macmillan), by Dr. Louis Berman, physician and biological chemist at Columbia University.

From the length and curve of our eyelashes to the innermost quirks of mind or soul, we are according to his theory, creatures of our own ductless glands.

Any arch villain may be explained not as a consciously responsible criminal but as the victim of tiny, chemical-producing cell groups in his own system which determine his temperament and acts. The whole history of a nation may be traced to the blindly officious activity of hidden centers of chemical production in the bodies not only of its leaders but of its citizens.

Stationed at various parts of the body—in

the neck, at the top of the kidneys, in the skull—these small groups of cells are constantly manufacturing certain chemical solutions and sending them through the blood stream to the parts of the body that need them. Some of the glands have their own pipe lines, or ducts, that dispatch their products; others cause their output to sip through the walls of the structure in which they are made. The latter are known as ductless, or internal secretion glands.

The ductless glands for centuries have baffled physicians, but we now know that the fluids they produce tend to speed up our various bodily functions. Their active principles have therefore been named hormones, from the Greek words meaning something that sets other things in motion.

The ghost of every one of the personalities pictured above, not to mention hundreds of others, lurks hidden in your body from birth, ready to seize upon you and make you over into a genius or a giant, or a dwarf in body or a child in mind—in fact, to change your whole life.

This is one meaning of the new theory of glandular influence on our bodies and souls. If the theory is correct, then the character which you actually resemble among the ghostly group of persons you might have been depends on the mere chance of the glandular balance of your system, and the particular group of chemical secretions that finally get control of you.

### Street Corner "Cow" Gives Milk for a Nickel.

A nickel-in-the-slot milkan has recently been invented.

The purchaser places an empty bottle under the neck of the machine, deposits a nickel, and pulls the lever. A nickel's worth of milk is poured into the bottle. The milk in the container



Street Corner "Cow."

is kept cold by a surrounding watertight tank filled with ice, on the principle of the water cooler. A large flushing box just over the spout thoroughly washes it with water after the bottle is removed.

### Copra Cake for Beefsteak.

Copra cake, the residue after the oil has been squeezed from the dried coconut meat, is as nourishing as beefsteak, say experts of the Rockefeller Foundation, who are trying to popularize the food among the natives of the Philippines. It is not only nourishing, but is said to prevent beriberi, common among Orientals, who live chiefly on polished rice.

### Python Kills Itself by Its Own Gluttony.

Disabled by its own gluttony, a gigantic python that had swallowed a half-grown hog, was killed recently in the French Congo as it lay helpless in the sun. The power of distention in the snake's jaws and body were sufficient to allow it to swallow the pig, but the meal, once down, was so heavy, the snake could no longer drag itself over the ground.



Voracious Python's Sad End.

Before swallowing the pig, the python wrapped its coils round and round the animal's body, breaking the bones by its terrific power of constriction.

### Meat—A Height Increaser.

Japanese soldiers have increased two inches in average height since meat was added to rice diet as part of their rations.

### What Orangs Know.

The almost human intelligence of the orang utan is illustrated by anecdotes in an article by W. Henry Sheak, contributed to *The Journal of Mammalogy* (Baltimore). The orang, he tells us, is much quieter and less obtrusive than the chimpanzee. In captivity this great ape is much inclined to sit in a corner of his cage, motionless and voiceless. But when captured young he takes fairly well to captivity, becomes friendly and attached to those who feed and care for him, and seems to enjoy human society. Mr. Sheak goes on:

"I have seen the orangs in the New York Zoological Park follow their keeper about on the lawn, and when he would attempt to run away from them, they would hurry after him using their long arms as a man would use a pair of crutches, but often putting their heads to the ground and turning a somersault in their efforts to overtake their human friend. I have also seen them sit at table and use knife, fork



Can't Do without Fork and Knife.

and spoon in eating, and drink out of an opaque bottle, looking repeatedly down the neck to see how much of the delectable fluid might be left.

"The orang-utan does not laugh aloud as often as the chimpanzee, but he has a smile that is strikingly human-like. When two young orangs are kept together, they become quite playful, romp and chase each other about, but in a more sedate and deliberate way, and not with the frantic haste and daring so characteristic of the chimpanzee. When thus engaged at play there is often a pronounced and joyous smile on their beaming faces. Now and then there may be a low chuckle, but not often.

"They are also devoted to their own kind, and will often fight for each other, and especially for

their young. They will sometimes make pets of other animals, as cats, dogs, and rabbits. I once knew an orang that became much attached to a young pig-tail monkey. They spent much time together, the pig-tail usually sleeping in the ape's arms. The orang was very affectionate, often fondling and caressing his little pet, and showing great patience, for the pig-tail was quarrelsome and vindictive, and often resented the familiarity of his fond foster father.

"While the orang-utan is quiet and unobtrusive, and not as good an animal for exhibition purposes as the chimpanzee, I believe him to be almost, if not altogether, as intelligent. He is not always inventing countless new ways of amusing himself and working off a superabundant store of physical and mental energy, as does his African cousin, but when it comes to solving problems to satisfy his own needs or desires, and to doing things that are really worth while, he manifests wonderful intellectual power.



"Work while You Work."

"A large orang-utan, which was called Joe, was remarkably intelligent and learned the meaning of about seventy words and expressions. He knew all the coins from the silver dollar down to the copper cent, and would invariably pick out the one asked for. One day the janitor made a mistake in filling a lamp, using gasoline instead of coal oil. When lighted the lamp, which was directly in front of Joe's cage, took fire all over and exploded, burning Joe severely. After that he was always afraid of a lamp. If he wanted anything, he gave a peculiar call, and then when one of the proprietors or one of his keepers came to the cage, he gave him a push to send him off in the direction of the object desired.

"One day there chanced to be an English walnut lying near the cage, but just beyond his reach. He made several ineffectual attempts to secure it by stretching out his long arms.



Even the Cigarette Moves



Then he tried to twist some of the straw on the floor of his cage into a rope or wand, but the straw was too brittle and too much broken. It is no uncommon thing for the apes, and even some of the lower monkeys, and especially the spider monkeys, to twist straw into a rope or wand to serve some of their needs. At length the orang began to take off his 'sweater,' a knit woollen jacket which he was wearing. We wondered why he was doing this, as he was not in the habit of taking off his clothes without permission. With the slow and deliberate movements so characteristic of this ape, he carefully removed the

garment, poked it through the bars of the cage, swung it out till it dropped over the walnut, rolled the nut to within reach, secured it with his hand, then after he had cracked the shell with his teeth and eaten the kernel, he just as deliberately and carefully put the sweater on again.

In his final sickness he was treated by a skilled physician. It was necessary to give him an injection. On the third visit he amazed the man of medicine by getting ready for the treatment just as soon as he saw the syringe. The doctor declared that this was more than he could expect from his human patients."

### THE FORTHCOMING CONFERENCE OF GERMAN ORIENTALISTS

**T**HE second annual Conference of German Orientalists is going to be held this year at Berlin and will comprise three days from 4th to 6th October. The German Oriental Society (*Deutsche Morgenlaendische Gesellschaft*), under whose auspices the conference will hold its session, has celebrated last year at Leipzig the seventyfifth year of its existence, and as is wellknown is a scientific association for the advancement of German studies relating to the Orient in all its aspects and relations.

The difficulties of the times have pressed heavily upon German scientific work in regard to the Orient. But thanks to the industry and interest of Germany's scholars, the wealth of data for research which has been collected during the last fifty years is so enormous that quite a few generations of Orientalists will be needed to work it up into finished material.

Undisconcerted by the need and noise of the moment, German scholars are determined to carry on scientific work in a silent and steady manner, transmit the results of their labour to the younger generation of researchers and by all means inspire these latter with the same high aims through which their great predecessors have achieved world-renowned success.

Conferences of scientists have in these days become all the more valuable for Germany because for years both inland and foreign intercourse had been interrupted and are only slowly regaining their former role.

Berlin is arranging to receive Orientalists and friends of the Orient who wish to be present at the Conference in a worthy manner. There are to be organized such lectures and exhibitions as will leave a permanent impression on visitors and serve as enduring influences in their pursuit of science.

A local committee has been elected to take care of all preliminaries and make the necessary preparations. An interesting and, as far as possible in the present state of affairs, an externally impressive programme is the end in view. And it is being directed by men like Professors Sachau (Arabist), von Le Coq (Central Asianist), Lueders (Sanskritist), Meyer (Hellenist), von Luschan (Anthropologist), Rector Nernst of the University of Berlin, Dr. Rosen (Persianist), present president of the *D. M. G.*, Dr. Becker, Secretary of State for Education, as well as Directors of the State Museums, Akademie der

Wissenschaften and the Staatsbibliothek, and so forth.

The committee has issued an appeal to all friends of science in general and of Oriental studies in particular for financial assistance. The forthcoming Conference is to furnish them with an occasion for extending their patronage to the *Deutsche Morgenlaendische Gesellschaft* in order to enable it to carry on its investigations in a more secure manner than is possible under the present economic stress of Germany.

The committee is already in receipt of donations ranging from 1000 to 10.00 marks. According to the regulations of the *Gesellschaft* those who make gifts of 1000 marks are to have their names permanently recorded in the *Zeitschrift der D. M. G.* in the list of *Stifter* (Donors).

Here then is another chance for India to exhibit her love of science and scientific research as well as to cooperate with the other nations of the world in the advancement of learning. And as the field of oriental studies is one in which India owes so much to the services of brilliant German pioneers, Indian scholars and publicists such as would care to offer donations to the *D. M. G.* would in reality but be acknowledging a part of India's spiritual debt to Germany.

At the present rate of exchange the sum of 400 marks is not more than £3. 10s., i.e., about Rupees 50. Several donations of Rs. 100 or Rs. 75 may be expected from the different university towns of India. Not only individuals interested in the promotion of oriental scholarship but also societies like the *Sahitya Sammelans* are likely to come forward to advance India's international sense by contributing some material assistance to one of the most distinguished scientific associations of Europe.

Cheques may be addressed to Dr. G. Luedtke, Manager, *Deutsche Morgenlaendische Gesellschaft*, Genthinerstrasse 38, Berlin, W. 10. Money should be sent in English currency. In Germany the pound buys more Marks than the equivalent amount of rupees does in India. The discount charged by Banks in India for the conversion of the rupee is often high and involves a great loss to the persons who receive the value in marks.

Berlin

June 12, 1922.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR.

## INDIAN PERIODICALS

## Technological Studies.

Dr. D. N. Mallik discourses briefly on the opportunities for technological studies which Indian students may have abroad, in the July number of *The Calcutta Review*. Some of his experiences and conclusions are to be found in the following paragraphs :—

Prof. Perkin of the University of Leeds told me that it would be extremely difficult for any student of dyeing to get admission into works for training. In most cases, he himself found it difficult to gain admission even for a cursory inspection. He suggested that in view of the prejudice that obtained against the admission of apprentices into English dye works, the proper thing for Indians to do would be to start works of their own with English experts on a contract for a number of years and take a certain number of apprentices who had already been trained at a University. When the period of contract is over and the apprentices will have learned their work, these Works would then do without English experts and employ their own men.

Professor Barker of the Textile Department of the University of Leeds, however, assured me that he was trying to gain admission for his Indian students with whom he was very very satisfied, into suitable Textile factories, and was hopeful of success.

At the same time, it seems to be true, as a general proposition, that the plan suggested by Prof. Perkin seems to be the only feasible one for all the various industries which claim Indian pupils in this country.

As regards the continent of Europe, the writer says :—

The facilities available on the continent for technological studies to our young men are as yet an unexplored field. That they are available in some measure seems to be the opinion of those who have at all inquired into the matter, but the difficulty of language presents almost an insuperable barrier. We have to make adequate provision for the teaching of French and German in the Indian Universities if continental facilities are at all to be availed of. The same difficulty does not present itself in the United States, but I am afraid our students will, as a rule, meet with similar opposition there as in Great Britain.

On the whole, therefore, the problem of technological studies for our students (and other studies) will only be solved, if Institutions like the Tata Institute can be made to be successful and works started on lines suggested by Prof. Perkin.

## News of Woman's Advance.

We take the following items of news relating to women's progress in many countries, from *Stri-Dharma* for July :—

## VOTES FOR BURMESE WOMEN

In the Burma ratified draft Rules the Government of India has directly removed the disqualification of sex as regards voting for their Legislative Council.

## INDIAN COUNCILS MUST GET THE SAME RIGHT

A further advance over Indian conditions has been made in the Burmese Rules by the grant of power to the Legislative Council to adopt a Resolution at any time they wish in favour of allowing women to become members of the Council, and there is no embargo placed on their nomination to the Council even before they are admitted to eligibility for election. In India the Councils have no power to remove the sex disqualification for Council membership for ten years. This power is retained in the hands of Westminster. With the Burma precedent before us we shall press for similar powers being given to our Indian Councils in this particular. The unnecessary tag provision was put to the power of the Burma Council that though it may vote to allow women to enter its precincts, still the consent of the Governor to the Resolution will have to be obtained before the Government proceeds to give effect to the Resolution.

## COMPULSORY EDUCATION FOR GIRLS

The meeting of the Madras Corporation called to consider the Scheme proposed for Compulsory Free Elementary Education for Madras City had to be postponed for want of a quorum. Several ladies attended to hear the proceedings and they received a hearty welcome. If the City Fathers are assured that the Madras women-voters in their own wards are opposed to the application of all the money to boys only, and if the women strongly call for the application of the scheme to girls also, it is almost certain that the present scheme will be remodelled on better principles. Wherever women have met to discuss this matter there has been unanimity in favour of the inclusion of girls.

## A LADIES' CO-OPERATIVE BANKING SOCIETY

It has fallen to the women of Salem, Madras Presidency, to be the pioneers of Women's Co-operative Banking in India. Two years ago eleven women clubbed together and started a Co-operative Bank of their own through the help of Mr. Vedachala Iyer, then Registrar of Co-operative Societies and Mr. Yogeeswararaya Iyer, Principal of Salem College. The Present number of members is 41 with a total number of 110 shares and a share capital of Re. 1,100 which may be increased up to Rs 4,000.

### POLITICS AND JAPANESE WOMEN.

The first women's Political meeting in Japan was held in Kobe on May 10, at the city Y. M. C. A. It became possible as the result of the recent passage of a measure granting women the right to engage in political discussions and meetings. The Kobe branch of the New Women's Association was in charge of all arrangements.

### FIRST WOMAN Ph. D. IN AMERICA.

The first woman to receive the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in America is a Japanese, Miss Tomi Wada, who has made a special study of psychology in the American Universities since 1917.

### Causes Contributory to Spread of Tuberculosis.

In an article contributed to the June number of *The Calcutta Medical Journal* Rai Bahadur Gopal Chandra Chatterjee, M.B., considers the causes which contribute to the spread of tuberculosis in this country. Some of the causes which lower the power of resistance of the system in tuberculosis cases are :

- (i) Pregnancy. (ii) Diabetes. (iii) Alcoholism. (iv) Strain of life.

Many medical men in their practice have often to see and treat tubercular glands in unmarried girls and these cases remain quiescent for several years and are for the time being harmless for several years. In the course of time these girls get married, become pregnant and after delivery become again their patients, but this time, as hopeless types of tuberculosis of lungs. Cannot marriage be delayed or prevented in these cases? Our tyrant, the society, stands in the way. I saw, the other day, a case of galloping phthisis of lung in a married woman. She had been suffering for several years with tuberculosis of spine and a jury mast had been applied to the neck to give rest to the neck; with that on, she became pregnant and this became her death warrant.

Now, our society does not allow any girl after reaching puberty to remain unmarried. This has a profound influence on the increase of tuberculosis in this country. In England out of 100 girls between 15 to 40, about 25 are not married or in coupled state, whereas in this country 70 (?) per cent. are coupled. The result is that all glandular tuberculosis cases in female children run a fatal course on account of this factor. Only those who are sterile or become widow, have a likely chance of escaping this fatal termination.

The writer passes on to other causes.

The next factor of Diabetes is also much more common here than in European countries; and in diabetic phthisis cases, tubercle bacilli are abundant in number in their sputum. These cases give origin more often than any other single factor to the massive infection among the members of their family.

Last point for consideration comes that of strain of life. Under this, are included over-work, mental anxiety, pecuniary difficulty, and living in badly ventilated rooms. Now, as money underlies at the

bottom of almost all these factors, it will be more appropriate to designate this group of cases as being caused by that masterful tyrant—money.

### Some Agricultural Operations in India.

In noticing the "Review of Agricultural Operations in India, 1920-21," the *Bombay Co-operative Quarterly* for June writes :—

Improving the breeds of cattle and keeping alive the existing cattle through periods of famine are being taken up by the Agricultural Departments in various provinces. The work done by the Bombay Department in the last famine in saving cattle is admirable and it will not be too much to ask Government to transfer, in future, all famine work to Agricultural Departments in order that it should be really useful.

Excepting the Poona Agricultural College, which has established its reputation, there seems to be no institution which attracts a large number of students for higher agricultural education. It is a pity that people do not yet understand the importance of this productive industry on which the life of the nation depends.

All the Agricultural Departments in India put together do not get even a crore of rupees and this is because the general public have not yet shown their keen interest in this industry. It is a matter for congratulation, therefore, to the Agricultural Departments that they make their influence felt despite the great difficulties that confront them.

### Solution of the Problem of Racial Antagonism.

In the course of an article on the problem of racial antagonism, contributed to *The Young Men of India* for July, Mr. J. S. Hoyland considers the factors of colour and religion and the political, economic, cultural and ethical factors in detail, and then tries to find a solution. He rightly observes :—

This problem can only be solved by some over-mastering spiritual force. It remains to enquire very briefly where this force is to be found, and the place which India should occupy in the finding of it.

India has from the beginning of her history been a sufferer from racial antagonism under peculiarly acute forms. As we have seen, the caste system itself was built up in connection with the race-problem; and, whatever its cruel defects, there is this much to be said for caste, that it has in the main produced peaceful, orderly and permanent relationships.

But caste and liberty, whether individual, social or national, are poles asunder; and a solution of racial antagonism is demanded to-day which shall accord the maximum degree of liberty to every race.

Such a solution, Mr. Hoyland thinks, will be reached in India.

The race-problem still presses with peculiar force

upon India. With her countless castes, with her intermixture of Dravidian, Aryan and Mongolian stocks, with her friction between Europeans and Asiatics, she is one of the storm-centres of the world's inter-racial relationships. Is it too much to hope that, as in the past she met the race-problem with the false solution of caste (which has yet proved so orderly and permanent), so in the future she may be the creator of a new and genuine method of racial reconciliation?

It is the profound conviction of the writer of this paper that there is a solution of the race-problem, that there is a true method of racial reconciliation, and that—with her ancient religious insight, and her ever-active spiritual genius—India is destined to put that method into practice, and to demonstrate before the world how race-prejudice may be conquered.

But the solution is no clap-trap formula, no cheap panacea. It is a way of life; and a way of life that must be followed in countless individual cases if the problem is to be victoriously solved.

What is that way of life?

That way of life is true religion—not the religion of custom and ceremony, not the religion that means membership of some rigidly defined community, but the religion that is the daily practice of the Presence of God, the Father of every man and of every race of man.

The race-problem will only be solved by individual lives lived in close and intimate communion with God and in unremitting service for God's Kingdom on earth—that state of society, all the world over, wherein all the relationships of mankind shall be governed by God's will, which is love and liberty.

This same great force has in the past freed the world from other problems, which in their day must have seemed almost as glaring and terrible as the race-problem does to us in our modern age. It was such religion, lived forth in such lives, that swept slavery from the world, that brought to an end the horrors of the gladiatorial games in ancient Rome, that abolished human sacrifice and infant-exposure and capital punishment inflicted for petty crime, and a thousand other relics of the brutal past. In our own day such practical religion was at the back of the movement which has freed the people of the United States from the grip of the drink-trade. The race-problem, sombre and urgent though it is, can be solved by the same force that solved those problems, and by that force only. Its solution depends in reality upon the earnestness with which men who would wish to serve the world, conform their lives to God's will, dwell in spiritual dependence upon Him, and so go forth in His power to right the wrong, and to bring in His Kingdom.

Racial antagonism, which in the past has been so often fostered by false conceptions of religion, can in the future only be abolished through true religion—through lives dedicated to the service of the God of Love.

There is a great and glorious hope that India, which in days gone by has been so fruitful in lives devoted, at the cost of all earthly possessions and all human happiness, to high religious ideals and far-reaching spiritual tasks, will in the future demonstrate to mankind that through true religion, the solution of the race-problem may in actual practice be triumphantly achieved.

## The Lot of Indian Clerks.

*The Indian Clerk* writes in its inaugural number :—

The common and yet quite correct notion is that a clerk earns less than a carpenter or a mason. If in this civilized world, as we call it,—civilized because education is reported to have much advanced—a literate man like the clerk can find less means of maintenance than an illiterate manual labourer like the carpenter or the mason, we shall hesitate to believe if the times ever could be called civilized. Even in Bombay, one of the greatest industrial centres of India, the clerk has a miserable existence of his own. A full-fledged graduate clerk with a knowledge of the sundry paraphernalia of clerkship is barely paid enough to keep body and soul together. He has to keep away his wife and children, probably at his native place, for his earning is so low, though his work is so persistent and industrious. His home in Bombay is barely worth the name. His present is miserable and his future uncertain. All these have their concomitant evils which it will be the endeavour of the present magazine to fight against. Of the industrially advancing communities, the clerk is the most backward. We have no axe to grind against the class of employers, for we do not believe in fights based upon physical vigour. But we cannot afford to look on when our fellow-brother is sinking into the valley of distress. We shall struggle for him on constitutional lines till there is breath in us. Disorder, disunion, discord need struggle—strong struggle—and "THE INDIAN CLERK" is intended for that struggle. But its struggle shall always be based upon principles of righteousness and truth, for no struggle wins that has no truth and righteousness as its main support. If we win, we shall record the success in the books of God; if we fail, in our failure shall God store great success for us.

We wish all success to *The Indian Clerk* in its efforts. We have only one remark to make. If our contemporary has the notion that the work of a carpenter, a mason, a smith, &c., requires less intelligence, training or cultivated taste than that of the average run of clerks, we do not share that opinion. The work of our indigenous architects and other craftsmen is every whit as dignified and may be made as intellectual as that of any of the professions.

## A Tamil Poetess's Idea of Heroism.

In the course of one of the articles on the poetesses of the Tamil land which Mrs. T. Tiru-Navuk-Arasu has been writing in *Everyman's Review*, she gives the following description of a poem by Marokkottu Nappasalaiyar :

Poem number 27 treats of the Chola king who was known as Kulamuttatutunjiya Killi Valavan. It celebrates his glorious strength in battle. He fought at

a place called Kulamuttam, where he was defeated and killed and he is therefore called the man that died there. In those early days, at least in the Tamil land, the practice appears uniform, of praising not only the victory of the conquerors but also the valour of the vanquished. Success and defeat were counted as mere accidents. Heroism in battle was all that mattered and the consequence was of no moment. And so it came to pass that poets have praised even the death of heroes on the battle-field. It is thus that after the death of such a hero, he came to be rendered the posthumous honour of being called as the person who died on a particular field of battle. There are many such instances in Tamil literature, such as Kariyattu-tunjiya Nedungkilli (Nedungkilli who died in the battle at Kariyaru) : Kottambalattu-tunjiya Makkodai (Makkodai who died in the battle at Kottambalam) : Kurappalli-tunjiya Killi Valavan (Killi Valavan who died in the battle at Kurappalli).

### Status of Indians in British Colonies.

Mr. H. S. L. Polak tells us in *The Indian Review* for June :—

It is now nearly a year since the Imperial Conference of 1921 separated, after having, with the exception of the Union of South Africa in respect of a considerable part of its area, passed a resolution urging the desirability of conferring equal citizenship upon His Majesty's Indian subjects domiciled in the overseas territories of the British Empire. No one acquainted with conditions in the Self-governing Dominions and the powerful prejudices and racial superstitions prevalent therein, would, five years ago, have supposed that even the nominal recognition of this equality of citizenship for Indians could have taken place for decades to come.

Curiously enough, though the statute-books of many of the Crown Colonies, Dependencies and Protectorates, as, for example, in Ceylon, the Malay States, Kenya, Fiji, Mauritius, British Guiana, and Trinidad, are replete with ordinances and regulations having the force of law denying to Indians rights of equal citizenship with white British subjects, it was not until the case of Kenya became acute, when Lord Milner presided at the Colonial Office, that it was generally realised in India that the worst offender on the score of racial differentiation was Great Britain herself in the overseas territories in which she exercised direct jurisdiction and in respect of which her Cabinet was responsible to the British Parliament. The general mental obscurity on this subject in India was illuminated as in a flash when Lord Milner announced his determinations, apparently in the name of the British Cabinet, to maintain the policy of racial segregation in Kenya, to extend it, if possible, to neighbouring areas, including mandated territory, and to refuse the franchise even to Indians whose qualifications to exercise it could not properly be disputed. In other words, in the name of His Majesty's Government, he proclaimed the doctrine that the tropical Empire was to be administered by a privileged race, with rights of domination over all other peoples of the Empire who did not belong to that race.

Mr. Polak concludes his article thus :—

The Colonial Office has recently declared its provisional adhesion to the doctrine of race segregation in Uganda, where it had not previously existed. It is becoming known that, under the influence of powerful groups and corporations of white British subjects, the Governments of Fiji and British Guiana are stiffening in their objection to the grant of equal citizenship to the local Indians. But these Governments are merely local branches of the Colonial Office, which is already in the grip of similar vested interests with headquarters in London. What has the Government of India done, apart from sending Mr. Sastri on his historic and highly important mission to three of the Dominions, to ensure that effect is given to the Imperial Conference resolution? Has it yet asked for categorical information regarding the steps taken by the Colonial Office to procure the removal of disabling legislation and differential administrative methods in the territories for whose good government the British Cabinet is responsible to Parliament? Will it not be a significant thing to find in fact, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and India on one side, and South Africa and Great Britain on the other? It will be a new and quite unexpected restoring of forces: but unless Great Britain hastens to restore the equilibrium, by implementing with all possible speed the agreement into which she entered with India before the whole world last year, she will only have herself to thank if vested power, privilege, and interest weigh down the balance against India and bring about not a new Imperial integration known as the British Commonwealth of equal and free people, but the dissolution of an Empire of greed and exploitation that has outlived its usefulness and that denies the new spirit of human brotherhood. The Viceroy and the Secretary of State for India must, if India is to survive as an equal partner in the Commonwealth and preserve her self-respect as a world nation, wage a remorseless war with the Colonial Office until the principle embodied in the Imperial Conference resolution is applied fully in the spirit as well as the letter.

### Production of a True Picture.

*Rupam* for April contains some "discursive notes" on the last exhibition of the Indian Society of Oriental Art, Calcutta, translated by Mr. Surendranath Tagore from the Bengali of Dr. Abanindranath Tagore. In one of them the artist says :

"When we say that both eye and mind must join to produce a true picture we have not said all. There is also something left over which transcends both. There is a secret chamber where the human artist communes with the Divine Artist, and plays with him at creation. News of this comes to us now and then in a work such as the *Uma* of Nandalal... In such as these we see at last a glimpse of the real artist's studio,—the picture rapt in their own dreams, creating dreams in all beholders, but all the while behind the veil,—the innermost sanctuary of the spirit where the simplicity of perfection reigns, and where the mind is a child, and smiles and plays, and thinks or thinks not just as a child."

### The Age of Consent.

The June number of *Prabuddha Bharata*, an organ of Order of Ramakrishna-Vivekananda, writes thus on the above subject :—

The Hindu Society has at present lost its power of initiative and original thinking. Its members are content to "tread the path their forefathers trod," and follow the rules and injunctions whether sanctioned by Society or Scriptures, like mere automata, without taking the trouble of enquiring into their meaning. Any departure from the old rut, however beneficial it may be, is looked upon with dread and suspicion, and is met with great opposition. A bill has been introduced in the Indian Legislative Assembly, with a view to increase the age of consent of a married girl from the 12th to the 14th year. Meetings are being held and correspondences are pouring in into the Press, protesting against the proposed bill. If the opposition be due to the interference of the Legislative Assembly in a purely social matter, there may be some meaning in the protests. But instead of that we are told that Hinduism and Hindu Society would perish if the new amendment be passed into law. As if religious and social welfare can be insured by making a girl a mother at the age of twelve! Those who seem to be most solicitous about the morals of Society would do well to consider whether or not social morality can be better maintained and even improved by making our boys and girls live a life of self-control and self-discipline until they attain full majority, and are able to take up the responsibilities of the family life. Such a course would be in full conformity with the true spirit of the Hindu Scriptures, and will certainly improve both the health and morals of the would-be parents as well as those of generations to come. Emphasis on Brahmacharya and abolition of child-marriage will stop premature child-bearing which is greatly responsible for the physical degeneration of the Indian people and will check the high mortality of young mothers and their weak and undeveloped children. These will also check child-widowhood which is one of the greatest curses prevalent in the Hindu Society, and will conduce to increased social purity and greater well-being of Society in general.

### Dye-stuffs and Chemical Warfare.

Sir Alfred Chatterton writes in the May number of *The Mysore Economic Journal* :—

In this matter of dye-stuffs, there is really a great responsibility thrust upon those who, in the future, will be responsible for the fiscal policy of the country. If Germany obtains the Indian trade in dye stuffs, German chemical industry will again dominate the world and civilization will again be exposed to the dangers from which it is hardly rescued but recently. Let India prohibit the importation of German dye-stuffs and she will strike a deadly blow at the German chemical industry and, even though it be at some cost to ourselves, the cost will be small compared with the enhanced security which must come from the weaken-

ing of the German chemical trade. What will India have to pay for this renunciation of German dyes? In reality, very little. Possibly, dye-stuffs will cost a little more; but in the long run, it must either be the British or the German manufacturers who will dominate the market and will ever rule supreme and will try to make as much out of it as he can. On this score, therefore, the loss or gain to India will be nothing; but it must be admitted that if German dye-stuffs are excluded, the Indian dyer will have to put up with, for the present, inferior dye-stuffs. Still, these dye-stuffs are good enough for all practical purposes and it will be foolish to give encouragement to the German chemist simply because he is in a position to supply dye-stuffs of a slightly better quality than can be obtained elsewhere. Synthetic indigo very nearly killed the Indian indigo industry.

Dye stuffs are a luxury. For 5 or 6 years we have done very well with a comparatively limited supply and if, in the future, India gives no employment to the German chemist, at worst, she will simply have to go without a few very fine dye-stuffs which, however, are of comparatively little economic importance as the quantity used is not large.

But if instead of giving "employment to the German chemist," India gives employment to, say, the British chemist, will that strengthen the position of Indian industries?

### The University of Nalanda.

Mr. A. Rama Iyer has contributed to the May number of the *Madras Educational Review* an article on the University of Nalanda, compiled from a Bengali booklet on the subject by Mr. Phanindranath Bose. We read therein :

Recent investigations have shown that the site of Nalanda was the present village of Badagaon in the district of Patna. Among the few relics that have been unearthed from this place is the great seal of the University, bearing the inscription, "*Sri Nalanda Mahavihari Arya Bhikshu Sanghasya*."

The University grew into mighty proportions in the course of a few centuries, and students in their hundreds began to flock from far and near. As, under the beneficent influence of Buddhism, caste distinctions were obliterated, and the restrictions on foreign travel disappeared, an active intercourse was set up between India and foreign countries like Tibet, China, and Japan. Students and travellers from these remote countries came to Nalanda for study and the collection of Buddhist literature.

It was a great residential University.

Some idea of the greatness of the University may be had from the fact that, in its best days, it provided accommodation for some ten thousand persons, the monks and students included. Thousands of small rooms, each twelve cubits by eight, were provided for residence, while the classes were held in large lecture-halls. A wide choice of subjects was offered to the student,—Hindu and Buddhist Literature and Philosophy, Medicine, Architecture, and other arts

and sciences. There was a magnificent library of palm-leaf and *bhurjapatra* manuscripts.

Intending students who reached Nakandā at night had to stay in the *Atithi-Sala* or Guest-house outside the main gate, till the next morning. The "keeper of the gate" was invariably a great scholar, as it was his business to examine the students and adjudge their fitness for admission. Those who were tried and found wanting had simply to return the way they came. Admission to the University was based solely on intellectual qualifications: all who satisfied this test were admitted without distinction of caste or creed. The discipline was of a most stringent kind. All tendency to softness or self-indulgence was sternly repressed, as self-control and simplicity were of the essence of monastic life. Early in the morning the monks chanted their favourite invocation to Buddha, and went out to bathe in batches. The whole day was devoted to study and instruction. The meals consisted of rice, camphor, oil and butter, limes, dates, and nutmegs. There were big mango-groves and gardens, with beautiful lotus-ponds, which provided recreation at the close of a busy day.

Financial stability was ensured, as more than 200 villages had been given as free gifts by many kings and princes.

### The Duty of Indian States Towards Rural India.

Rao Bahadur Sardar M. V. Kibe writes in an article in the *Feudatory and Zamin-dari India*, March and April, 1922 :—

The two most outstanding features of Rural India are 'Poverty' and 'Waste'. On every side extreme poverty is accompanied by various ruinous waste. There is waste of life, energy, time, raw materials and what not ?

Waste of life is the greatest evil from which India, especially rural parts of it, suffers. In other countries in ancient time three score and ten years was the maximum of life: in India it ranged from 100 to 120. In modern times reverse appears to be the case. The Indian expectation of the duration of life at birth is less than 22·50 for males and 23·31 for females, against the expectation of life in England which is 46·04 and 50·02 years respectively.

Poverty is undoubtedly the main cause of this appalling state of things.

Poor physic due to starvation easily succumbs to insanitary conditions. Epidemics rage with fury and sickness is the normal condition of life.

Almost half the population of India is condemned to waste by the disregard of its women folk in the life of the people. In rural tracts of the country they work as inefficient labourers, yet full use is not made of them. If they were not absolutely necessary for the propagation of mankind they would have been completely disregarded.

He suggests various remedial measures.

Active measures for combating the evils of poverty and waste are required. Increased production is the first necessity. More efforts should be devoted to the preservation and utilisation of manure, the selection

of seeds and experiments with the object of improvements in crops than is the case at present. For preserving grains, grain elevators and other improved forms of stores should be established.

The introduction of free primary education and the subsequent diffusion of the principles of science as applied to industry is a necessity. People should be taught to utilise their own resources in their daily wants as far as possible and utilise their spare time in promoting some industry. The spinning and weaving of cotton is an occupation at once most useful and capable of being followed by the people. In order to increase these tendencies of the people, such Indian States as can introduce such measures as the imposition of high tariff on foreign manufactures, especially as can be classed as luxuries, should not hesitate to do so.

Not only Co-operative Credit Societies, but productive and distributive co-operative Societies should be widely established. Panchayats entrusted with the work of improving the condition of villages, should go hand in hand with them. A sum should be set apart every year for the improvement of rural areas.

They should be opened up by means of communication. No village should be without some means of communication all the year round. Contact with the more improved parts of the country will raise people from the slough of despond in which they have fallen.

Other suggestions are :—

Economic holdings should be formed and as far as possible they should be concentrated simultaneously with the establishment of the work houses, begging should be stopped, old age pensions may be introduced. Religious instruction should be introduced by regulating religious grants.

The cult of beauty should be propagated. It will beautify surroundings and fields, as well as houses and their interiors. It will relieve monotony and remove moroseness of life.

The State of Boroda alone has shown a conscientiousness to some extent of its duty towards its subjects. Railways have been carried to all the parts of the State, seaports are being developed, raw materials and minerals are being worked by indigenous Agency, masses are being trained by free and compulsory primary education and by the establishment of libraries in their midst, attention is paid to village sanitation, model villages have sprung up, various social abuses are being done away with by legislation, and above all Panchayats are becoming a potent factor in the State.

### Idols of Indian Research.

Prof. A. Chakravarti, writes in the *Jaina Gazette* for May :

When the period of modern Science was ushered in by Lord Bacon, he insisted on getting rid of what he called the Idols or Prejudices. Inborn and traditional prejudices ought to be removed before scientific research could be successfully carried out. The removal of such idols was considered the

*sine qua non* of entering into the Temple of Knowledge. Had Bacon been alive to-day he would have similarly insisted on the removal of certain *idola* which have crept into the researches pertaining to Indian History and Indian Literature.

We have a description of some of them.

When European scholars first undertook the Study of Oriental Literature, they went into them with an unwarrantable assumption, that Indian Civilisation and Culture are distinctly inferior to the Civilisation and Culture of Europe. Deeply possessed of this prejudice, Orientalists whenever they came across anything really valuable in Indian Art, Indian Philosophy, or Indian Literature, they tried to trace that to Greek origin.

It is not such an easy affair to determine how much Ancient India owed to Greek Culture and how much the Greeks owed to ancient India. That there was regular communication between India and Europe both by land and sea, that India enjoyed international trade, that valuable articles from India were carried to the markets of Egypt and Babylonia, Greece and Rome, are all recognised facts now-a-days. And therefore the Greeks and the Hindus had every facility to know each other both directly and indirectly is a certain fact. Beyond this to dogmatically assert as to the indebtedness of the East to the West indiscriminately is just being victimised by a kind of intellectual idol.

As against this prejudice we have to notice a converse prejudice which is the peculiar symptom of modern India. With the growth of Indian Nationalism there has grown up a sort of sentimental reverence for the past, stimulated by patriotic fervour the modern Indian Student of research subjects himself to a converse error of imagining that even the most up-to-date scientific discovery is but the martellated echo of what was definitely known to and recorded by the ancient Hindus.

Besides the above prejudice as to originality there is another prejudice pertaining to antiquity.

On the one hand there is a craving to go as far back as possible, whereas on the other hand there is an equally unjustifiable desire to come down as near as possible to the present. It is quite necessary to dissociate value from antiquity: the two are quite different things. The value of a thing has nothing to do with its history. The thing is not more valuable because of its earlier origin or of its longer existence.

The writer then dwells on two other prejudices which are peculiar to Southern India, namely,

- (1) The prejudice relating to Dravida vs. Sanskrit.
- (2) The prejudice relating to religious rivalry. About the time of the Maurya period in Northern India there were well-known Tamil Kingdoms in the South evidently well advanced in Civilisation. That the Pandyan Kingdom enjoyed an enviable foreign trade is reported by Greek literary references and also by Numismatic evidence. There are mythic stories immortalised in Indian Epics connecting the South with the North. Who the early Dravidians

were, whether they were originally related to the Aryans and when the Aryans first came to the South, are still open problems of South Indian History. Until recently there has been a tendency among Indian Students dominated by Sanskrit influence to belittle the importance of Dravidian Culture and to speak of the inferiority of Tamil Literature and depending upon flimsy philological evidence even to speak of Tamil Language as but a degenerate dialect of Sanskrit Language. This Sanskritic dominance has been recently resented by Dravidian Scholars. As a revolt against the Aryan dominance there has been a movement of revolt among Dravidian students to sing the praise of Tamil Language and Tamil Literature. This academic and literary movement is very much strengthened by the formation of the political party known as the Non-Brahmin party. Socio-political aspirations have very often blinded academical acuteness and historical sense of proportion. With the same mad fervour that actuated the Sanskritists to discredit Dravidian Culture, the Dravidian scholars in their turn are now trying to establish the absolute independence and the unsullied purity of Tamil Language and Tamil Literature from Sanskrit influence. On either side we notice a good deal of waste of erudition for an unworthy cause.

### Kumarajiva, the Buddhist Monk.

Prof. Phanindranath Bose thus introduces a short biographical sketch of Kumarajiva, the Buddhist Monk, contributed by him to the *Maha-bodhi and the United Buddhist World*.

This life of Kumarajiva, the Buddhist monk, is culled and translated from a long paper of Prof. Sylvain Lévi, "Le 'Tokharien B', langue de Koutcha," which appeared in the *Journal Asiatique*, Sept.-Oct. 1913, 11th Series, Vol. II. It is no use gainsaying the contributions of Kumarajiva to Indian culture. He came from an Indian father, and belonged to that Greater India, which was fast being established in Central Asia in the fourth century A.D. When he was carried away to China from Koutcha, near Khotan, he did there marvellous work. He translated no less than 100 Indian Buddhist books into Chinese. He was also a perfect master of Chinese. His Chinese style is charming and is regarded as classical even now. So it is hoped that this life of that Buddhist monk, "The greatest perhaps of all translators, who preached in China the genius and work of Indian Buddhism," will be interesting to general readers.

### Postal Revenue.

The following passages from the presidential address of Babu Kshitish Chandra Neogy at the last Bengal and Assam Provincial Postal and R. M. S. Conference, printed in *Labour*, will be found instructive :—



In the first place, I would draw attention to the strange confession made by the Finance Member last year that it was not easy to say precisely what Government were making or losing over the administration of the Post Office, because the accounts were not kept on a strictly commercial basis, and that too much reliance could not be placed on the administration reports of the department in their attempt to work out the profit and loss.

My contention is that Government have no moral right to annex for general financial purposes any surplus of Postal revenue. Indeed, the Government of India, since the days of the East India Company, are committed to the principle that the Postal department is to be administered without any consideration for the general revenue interests. In 1860, the Right Hon'ble Mr. Massey, then Finance Member of the Government of India, went so far as to declare that "the Post Office was so potent an engine of civilisation that no Government would be justified in allowing fiscal considerations to stand in the way of any improvement." The only consideration that seemed to weigh with him was whether or not the postal rates did act as a check on correspondence, and if they did, they must be made liberal no matter what the financial effect was. And to-day, Sir Malcolm Hailey is out to demolish the generous principles established by this broad-minded predecessor of his. I maintain that the Post Office need not always be even self-supporting. The Post Office is a public utility department, and any check on its usefulness must be condemned. The recent increase in Postal rates has already resulted in a great shrinkage in the volume of correspondence. A similar circumstance has been lately considered sufficient to justify a reduction in the rates in the British Isles in Sir Robert Horne's budget, though it involves the imposition of the financial burden on the general tax-payer.

### The Royal Commission on Oxford and Cambridge Universities.

Sir Michael Sadler devotes his monthly letter on education in England in the current number of *Indian Education* to the Royal Commission on Oxford and Cambridge. He quotes the following passage from its report :

'The attempt of the State to control opinion in the Universities and Colleges broke down in 1688 and was never revived. This is a great fact that has distinguished our English University system from that of France and Germany. It is a precious part of our intellectual and moral heritage as a nation. If there were any danger that grants of public money would lead to State interference with opinion in the Universities, it might be the less of two evils that they should decline in efficiency rather than lose their independence in order to obtain adequate means. But the ways of thought and feeling of the modern British Community are hostile to any development in the direction of State control of the academic spirit, and the public grants already enjoyed by the old Scottish and the new English Universities have not led to State interference with opinion and tendency in those institutions.'

And then observes :

May this continue to be true. The words of the Commission are a further safeguard of its so continuing. But the history of the ancient English Universities, and especially the history of Oxford at the last great intellectual and social crisis—that of the sixteenth and early seventeenth century—shows that English statesmen are not loath to bring pressure to bear against unpopular opinions or against dangerously dissident opinions in our Universities if they think that the safety of the Government calls for repression. Circumstances might well arise in which the Government of the day might feel itself endangered or perilously attacked by the political opinion in the Universities. In that case interference would come, and come all the more easily and dexterously through the machinery of supervision set up for the purpose of administering the Parliamentary grant.

In India, too, State control of the academic spirit is not required and would be unwelcome, but a "machinery of supervision", similar to that in England, should be set up for the purpose of administering the State grant and all other financial resources.

### The Scope of Agriculture.

For the sake of those who have not yet determined what profession to follow, Mr. Gundappa S. Kurpad, Vice-Principal, Mysore Agricultural School, thus indicates briefly the scope of agriculture in the *Journal of the Mysore Agricultural and Experimental Union* :—

Agriculture, while it is concerned with the raising of the various crops, also includes the marketing both of the raw and manufactured products. A bald statement like that may not convey the importance of the subject, but when it is realized that man's food and clothing, many medicines and raw materials for manufactures are obtained from Agriculture, its importance at once becomes apparent. In recent times the Science of Agriculture has outgrown its old limits and has become so extensive that it has been found necessary to cut it up into various branches, such as Agronomy, Horticulture, Animal Husbandry, Forestry, etc., and even these are further subdivided so that we now have subdivisions in Agriculture more or less clearly defined, such as Agronomy, Pomology, Floriculture, Soil Technology, Soil Physics, Agricultural Bacteriology, Agricultural Chemistry, Agricultural Botany, Agricultural Engineering, Mycology, Entomology, Sericulture, Dairying, etc. The process of division into narrower and more homogeneous groups has gone further still, leading to specialization in very restricted fields of Agriculture. Such specialization has yielded some wonderful results which would not have been possible if such detailed attention had not been paid.

"Just as the ordinary methods of investigation are insufficient, so also the customary divisions of

science cannot be rigidly maintained in soil work. The chemist is constantly confronted with physical and biological problems; the biologist constantly needs the help of the statistician, the physiologist and the chemist; most of the work is essentially 'teamwork', requiring the close co-operation between experts in different branches of Science." "A body of workers by harmonious co-operation is able to make advances that would be impossible for any single individual, however brilliant." When it is added that most of the progress of modern Agriculture in the West has been the result of such research work, it will at once be realized what a useful and fascinating subject Agriculture really is.

### Indian Railways, 1919-20.

We learn from *Indian and Eastern Engineer* that of the 33,16 lakhs of rupees earned in 1919-20 by Indian Railways by passenger traffic, nearly 27,69 lakhs were received from 3rd class passengers, the 2nd class coming next with 2,18 lakhs and the 1st and Intermediate classes each number 2,00 lakhs. Yet the wants, convenience and comfort of 3rd class passengers are consulted the least, if consulted at all.

### The Working Man of Bengal.

Mr. Percy Brown, Principal, Calcutta Government School of Art, writes in the course of an article on "Decorations for the Royal Visit," contributed by him to *Journal of Indian Industries and Labour* :

Unfortunately, the same praise which is recorded here of those engaged in the artistic portion of the scheme cannot be so freely accorded to those who undertook the constructive portion, *vis.*, the Calcutta workmen. A large number of carpenters, *daftaris*, *darsis*, painters, coolies, cartmen, and others had to be employed, and these gave anxiety throughout the whole period of the work. The unreliability and irregularity of the daily labourer in Calcutta is known, but, during the weeks of industrial unrest that occurred about this time, these failings were so serious as to add considerably to the responsibilities of those in charge. Holidays and *hartals*, domestic reasons and laziness, besides numerous other excuses, were so common that it is calculated that on an average one-fourth of the subordinate staff of workmen was absent during the whole period of the work. The writer understands from employers of unskilled and semi-skilled labour that this is the usual state of the attendance in factories in Calcutta. If this is correct, and the writer's own experience points to it being so, such a serious defect will certainly require to be removed if the working man of Bengal is to compete successfully, not only with his confrere in Europe and America, but with the workman of other Asiatic countries, as, for instance, China and Japan.

### Mining and Geological Education in India.

Mr. D. Penman, B. Sc., M. I. M. E., Principal, School of Mines and Geology, writing on the above subject in *Journal of Indian Industries and Labour* thus concludes his article by pointing out the "need for adequate facilities for mining and geological training" :—

At the present time there are many students who have already passed the B.Sc. or I.Sc. examination of an Indian university attending the evening classes held in the Jharia and Raniganj coalfields. The facilities for training such men in the evening classes are totally inadequate, and it is evident to anyone who knows the circumstances that much good talent is going to waste simply because of the lack of adequate facilities for a proper training in mining engineering. The number of university graduates and undergraduates who are turning their attention to the mining profession is considerable. Although no effort whatever has been made to advertise the proposed School of Mines and Geology, nearly 300 students have applied for admission, and of these many already possess the B.Sc. or B.A. degree or have passed the I.Sc. or I.A. examination. The writer is constantly coming into contact with students who have previously studied for the legal, medical and teaching professions, who have now taken up the study of mining. Such students have however, many difficulties to overcome. For one thing their previous education has not been such as to develop an aptitude for practical things which is the essential characteristic of the mining engineer. The writer believes that it, especially in the case of the Indian mining student, the nature of his training should have a practical bent from a comparatively early age. In the acquisition of book knowledge he is difficult to beat. It is on the practical side that he is weakest. Mining is essentially a practical profession, and training in mining engineering, to be effective, must be along lines which keep ever prominently before the mind of the student the practical aspect of his profession.

He has faith in the capacity and character of Indian students.

The Indian student is, as a rule, keen, ambitious and industrious. He is not easily discouraged in the endeavour to attain the goal of his ambitions. In mathematics and in the sciences he can hold his own with the student of any other country. In engineering he is dexterous and skilful. With attributes such as these, careful training is all that is required to make the student into a capable mining engineer.

The provision of high grade mining and geological education in India is a question of vital national importance. India is as yet in its swaddling clothes, so to speak, so far as industrial development is concerned and there is a great future before its mining industry. Trained mining engineers and geologists with a knowledge of mining are certain to be in ever-increasing demand.

This demand cannot be adequately supplied from sources outside the country. Indians will be called upon to take a greater and greater share in the industrial development of their country and they cannot do so unless adequate facilities are provided for high-grade training in mining and geology. There is not the slightest doubt but that, if proper provision is made, the number coming forward for training will be sufficient for the needs of the industry.

### Producers and Non-Producers.

Our educated and moneyed classes would do well to pay attention to the following passages selected from Mr. F. F. Cove's article in the same *Journal* on producers and non-producers :—

The vast majority of the people of India are in need of more food, more clothes, better and bigger houses. Good houses and woollen garments save people from dampness and chills which often sow the seeds of chronic disease. If the people were better housed, clothed, and fed, there would be very much less sickness and less mortality. But there are other aspects, namely, mental and moral. A lack of physical necessities results in mental and moral sickness. A people's mind and morals are always influenced by their environment and the conditions under which they live. Poverty benumbs the human faculties; the possession of a sufficiency of material things enables the body, mind and soul to develop.

What is the remedy for poverty ?

The answer is production. Here, indeed, is a big order ! Millions of people to be provided with better houses, household equipment and clothes. The materials are in the country waiting for manufacture. More producers are needed. He who produces adds to the wealth of the country. He must be given a higher status, and those who are inclined to be proud of their inability to do more than write must be made to feel ashamed of themselves. The tradition that has placed the non-producer on a pedestal to look down contemptuously on the man who provides him with all his material wants will die hard. This tradition still survives in western countries, and until quite recently even large manufacturers were considered, in certain circles, to belong to a lower stratum of civilization. In the West it is now-a-days considered impolite for the non-producing class to show any feelings of superiority, but nevertheless the feeling exists and sometimes ill-concealed. This feeling is much

stronger in India and is responsible for keeping men with brains out of industry. It would, perhaps, be well for India if every man were required to learn a trade, as was the custom with the Jews when they were a nation. Men would then not be ashamed of working with their hands.

Not until the best brains of this country are given to industry will the country advance industrially.

If the people of India are to be provided with commodities in abundance to make them happy and comfortable, false ideas of dignified and respectable callings must be given up; manual labour must not be looked down upon. Youths belonging to moneyed families must enter manufacturing industry. Only by this means will Indian money be made available for industry. Without money no industry can be carried on. There is plenty of money in India with men who are unpractical and therefore afraid to invest it. This money never will be invested in industry until a race of practical men is reared who will inspire confidence in their ability to manufacture with profit.

### Indian Consulting Engineer's Success in England.

*Industrial India*, edited by Mr. J. R. Sarjantson, writes the following note in its June number to introduce an illustrated account of the first Indian consulting engineer's achievements in Great Britain to be published hereafter exclusively in that journal :—

"The most comprehensive construction works, amounting to £ 250,000, and involving reinforced concrete structures of every description—the largest scheme in 1921—is now in course of completion at Govan Gas Works of the Corporation of the City of Glasgow, in the exclusive design and economic system of construction developed by B. N. Dey, B. Sc., A. M. Just. C. E. (of Economic Structures Company, 94-96 Kensington High Street, London, W. 8, and a director of the International Engineers' Syndicate), who is acting as Consulting Engineer for the work. The contractors, Messrs. Gray's Ferro-Concrete Company (late Mc Bride and Gray Limited), 156 St. Vincent Street, Glasgow, are carrying out the erection under close and direct supervision of Mr. Dey's resident engineer in Glasgow, and to the calculations, designs, detailed working drawings, specifications, bills of quantities, etc., issued by Mr. Dey from his London office."

## FOREIGN PERIODICALS

## Prisons and Prisoners.

The imprisonment of a large number of literate Indians—many of them leaders of local or all-India fame, has enabled the public to know more of prisons and the treatment of prisoners in this country than ever before. In consequence, the impression has gained ground that Indian prisons make greater or less approximations to hell, morally and physically. Jails in many other countries, too, have this character. Take the following extracts from the Russian General Denikin's reminiscences, which have just been published at Paris. The English rendering is by *The Living Age*.

Chamber No. 1. About six square yards of floor. One little window with iron bars. In the door, a small peephole. Bunk, table, and a bench. It is hard to breathe—on one side is an ill-smelling place. On the other side of the wall—in No. 2—is General Markov, pacing with long nervous steps. For some reason I remember to this day that he was able to take in his cell only three steps, while I contrived seven in mine along a crooked path. The prison is full of obscure sounds. The strained ear begins to distinguish them and it little by little catches the routine of prison life, and even its moods and feelings. The guard—perhaps detailed from the guard battalion—consists of rough, revengeful men.

Early morning. Someone's voice sounds. From where? Outside the window, gripping the iron bars and hanging from them, are two soldiers. They watch me with hard, evil eyes and in hysterical voices they heap me with vile abuse. They throw into the open window ill-smelling dirt. There is nowhere to go to escape their eyes. I turn toward the door—there in the peephole are a pair of eyes glaring with the same hatred, and from the door also choice epithets are hurled into my cell. I lie down on my bunk and cover my head with my cloak. I lie so for hours, the whole day,—one day, two days,—while these 'public prosecutors' constantly change at the window and door. The guard lets everybody who wishes come to look at us.

And into the narrow suffocating cell pours a constant stream of loathsome words, shouts, revilings—the creations of monstrous ignorance,

blind hatred, and benighted savagery.....The whole soul seems drenched with a drunken spittle and there is no escape from it, there is no exit from this moral torture-chamber.

Eugene V. Debs, the famous American labor leader, has told the story of his prison life in the July *Century*, in which we read :—

A prison is a wonderful place in the opportunity there afforded not only to study human nature in the abstract, to examine the causes and currents of motives and impulses, but also to see yourself reflected in the caricatures of your fellow-men. It is also the one place, above all others, where one comprehends the measureless extent of man's inhumanity to man.

I hate, I abominate the prison as it exists to-day as the most loathsome and debasing of human institutions. Most prisons are physically as well as morally unclean. All of them are governed by rules and maintained under conditions which fit them as breeding-places for the iniquities which they are supposed to abate and stamp out.

He refers also to "the wretched food provided for the prisoners and the disgusting manner in which it was cooked and served."

We know to what uses jails are put by the bureaucracy in India. But many of us do not suspect that they are used for similar purposes in republican and up-to-date America. Debs, however, says so :—

Later in life, when I had become active in the labor movement and had a part in the strikes and other disturbances of organised workers in the course of which the leaders were not infrequently arrested and sent to jail, I came to realize that the prison could be used for purposes other than confining the criminal; used as a club to intimidate working-men and women after their leaders had already been incarcerated; used as a silencer upon any expression of opinion that might not happen to be in accord with the administrative power.

So I understood from the beginning that all men who were sent to jails and penitentiaries, were not criminals; indeed, I have often had cause to think that the time may come in the life of any man when he may consider it

necessary to go to prison if he is to be true to the integrity of his own soul, and loyal to his inherent God-given sovereignty as a human being. Such thoughts would come to me after my visits to jails and penitentiaries to call upon friends and associates, in the labor struggle, incarcerated there.

Debs says from his experience of jails that prisoners are just like other men.

During the first two months I was placed in a cell that was already inhabited by five other convicts, and these inmates did everything that human beings could possibly do to make me comfortable and my stay a pleasant one. They were constantly seeking ways and means to share with me whatever they had, and from these simple souls I learned something about unselfishness and thoughtfulness and respect for another's feelings, qualities that are not too common in the outer world, where men are more or less free to practise them without being watched by brutal guards with clubs in their hands eager to proclaim their authority with the might of the bludgeon.

We sat side by side and ate the same wretched food together, and after our evening meal in the general mess we spent fourteen consecutive hours together, locked in a steel cage. I found my cell-mates to be just as humane as any men I had ever met in the outer world. I have heard people refer to the "convict countenance." I never saw one. The rarest of human beings, the most cultivated and refined among us, might in time become brutal by the blighting and brutalizing influence of the prison if they should permit themselves to yield their spirit to the degrading and debasing atmosphere that permeates every penitentiary in the land.

By far the most of my fellow-prisoners were poor and uneducated men who never had a decent chance in life to cultivate the higher arts of humanity, but never in all the time I spent among those more than two thousand convicts did one of them give me an unkind word.

Debs rightly holds that there is vast power in human kindness.

Every one of those convicts without a single exception responded in kindness to the touch of kindness. I made it my special duty to seek out those who were regarded as the worst specimens, but I never found one who failed to treat me as decently as I treated him. My code of conduct toward my fellow-prisoners had the same efficacy in prison that it had elsewhere. In dealing with human beings I know no race, no color, and no creed. At the roots I think we are all alike governed by similar impulses that have more or less the same results, depending upon the circumstances in which we find ourselves placed, and considering the conditions that attend us. I judge not, and I try

to treat others as I would be treated by them.

He proceeds to say sarcastically.

The clubs and guns in the hands of guards present a picture well calculated to reveal the true character of the prison as a humanizing and redeeming institution.

As a matter of fact, the prison is simply a reflex of the sins which society commits against itself. The most thorough study of prison inmates that I was able to make in the course of my intimate daily and nightly contact with thousands of them convinced me beyond all question that they are in all essential respects the same as the average run of people in the outer world. I was unable to discover the criminal type or the criminal element of which I had heard and read much before I had the opportunity to make my own investigation. That there are moral and mental defectives in prison is of course admitted, but the number is not greater, nor are the cases more pronounced, than may be found outside of prison walls.

Debs thinks that prisoners ought to be paid for their labour.

Soon after I entered prison the question occurred to me, why are men who work here not paid for their labor? They are here under punishment for having stolen, perhaps, a few dollars, and promptly upon their incarceration the Government or the State proceeds to rob them of their daily earnings, compelling them to work day after day without a cent of compensation. The service which the State exacts from a convict should be paid for at the prevailing rate of wages, to be placed to his credit on the books, or shared with his family, so that on leaving the prison he would not have to face a hostile world in a shoddy suit of clothes and five dollars in his pocket as his sole capital with which to start life anew.

### "The Lamp of Fellowship."

In the July number of *Chambers's Journal* Judge Barry concludes his articles on the seven lamps of advocacy, the seventh being Fellowship. Says he:—

A man who joins the Bar merely as a trade or business, and does not understand that it is also a professional community with public ideals, misses the heart of the thing, and he and his clients will suffer accordingly.

Fitzjames Stephen wisely said of the English Bar that it is 'exactly like a great public school, the boys of which have grown older, and have exchanged boyish for manly objects. There is just the same rough familiarity, the general ardour of character, the same

kind of unwritten code of morals and manners the same kind of public opinion expressed in exactly the same blunt, unmistakable manner.'

## The Queerest Foods in the World

The same journal contains a curious though unsavoury article on the queerest foods in the world. Let us make a few extracts therefrom.

We think the Chinese are pigs for eating salted dried rats and smelly old eggs, and the Chinese think us pigs for eating salted butter and smelly old cheese. In Siberia the people enjoy mare's milk, but won't touch hare, deeming its relation to the domestic pussy too close. We enjoy woodcock, but the Scandinavians consider its flesh unwholesome, as that bird has no crop. The French, or quite a lot of them, recoil with disgust at the notion of eating eels, as most of us do at the idea of eating frogs and snails.

Despite a proneness to famine hardly less than China's, India, with her strict caste system, furnishes probably the most striking example in the world of rigid restrictions of dietary. The Australian 'black fellow,' again, lives a simple life naked and feeding from hand to mouth, but his clubs and spears and his understanding of the potentialities of fire, and the abundance of fish, flesh, and fowl in usually quite accessible hunting-grounds, do not seem to provide him with an adequate excuse for much of his repulsive, wormy diet. 'But why 'repulsive'?' asks the Cantonese. 'You don't mind mites in your gorgonzola. Why look too closely into our dried and flattened mice?'

What next?—the reader may ask.

Pickled and roasted monkeys are eaten today by far more people than eat herrings.

Live centipeds—big fellows, too—are eaten by the Indian tribes of the Amazon basin.

Drunken snails were a Roman delicacy. A big species, *Helix pomatia*, was kept on wine-soaked bran, in special fattening-cages, where the molluscs remained tipsy for some days before they were wanted for the table.

Lizards are eaten alive in Guatemala to cure cancer. Dead, and cooked, they are eaten in many parts of the world. Pada lizard is popular in Burma, which is the chief reptile-eating country in Asia. Lizards are eaten by the Shangallas of the Abyssinian border, by the natives of Dahomey and other parts of Africa, and in China.

The huge goliath beetles of South America and West Africa are roasted and eaten by natives. Turkish women frequently eat the cockroach, *Blaps sulcata*, cooked in butter, considering it fattening. And beetles are eaten in East Africa.

As to the elephant, the toes of that interesting animal, pickled in vinegar and liberally spiced with cayenne-pepper, are a great delicacy in Ceylon. Elephant is eaten wherever it occurs.

Kippered rats, dried and flattened, are a standard article of diet in China. Rats were extensively eaten in the siege of Paris. The Sonthals of Bengal eat them, as do millions of people in East Africa, the Polynesian Islands, and elsewhere. Spiced rats are eaten in the West Indies.

Chickens' tongues and unhatched chickens are Chinese delicacies; lamb wine, which is described as being very strong and having a disagreeable smell, is drunk by the Tatars; sloth is eaten on the island of Demerara in the West Indies; a pale-blue mole and two mice were the tasty supper that Livingstone's guides gave him one night after crossing the Kai.

More disgusting things follow.

Maggots, or insect grubs, chiefly the larvae of beetles, are often devoured.

Leopard makes good eating if the beast is young, the cut well selected, and the cooking skilful.

Lion, too, is extensively eaten from Rhodesia to Morocco. In its best cuts it tastes not unlike veal.

'Mermaid' is very good eating, unchivalrous as it sounds. You are probably aware that the mariners' 'mermaid' is that queer beast, the dugong or manatee.

I've never met a man who has consciously eaten eat yet any man who has taken many meals at humble Continental restaurants is certain to have partaken of this camouflaged addition to the stewpot.

Lap-dogs are reared for eating in West Londoland, in Africa; and the chiefs of the Warori, in Central Africa, dote on fattened dog.

Among other people who have found man pretty good eating was King Thakumbo of Mbau, in the Fiji Isles.

Alligator is sometimes good eating, sometimes not. At its best it reminds one of sucking-pig. It is eaten a good deal in Brazil.

It is about time we stopped,

Strips of cattle-hide are the chewing gum of Java.

Sea-slugs, brined, and bamboo sprouts were my main diet when living in a Manchu inn at Tsitsikhar during the pneumonic plague.

Prairie wolf is readily eaten by the West Canadian Indians. In a tender cut it is good.

The toucan, that queer, gaudily tailored fowl with the huge Semetic beak, is wholesome and delicious, though its flesh is blue. They eat it in Trinidad.

Lice, plucked from the own matted hair are eaten by the hairy Ainus of Sakhalin who 'crack them between their teeth like nuts.'

as the Russian traveller, Golowin, graphically describes the process.

Yes, it is a lucky creature that is not eaten by man, somewhere or other. From the ada and the alu to the yak and the zebra, practically every creature that swims, runs, flies, burrows, creeps, shuffles, or crawls on or under the earth is appearing at table this evening while you are eating your commonplace mutton-chop.

### A Weakness of Democracy.

D. S. Miller writes in the *New Republic*.

A certain deep-seated vice or weakness of democracy was pointed out long ago. It is that for the individual democracy is uninteresting. Taken by himself alone, he has so little power that it seems to him unimportant whether he exercises it or not. To Frederick or Napoleon the business of government was interesting. It was creative work on a colossal scale. He could see his own strokes shaping a nation. His material, of course, was more or less intractable but still it again and again was fashioned to his purpose. To govern is, for a despot, an exciting occupation. To exercise the elective franchise of a single citizen under democracy is not exciting. Nothing can make the citizen believe that it is a vital matter whether he, as a single unit, casts his vote or not or even for whom he casts it.

In order to suggest the remedy, writer says :

Now the curious thing is that there is a very similar vice or weakness in the scheme of morality.

Morality exists for the welfare of society and for that only. But an individual cannot be made to believe that one particular lie or one unobserved petty theft or one small and unpunished breach of contract will do any great harm to society. He admits at once that if everybody did the like, society would suffer. Indeed he sees that if he on every occasion did the like, society would suffer not to mention himself.

Now what has morality done to meet the difficulty ?

Morality introduces one of the most momentous of ideas, the idea of the sacred. It says truth is a sacred thing. It says honesty and contract are sacred things. It puts a peculiar stigma of discredit and disgrace, quite apart from the thought of consequences, on those who disregard the taboo. To make a moral law take effect and secure a volume of good consequences it is necessary to give it a certain prestige and majesty, to make it

"inviolable," to secure in its favor a dumb, uncalculating instinct of obedience.

If we follow the same clue as to democracy we should endeavor to make the citizen's exercise of his elective franchise a sacred duty. Public opinion in a well constituted democracy would attach discredit and disgrace to the omission of civic duty or of anything that it involves.

### Internationalism.

F. P. Miller writes in *The Indus* for June :

The real unit of organized society ( that is the unit within which people participate in the development of their common life ) was for centuries something less than the national group, and there is no reason to suppose that altered conditions may not require something more.

Next came nationalism ; and now we must advance towards internationalism.

The present generation, in the West at any rate, received the kind of education which led it to assume as a matter of course that the national group, organized as a state, was the final unit of political organization, and the supreme thing in human society. It was through their sublime adherence to this creed during the nineteenth century that the peoples of Europe were able to acquire a vastly increased share in determining the conditions under which they were to live. Splendid as were some of the consequences of this faith in the national being, there were others almost equally calamitous. It tended to divide European society spiritually into a series of sharply defined "types," each represented by an extremely suspicious, sensitive, and aggressive patriot scheming to enlarge his own particular holding at the expense of his neighbour, and admitting no common obligation to the others, which would have limited his freedom to act according to his own interests, and would have involved the creation of a super-national law.

Not until national groups are willing to forego some of their vaunted "sovereignty" and recognize the existence of certain specified obligations by which the world's corporate life could be regulated ( and which would form the basis of a world law ), will it be possible for the moral plane of international action to be raised, and for national groups to make their richest contribution to humanity as a whole. The path of progress lies in the direction of the association of national groups. Annihilation awaits those who remain isolated.

Our immediate task as students is plain.

Instead of the narrow nationalistic type of mind which conceives of itself as belonging to God's ideal type and regards with proud indifference those lesser breeds without the law, we must create that kind of mind which looks behind all differences of nation, or race, or colour, or caste, and sees there the man. This is the true international mind. To attain it more will be required than encyclopædic knowledge or a reconstitution of our intellectual processes—it involves no less than an entire conversion of the spirit within us. We have heretofore been loyal to the national ideal. That loyalty is no longer sufficient. It is to a higher and nobler loyalty that we are now called. This loyalty does not destroy the other, but rather supplements and enriches it. There is but one good in all the world and that is the good of humanity, but one ideal and that of the race of Man. Our loyalty henceforth is to all that contributes to this good, and to all that enriches this ideal.

### The Last Ten Years in Korea.

In the *International Review of Missions* for July Bishop Welch gives the following estimate of the results of the Japanese occupation of Korea during the last fifteen years:—

The rapid growth of population, the reclaiming of waste lands, the improvement of agricultural methods, reforestation on a huge scale, the advance of mining, fisheries, industrial enterprise, and foreign trade, the extension of highways and railroads, attention to rivers, harbours, land surveys, sanitation and public health—all bear witness to the intelligence, energy and skill of the Japanese administration. Thrift has been encouraged, savings have enormously increased, taxes have been made equitable, laws have been codified, the safety of property and life has been stabilized. An educational system has been promoted consisting mostly of elementary schools but including a few of higher grade. This list of achievements is nothing less than impressive.

But, says the same authority, even these good things were accomplished in such a fashion as to leave the nation dissatisfied.

The policy of assimilation—in the sense of denationalizing the people—held up as an objective, has aroused the resentment of the masses. A government military in form and in spirit (with the usual restrictions on speech and publication and assembly), a government

of discrimination between Japanese and Koreans in educational facilities, in government employ, in the use of the native language; and a government of Koreans by Japanese, with no appearance or promise of self-government even in future days—such a government could not fail to alienate large numbers of those whom it needed to win. It was out of touch with the real thoughts and aspirations of the nation and was seeking by mechanical means to accomplish what demanded a spiritual qualification. The Independence Movement, therefore, was not a thing to be wondered at.

Of the Independence Movement and how it was sought to be crushed, the writer says:

This was an effort beginning in 1919 to overthrow the Japanese sovereignty. In general the plan pursued was one of unarmed demonstration, although as excitement grew and feeling became more bitter and resentful on account of the brutal acts of the police and soldiers, violence was employed in some instances by Korean groups. The number of Japanese killed or wounded, however, was strikingly small. Little government property was destroyed, no Japanese shops were looted and scarcely a civilian Japanese was injured. On the other hand, the uprising of the Koreans, young and old, men and women, humble and noble, students and illiterate, was met by the authorities with roughness, cruelty and needless bloodshed. Hundreds were killed, thousands injured and tens of thousands imprisoned. Torture was freely used to extort evidence or confession; indignities were practised upon men and upon women (yet it should be added that reports of rape were conspicuous by their absence); children were sometimes involved in this brutal treatment; sentences were often harsh (although the signers of the Declaration of Independence were not charged with treason or sedition, and received a maximum sentence of three years' imprisonment). Such treatment aroused the indignation of the entire country, emphasized the demand for independence and intensified the bitterness of the Koreans against the authorities. So badly were affairs handled by the officials, that after five months, in response to world opinion and growing Japanese protest (as the facts slowly became known), the old administration was allowed to retire and a new Governor-General and staff were appointed.

The new policy was 'to treat Korea as in all respects on the same footing with Japan'; and what was the result?

After two years and a half, it may be said that the Governor-General, Admiral Baron Saito, and some of his chief colleagues, possess the general confidence and genuine progress has been made. The prevailing tone of the



government is much less military. A larger degree of liberty has been permitted. Flogging as a legalized punishment has been discontinued, and amnesty has been granted to many prisoners. Discrimination between Koreans and Japanese has at least been reduced, if not yet wholly eliminated. Especially in the provision of adequate educational facilities has improvement been shown. Schools are being swiftly increased in number, and even an imperial university is now in prospect. A move in the direction of self-government is to be discerned in the creation of central and local advisory councils, which have no legislative authority yet which may exercise a real influence upon administrative measures. In brief, a more civilian, a more just, a more mild, humane and conciliatory temper is plainly observable in the government of Korea.

"But the desire for national independence has by no means disappeared."

Demonstrations are now infrequent; the wisest leaders are urging the use of constructive means for the development of the natural resources, for the education and moralization of the people, and for their study and practice (so far as this is yet possible) of the art of self-government, that they may be prepared for the larger responsibilities of the future. But patriots, hungry for freedom, are not satisfied with reform, and it still remains to be seen whether Japan can quiet the national spirit which the events of the last three years have aroused.

### The Last Ten Years in the Philippines.

Frank C. Laubach states in the same Review:—

The greatest contribution of the American government is the magnificent school system which it introduced.

Repeatedly it has been asserted that the Filipinos have progressed faster educationally in these past twenty years than any race the world has seen.

According to the census just published the Roman Catholic population numbers 7,790,937 or 75 per cent; the Aglipayans 1,417,448 or 13.7 per cent; the Protestants 114,575 or 1.3 per cent; the Mohammedans 443,037 or 4.3 per cent; the Buddhists 24,363 or 0.2 per cent; and all others 5454.

### Failure of Lloyd George at Genoa.

According to *The Communist Review* for June.

Lloyd George had hoped that Genoa would turn into a conference where the differences between all Capitalist groups would be merged into one mighty and united instrument against the Soviet Republics. He had visions of conciliating Germany, of breaking the chauvinistic spirit of France, and of getting a united Capitalist front against the Bolsheviks. He had dreams of returning from Genoa as the champion Bolshevik pulveriser, with a great European peace in his pocket, and a triumphant general election within his reach. He had hoped to hear Chicherin whining and to see the Soviet delegation gratefully accepting humiliating concessions and unstinted abuse; all this would have been pleasing to Winston Churchill and J. H. Thomas. It would also have been such splendid copy for his wife's guest—Madame Snowden of the I. L. P. Instead of these things happening, Genoa showed that the internecine conflicts among the Capitalist States are deep and chronic. The British Premier had to strive like a Trojan at Genoa to preserve an element of common decency among the conflicting Capitalist Powers in their public behaviour. His wonderful eloquence was eclipsed by the non-eloquent Chicherin, whose plain facts dazzled the Conference like forked lightning; the Soviet delegates refused to take either cheap abuse or worthless concessions. Lloyd George's wonderful conference ended without solving any of the great problems, and he had to come home to London cheered only by a few specially drilled automatons.

### The Birth of a New Order.

Dr. Frank Crane observes in *Current Opinion* for June:—

The law that governs all social ideas is that they begin as heresies and end as superstitions, as Huxley pointed out.

We must not forget, however, that this constant ebb and flow is not merely a fixed condition of disorder but it is Nature's method of progress. With every revolution, with every change the world goes a little forward. We often cannot see it at the time, but if we look back over history we can easily perceive that in the course of centuries vast advance is made.

God is not on the side of the strongest battalions. No man can grasp the meaning of God unless he has a background of history. And history proves that God is on the side of righteousness, idealism and normalcy. These are the things that are evergreen through the centuries, while every form of unjust tyranny, unearned privilege and ancient fraud is deciduous. It is only a question of time till the place that knew them shall know them no more for ever.

Hé illustrates his observations by pointing out that in England hundreds of land-lords and thousands of farmers are selling their estates, and "current literature in England is full of lugubrious predictions to the effect that the glory of Great Britain is passing," that the same sort of thing is found in France; that in Germany the change is still more profound; and that there are alterations almost as significant in China and Japan, in India and in the Mahometan World. The Revolution in Russia need not be described. But in spite of all this Dr. Crane remains optimistic.

In all these there is nothing that need alarm a philosopher. It does not prove that the world is going back to chaos. It simply proves that the world is alive, that it is a growing thing, that it has energy enough within it to burst through the old forms and cast them aside.

Those who look for safety and assurance to settled institutions, continuous authority and unaltering Governments forget that the world is not a dead thing but a live thing. And permanency and safety for any living thing consist in the ability of that thing to change without destroying itself.

There are those who think there is no help for this old world except, as Omar suggested, to smash it into bits and remould it nearer to our heart's desire. These are the iconoclasts, the extremists and the narrow pessimists. To them there is no salvation except in suicide.

There are others who think that the only cure for the distress of the world is some new Napoleon, some strong hand of authority, some Pope or potentate or man on horseback that shall frighten the hordes of awakening life back to submission, and clamp the yeasting universe in the strong box of autocracy.

Neither of these two classes understand that they are dealing with a world which is a living thing, whose only hope is in life, and for the progress and permanence of life the two passions are necessary: one the passion for going on, and the other the passion for retaining what gains we have already made.

### Primary and Secondary Objects of Marriage.

We read in *Current Opinion* :

The primary end of marriage is to beget and bear offspring until they are able to take care of themselves. Yet, from an early period in human history, Mr. Ellis points out, a

secondary function of sexual union had been slowly growing up to become one of the great objects of marriage.

"Among animals, it may be said, and even sometimes in man, the sexual impulse, when once aroused, makes but a short and swift circuit through the brain to reach its consummation. But as the brain and its faculties develop, powerfully aided by the very difficulties of the sexual life, the impulse for sexual union has to traverse ever longer, slower, more painful paths, before it reaches—and sometimes it never reaches—its ultimate object. This means that sex gradually becomes intertwined with all the highest and subtlest human emotions and activities, with the refinements of social intercourse, with high adventure in every sphere, with art, with religion. The primitive animal instinct, having the sole end of procreation, becomes on its way to that end the inspiring stimulus to all those psychic energies which in civilization we count most precious. This function is thus, we see, a by-product. But, as we know, even in our human factories, the by-product is sometimes more valuable than the product. That is so as regards the functional products of human evolution. The hand was produced out of the animal forelimb with the primary end of grasping the things we materially need, but as a by-product the hand has developed the function of making and playing the piano and the violin, and that secondary functional by-product of the hand we account, even as measured by the rough test of money, more precious, however less materially necessary, than its primary function. It is, however, only in rare and gifted natures that transformed sexual energy becomes of supreme value for its own sake without ever attaining the normal physical outlet. For the most part the by-product accompanies the product, throughout, thus adding a secondary yet peculiarly sacred and specially human, object of marriage to its primary animal object. This may be termed the spiritual object of marriage."

### Agreeable Physical Aspects of Death.

*Current Opinion* gives reasons for believing that death is not as dreadful as it is imagined.

It seems very probable that many violent deaths are in no way terrible and often are attended with little or no pain. Even in cases of death from being torn to pieces by wild beasts, physical pain is surprisingly absent. The sensation is dreamy.

Likewise, persons torn on mountain rocks after a long and deep fall have observed that agony was not present—there was a

strange exhilaration, just as persons drowning will report that in the crisis they heard agreeable sounds. One of the least painful of violent deaths, adds Doctor Arthur Macdonald, writing in *The Indian Medical Record*, is that caused by loss of blood. When one is shot through the head there is no pain possible owing to want of time, in the event of instant death, for the nerve current to reach the brain and to be felt. So death is probably painless in all cases where sudden physical violence causes it—as, for example, when we are crushed beneath a weight of rock. There seems no physical pain from death by decapitation. There is probably no physical sensation at all.

"Death-agony" is therefore a falsehood, for in most cases, as just noted, a person dying is unconscious of the final stages of his disease, labored breathing and convulsive struggles do not indicate any suffering on the part of the patient. In epileptic convulsions the muscles may even be torn and the tongue bitten, but the patient has no knowledge of it. Some diseases ending fatally may be attended with much pain, but this is not the dying hour which puts an end to the sufferings. On the other hand, many fatal diseases have little physical pain.

"The idea that dying is accompanied with severe suffering may arise from misinterpretation of the physical and pathological bodily phenomena accompanying it; also the death act is confounded with the symptoms of disease, which precede and lead to it, which are as severe and often more so in those who recover. Dying begins after these symptoms have subsided, there seems to be a pause in nature, the disease has conquered, the battle is over, the body is fatigued by its efforts to sustain itself, it is ready to die and all is tranquillity.

"In even the most severe inflammation of the lungs, there may be little or no pain, tho the difficulty of breathing, cough and fever, which accompany it frequently, exhaust the feelings as much as pain; in chronic forms, however, it is often but little distress in even these last ways.

"In serious and specially tedious illness, there is usually sufficient bodily suffering and change or perversion of tastes, to blunt the sensibility, so that the love of life lessens. There are also those to whom death comes so easily that not a ruffle is seen on the body, when it is very difficult to fix the moment when life has gone. Here dozing may be dying. In old age, especially, death is often the last sleep, not showing any difference from normal sleep.

"From the experience and observations of many living in all generations, almost from the beginning of history, the general conclusion is that the ideas of the dreadfulness of death and its physical pain are for the most part in the imagination."

### Salvation by Machinery.

It makes one optimistic to read the following in an American periodical named *School and Home Education* :

Recent events have made it only too clear that the world cannot be saved by machinery alone. Power over nature does not in itself make men more human; it merely makes them more terrible. It might be argued with some plausibility that we know too many of the secrets of nature already. Science is too dangerous a tool for the sons of Adam. If we increase our knowledge of science, we do so at great risk. So far as we can see at present, the only thing that saved the world from utter annihilation in the recent war was ignorance. If science and invention had been fifty years further along, the fighting nations would have made a clean job of it, like the two bull-dogs which, according to the story, started chewing each other up, so that finally nothing was left of the combatants except the tails. Fortunately, the embattled nations did not quite know how to achieve such a result; but, if we may trust what we hear, they have made up their minds that there shall be no such failure next time. We hear hopeful talk already about aeroplanes that can be loaded with explosives and directed against an enemy by wireless; and about gas bombs that can wipe out a whole city. We are not quite ready yet, to be sure, but with just a little more control over nature our civilization will be in a position to commit the most elaborate and most effective suicide ever known to history.

As I have already intimated, however, machinery and organization and efficiency are not always esteemed and admired for their own sake, even here in America. They were often the symbols of fine aspirations and noble ideals. America, too, for all its youth, has a great national tradition.

The meaning of democracy has broadened and deepened with the years. In the course of time it was made to include all human beings, without regard to race, color or previous condition of servitude.

No one, not even the humblest citizen, is to serve simply as a hewer of wood and a drawer of water; but everyone is to be recognized as a member of a great brotherhood, and to share in the opportunities, the achievements, and the aspirations which are our common possession. There are to be no peasants, no serfs, as there are no hereditary privileges and titles, because each citizen is to rise to the full stature of his spiritual manhood, even as a son in his father's house.

## Liquor Traffic Condemned By All Parties.

*Abkari* gives a correct view of the general Indian attitude towards the liquor traffic when it writes :—

From all parts of India and from every section of society welcome news has been received of a widespread determination to make an end of the liquor traffic. The pages of *ABKARI* have borne constant witness to the remarkable protest of all classes of Indians against the continuance of this evil in their midst. The movement has found expression in two main directions. The power of the new Legislatures, notwithstanding financial restrictions to reverse or modify the existing Excise policy, have been demonstrated in every Province. In nearly all the Legislatures resolutions in favour of reduction, with Prohibition as the ultimate goal, have been passed. Side by side with this action in the Councils there has been an extensive boycott of the liquor shops by the people, and an organised effort to dissuade the drinking classes from resorting to such places. It is profoundly regretted that, in certain instances, the methods adopted have led to serious disorder, though for the most part the principle of non-violence was loyally observed. The leaders of the constitutional Temperance movement in India have never ceased to express their emphatic disapproval of every departure from peaceful moral suasion, and it is only fair to add that Mr. Gandhi himself, who was the chief inspirer of what is called "non-co-operation," was foremost in his denunciation of the excesses which occurred in connection with the liquor traffic in a few districts.

It is difficult to draw the line which separates peaceful moral suasion from action which leads to disorder and the breaking of the law, and whilst we fully recognise and share the convictions as regards the seriousness of the evils of drink of those who in India have adopted measures which have brought them into conflict with the law, we hold that when an order is legally made against the practice of concerted picketing of liquor shops it is the duty of law-abiding citizens to obey it, reserving to themselves the right to press for the alteration of the law under which such orders are made. There can, however, be no doubt that behind the widespread picketing of liquor shops and the action taken with regard to auction sales of licences there lies a deep-seated hostility to the present licensing system in India, and whilst giving every needful weight to the operation of other factors in the situation, what has taken place is a clear demonstration of the public sentiment in favour of Prohibition.

## Industrial China.

Writing of the commercial future of China in *The Asiatic Review* for July, Mr. T. Bawen Partington observes that, as in political circles, so

In commercial circles she is also under consideration, and is regarded to-day as one of the great industrial nations of the future. Nature has endowed her with almost inconceivable riches in minerals and metals. Her coal and iron supplies exceed those of any other part of the world, and her deposits of antimony, copper, and tin are prodigious. Within the past ten years the development of her steel industry has been remarkable. Great textile mills, flour mills, and other varied industries, have been developed, and her transportation systems, woefully lacking in extent and effectiveness, are being improved.

More and more the masses of the people are being brought into contact with the current of progress, and they are being educated to need things from the West. Out of the old China there has come a new China, and the differentiation between the new and the old is in the receptivity of the new as contrasted with the self-sufficiency of the old. All of China to-day is receptive, with its face to the future and away from the past, ready to take advantage of all that the West and modern civilization has to offer. And the thing to be noted is that China has no old machinery or ideas in a modern industrial and commercial sense to scrap. It starts in to-day where we are, and is in a position to take the best we have.

## From "The Playground."

Like many other foreign observers, Sir Michael Sadler noted the preponderance of smileless faces in our country. This is due to our lifelessness, which again is the result of poverty, disease and political subjection. Play is a sign of vitality and also increases vitality. It is better to play than to observe others playing. To play is a sign of Youth, to look on is a sign of age—in nations as well as individuals. America is youthful, and is, therefore, as earnestly devoted to play as to work.

The following extracts are taken at random from *The Playground*, published monthly for the Play ground and Recreation Association of America :

Recreation is the big brother of education, and a man learns as much in his recreational

hours as he gets from schools. And just as important as education is entertainment.

**Physical Education Legislation.**—A revision of the bulletin called *Recent State Legislation for Physical Education*, published in 1918, has been issued by the U. S. Bureau of Education as Bulletin, 1922, No. 1. Price 5 cents. In addition to the analysis of the eight state physical education laws contained in the first pamphlet, there have been added descriptions of the seventeen state laws which have been passed since that pamphlet was prepared. The revision has been made by Dr. Willard S. Small and Dr. E. G. Salisbury and the bulletin now includes all state physical education legislation enacted up to July, 1921.

Hunger, cold, loss of shelter, and needless pain—surely these are tragedies. Yet the climax of tragedy is not reached until one has unveiled another picture—that of a dwarfed, starved, unresponsive, joyless life. The other pictures have dealt with externals; this one deals with the spirit itself. Here is tragedy. The body is found living after the spirit is dead. Lack of food, fuel, even the lack of a home, is no such tragedy as the lack of life. Death by accident is for the moment terrible, but not nearly so tragic as the gradual death of the spirit while the breath still remains in the body—to see an individual or a family going through the forms of living after the hours have ceased to bring pleasure! When the play spirit has been lost and the future is only one long-drawn-out work, work, work, which taxes the body but does not engage the soul, then tragedy has reached its climax.

### Women the Purifier.

As an example of what woman can do for the welfare of Society, the following is taken from *The Women Citizen*:

Eighty-three red light districts closed; loose conditions in nearly eight hundred cities cleaned up; and the disease rate in the army reduced from an average rate last year of 90 per thousand to about 62 per thousand—that is the record of the Interdepartmental Social Hygiene Board in the past three years.

It is a splendid record—and one of which women can justly be proud. For women have had a great deal to do with it.

All this is surely a far cry from the days when nice women weren't supposed to mention the word prostitution.

### World News About Women.

The following items of news are taken from the same weekly:—

A bill providing for full woman suffrage has been introduced in the Italian Chamber of Deputies by a Socialist member.

In Danzig the Diet has passed a bill making women eligible as judges on the same terms as men.

Fifty-nine women's organizations throughout the British Empire are supporting the bill, recently introduced in the House of Commons which allows a woman to retain her British nationality on marriage with an alien. The bill is very similar in scope to the Married Women's Citizenship bill now before our Congress.

No longer will famous women have to dwell apart in the seclusion of their separate hall in the Hall of Fame. From now on they may mingle with famous men. This has been made possible by an amendment in the constitution of the Hall recently agreed to at a meeting of the Senate of New York University.

In 1900 when the Hall of Fame was originally established at New York University no provision was made for the election of women; but in 1904 a separate hall was set aside for them. Now in 1922 all sex discrimination has been abolished and the bust of Maria Mitchell, the famous astronomer, unveiled May 20 with those of George Washington, Edgar Allan Poe, and others, will be the first to enjoy the newly bestowed privilege.

We are glad to have news of a real feminist triumph in Mexico. Senora Dolores Arriaga has been elected to the supreme Tribunal of Justice for the State San Luis Potosi.

An article granting civic rights to women has been added to the Greek Constitution.

Catherine G. Burke, who is the second blind girl to be graduated from Barnard College, has received a Phi Beta Kappa key. Throughout her college course she has taken notes by a system resembling shorthand, perforating, with a stylus, paper held in a steel frame.

### Personal Memories of Tennyson.

Mrs. Warre Cornish's personal memories of Tennyson in the *London Mercury* make delightful reading.

The poet's son Lionel was gifted with rare moral qualities.

Lionel was incapable of embellishing a story: his most remarkable quality was, I think, an uncompromising truthfulness in every word and act. Though he had a strong sense of humor and a poet's imagination, he would spoil a good story rather than not describe events exactly as they occurred.

Six years were allotted to Tennyson to mourn his son,—as fathers mourn, silently for

the rest of their lives,—but his feelings found expression in that singular poem, *Locksley Hall, Sixty Years After*. Lionel is commemorated in the beautiful lines:—

Truth, for Truth is Truth, he worshipt, being  
true as he was brave;  
Good, for Good is Good, he follow'd yet he  
look'd beyond the grave.  
Wiser there than you, that crowning barren  
Death as lord of all,  
Deem this overtragic drama's closing curtain  
is the pall!

Beautiful was death in him....

The poet condemned 'Zolaism'.

In talks he quoted Walt Whitman as showing an opposite spirit to Zola in spite of his 'nakedness of expression'. 'There is no immorality in Walt Whitman. The most indecent things are those where there is only insinuation of indecency. As in painting or sculpture the wholly nude need suggest no impropriety at all. The suggestion of impropriety is the really vicious thing. But the British workingman doesn't understand the nude as the ancient Greeks did, and it may be a mistake to exhibit it on the walls of the academy.'

More harm can be done through bad literature than through anything else; the terrible thing is that man, being higher than the beast, can, through the fact of his intellect, make himself infinitely lower than the beast.

Tennyson believed in survival after death.

Memory of friends can only confirm that the cardinal point of Tennyson's philosophy and religion was survival after death. Of such survival he had even a definite word: 'My idea of Heaven is the perpetual ministry of one soul to another.'

Some poets are magnificent readers of their own work. Tennyson was one, as our Rabindranath is.

It was with Douglas Freshfield now that in 1891, in late autumn, I heard *The Death of Enone* read by the poet at Farringford. He asked me how I liked it; when I replied with warmth that I liked it better even than the first *Enone*, he said, 'Why?' and scrutinized me with his magnetic eyes, as if he doubted my sincerity. He was surely a great master of intercourse, for, high as was his standard of truth and integrity, he could allow for the sympathetic impulse outrunning the critical in a woman. (Enone's death, as I told him, must have a strong charm for a wife as an example of Indian satee to end parting:—

And all at once  
The morning light of happy marriage broke  
Through all the clouded gloom of widowhood,  
And muffling up her comely head and crying  
'Husband!' she leapt upon the funeral pile  
And mixed herself with *him* and passed in fire.

For the last reading I quote my sister:—

The last poem I heard him read was *Akbar's Dream*—the sound of his voice was still grand and the *Hymn to the Sun* was magnificent. During the last summer he was too ailing for any reading and, on one or two occasions even for conversation, but on the last day I ever saw him he was in force and as delightful as ever, quoting long passages with an unflinching memory.

### France and Islam.

*The Outlook* of London has much to say against the impression that

While we have our troubles in Egypt, India, and in Palestine, while Italy has a precarious hold on the Tripolitan littoral, while the Spaniards are being defied by the tribesmen of the Riff, [while] other empires may be 'crumbling'; that of France stands firm as the rock, as befits the nation that imposes its policy upon Europe.

The London paper asserts:

The truth is that the French governing clique is profoundly disturbed about the situation in Algeria and Tunis: in Morocco there is less reason for anxiety, since the country is still administered by the great feudal chieftains who do not object to the French Protectorate so long as they are left free in their relations with their followers. The other Protectorate, Tunis, is in a highly unsatisfactory condition. The Tunisian extremists are said to be in close contact with Stamboul, and the propinquity of the Senussi helps to stiffen Islamic feeling amongst the lower classes.

French observers testify to the 'revolutionary spirit' that is abroad, and express satisfaction that at last a 'strong' policy is being put into effect. The Tunisian Government has been forced to act very much as we have in Egypt: it has been found necessary to exercise a strict control over the native press, and any paper preaching sedition is suspended. If the unrest were confined to Tunis there would not be so much reason for anxiety. But Algeria itself, the foundation of the imposing fabric of empire the French have built in Africa, is contaminated. The Mohammedan population is showing a spirit which, if it continues to develop, will mean the end of the French domination in North Africa.

### "Atmosphere of Pure Study."

The following paragraph from the *New York Nation* bears on the bureaucratic theory of maintaining an atmosphere of pure study in our educational institutions:—

Youth has spoken again and the soundness of its remarks ought to make Age blush, though there is no record of that happening. The Barnard College Student Council, discussing the faculty censorship on outside speakers invited to speak at the college, expresses itself thus:

"Resolved, That there is nothing gained in shielding students during four years from problems and ideas they must face during the rest of their life ;

"That if they are considered incapable of rational judgment upon theories presented to them, the solution lies in further training in scientific method rather than in quarantine from ideas ;

"That a reputation for fearless open-mindedness is more to be desired for an academic institution than material prosperity ;

"That, therefore, we wish to go on record as opposing any form of censorship of the college platform....."

Recognizing the impossibility of attaining this ideal at present, the Student Council petitions the dean of Barnard College "at least to make the certainty of incurring undesired notoriety for the college the only basis for exclusion of outside speakers." These young things are just about "flapper" age and have many "flapper" traits. But they prove the truth of the remark that the women's colleges are about the most intellectual spots in the United States.

### A Catechism in Foreign Politics.

*The Living Age* has printed some extracts from the report of Karl Radak, who is in charge of Russia's Foreign Information Service, to the Communist Party of Russia, upon the European situation at the time of the Genoa Conference. The extracts are from *Die Rote Fahne*. We select a few.

What was the ultimate cause of the great World War ?

The ultimate cause was the rivalry between Germany, the strongest industrial and maritime Power of the Continent, and England, the strongest maritime and industrial Power of the world. English capitalism could not stand idle while Germany, supported by a vast and technically efficient industrial system, by a compact and highly civilized population, and by a geographical situation that favored economic expansion, became strong enough to defy it.

What was the outcome of the war ?

Its outcome was the destruction of the German navy by England, the surrender of the German merchant-fleet, and the confiscation of Germany's principal foreign investments. Consequently, Germany is disarmed. She has

lost her fleet, her army, her colonies, and a vast share of her capital. This makes England the real winner of the war.

In what position does Great Britain find herself with respect to her fellow victor, France ?

France has secured the iron ores of Lorraine, and has thus laid the foundation for an extensive iron and steel industry. If France can secure possession by force of arms of the Ruhr district and Rhenish Westphalia, or if she can make some bargain with Germany that will give her control of the Ruhr coal to smelt Brie and Lorraine ores, she will become the leading economic power of the Continent. The object of German imperialism—the economic objective of German imperialism in the war—will thus be reached, but by France, instead of Germany.

### Historical Fiction.

Mr. George Macaulay Trevelyan, a grand-nephew of Lord Macaulay and himself a historian and man of letters, has some good things to say of historical fiction in the *Cornhill Magazine*.

Historical fiction is not history, but it springs from history and reacts upon it. Historical novels, even the greatest of them, cannot do the specific work of history ; they are not dealing, except occasionally, with the real facts of the past. They attempt instead to create, in all the profusion and wealth of nature, typical cases imitated from, but not identical with, recorded facts. In one sense this is to make the past live, but it is not to make the facts live, and therefore it is not history.

Historical fiction has done much to make history popular and to give it value, for it has stimulated the historical imagination. Indeed, a hundred years ago it altered our whole conception of the past, when Scott, by his lays and novels, revolutionized history. He found it, in his boyhood, composed of two elements distinctive of eighteenth century thoughts—first the patient antiquarianism that was laying the foundations of history proper, and secondly, a habit of sententious generalization, which, though much in advance of the wholly unphilosophic historical gossip of preceding ages, missed a number of the most important points for want of sympathy and experience. 'The age of common sense' had forgotten, among other things, what a revolutionist or a religious fanatic was really like.

Scott was able to do this, because, in the words of Macaulay,

'Sir Walter Scott has used those fragments of truth which historians have scornfully thrown behind them. But a truly great historian would reclaim those materials which

the novelist has appropriated.' Now, if you look to see what Hume, Robertson, and Gibbon lack, you will see at once how very large are the 'fragments of truth' that even the greatest historians 'threw behind them' before Scott taught them better. Everything that is intimate, everything that is passionate, everything also that is of trivial or daily occurrence, all the color and all the infinite variety of the past.

Mr. Trevelyan dwells on the qualifications of an historical novelist.

An historical novelist, if he is to be anything more than a boiler of the pot, requires two qualities: an historical mind apt to study the records of a period, and a power of creative imagination able to reproduce the perceptions so acquired in a picture that has all the colors of life.

### History and Literature.

Educationalists and students and the Calcutta University Senate, which has omitted history from the Matriculation, would do well to pay due attention to the following observations of Mr. Trevelyan on the connection between history and literature:

History and literature were regarded as sisters in the classical culture which ruled the European intellect for four hundred years and is now passing away. Under that regime both literature and history flourished in this island, and much else besides. What have we put in its place? I hope we shall try to replace it by a modern culture in which history and literature will still be regarded as sisters. If not, it will fare ill with both of them. They will both be impoverished. They will, if isolated from one another, fail to appeal to the best intellects and highest imaginations which classical education attracted of old.

Fortunately, the study of modern literature, as now conducted in schools and colleges, is entering into close relations with history. Teachers find that they cannot explain the poets and prose men, even of the last century, without giving them an 'historical background'. To be rightly understood, Shelley and Byron are already in need of the prelude of the French Revolution and the environment of the Holy Alliance: their poems can no more be studied *in vacuo* than Milton and Chaucer themselves.

And if the study of literature thus requires an 'historical background', most periods of civilized history have their 'literary background', without which they lose a great part of their meaning and value as subjects of study. To take one example out of many, we should care little about the fascinating state of society in England in the eighteenth century if we

were ignorant of its literary and classical atmosphere, which lent to Chatham's genius its majestic eloquence, and mingled even the tainted breeze of political corruption with a perfume so delicious.

There is another way in which history and literature are allied. At bottom, the motive that draws men and women to study history is poetic. It is the desire to feel the reality of life in the past, to be familiar with 'the chronicle of wasted time' for the sake of 'ladies dead and lovely knights'—if it were only by discovering the nature of the 'lovely knights' fees. History starts out from this astonishing proposition—that there is no difference in degree of reality between past and present. Lady Jane Gray was once as actual as anyone in this room.

### Commercial Instead of A Naval Struggle.

As the Washington Conference has resulted in crying halt to the policy of continually increasing war vessels and as Britain has taken the lead in this Naval Holiday movement by giving up its insistence on naval supremacy, Japan would be able to effect an annual saving of sixty million dollars, which would have otherwise gone to increasing her navy. According to *The Detroit News*, Japan will now devote this sum to the increase of her prosperity by industries and commerce.

Commerce looks good to Japan. If, argue the Japanese, there is to be no bid for leadership in navies, let us see that we draw level with the leaders of the West in enterprise and industry. Let's sink this \$60,000,000 a year, more or less, in fast passenger ships, good freighters, new rail beds, paved highways for motor trucks; let us import the best goods made abroad for our native workmen to study; then let us stimulate through government action native products and native consumption of them; let us have a first-class export inspection so that our goods will win repute in foreign markets; let us institute industrial training on a large scale; let us engage foreign experts to teach us all there is to know about foreign competition; let us look, into hydro-electricity in a national way; look around abroad for industrial material; study the fuel situation; build rolling stock and vehicles; study quantity as well as quality production; work out a low-interest loan scheme to help this quantity production; promote the quality of workers; study the relation between economic and social policy; do something for agriculture and the marine industry.



Has India any money to do as Japan thinks of doing? And even if she had the money, are her sons as enterprising, as practical and as confident as the Japanese?

Other powers will find that Japan's industry works 24 hours a day, without sleeping.

If the plan becomes a fact it means prosperity for the Japanese, employment, a robust trade balance, improved social conditions through greater earnings and an advancing civilization. Japan has more ground to cover than some others, but the field is open to all, in precisely the same way, if they have the good sense to perceive that the decade of peace is the time for work and its reward.

Japan has decided to buy prosperity instead of battleships. Instead of 49 per cent of the budget going for armaments, most of it will go for national progress. Who's next?

Happy should we have been if we could have answered, India.

### The Ameer's Feelings as a Moslem Sovereign.

*The Muslim Standard* of London printed from the Kabul paper *Al Balagh* some extracts from the speech delivered by the Ameer of Afghanistan on the occasion of the departure of the British delegation from Kabul after the signing of the Anglo-Afghan Treaty. He is reported to have said, in part :—

From childhood I have desired complete freedom for all the nations of the world, and I do not desire the destruction of the liberty of any nation that exists on this earth—liberty which is the birthright of every nation. Then how can I bear any interference with the freedom of my own house and kingdom?

You must think that I am unaware of happenings in the Moslem world and careless of Moslem feeling. I assure you that I cannot be separated from these feelings even for a single moment.

Therefore the more attention you pay to making a real treaty with the Ottoman Empire, so much deeper will be the friendship of Afghanistan. Do not think even for a single moment that you can cause harm to the Moslem kingdom and retain the friendship of Afghanistan, or that Afghanistan will remain unmoved if you act against the sacred law of Islam. If the uneasiness and unrest of India increase, the frontier will undoubtedly be affected.

The frontier tribes, belonging to the same sect, faith, and religion as ourselves, are our brothers; therefore we naturally desire the same peace and prosperity for them as for ourselves. So whatever we do for their progress and for the protection of their natural rights, Great Britain must do the same.

### Inventions and Discoveries Made Independently by Two or More Persons.

*Political Science Quarterly* for March has given a list of 48 inventions and discoveries made independently by two or more persons. Some of the best known are referred to below.

It is an interesting phenomenon that many inventions have been made two or more times by different inventors, each working without knowledge of the other's research. There are a number of cases of such duplicate inventions or discoveries that are of common knowledge. It is well known, for instance, that both Newton and Leibnitz invented calculus. The theory of natural selection was developed practically identically by Wallace and by Darwin. It is claimed that both Langley and Wright invented the airplane. And we all know that the telephone was invented by Gray and by Bell. A good many such cases of duplication in discovery are part of the stock of knowledge of the general reader.

There are, however, a large number of very important instances that are not so well known. For example, the invention of decimal fractions is credited to Rudolph, Stevinus and Burgi. Oxygen was discovered by Scheele and by Priestley in 1774. The molecular theory is due to Avogadro in 1811 and to Ampere in 1814. Both Crox and du Hauron invented color photography in 1860.

### The Creative Power of Silence.

We read in *The Message of the East* :—

What sleep does for our body and nervous system, silence does for our mind and spirit. Until we can learn to think and act with calm and untroubled attitude, we cannot make our life productive. The practice of silence is a very great help for acquiring evenness of mind and tranquillity of body.

The productiveness of our activity depends entirely on what we put into it and in order to put our best into each thought and action, we need to order our mind, to gather up all its scattered forces, to establish our equilibrium; and we cannot do this unless we withdraw at intervals from the haste and noise of outer occupations. That is why Yogis and those who are seeking earnestly for light look upon the practice of silence as essential to their spiritual progress. In the first place it enables us to store up a great deal of life force which now we expend unwisely in needless talking. We wear ourselves out, disturb others, and say much which might better be left unsaid when we talk constantly. We also dull the mind and lessen its power of penetration. All spiritual vision and deeper understanding are unfolded in the hours of silent reflection. It is in the moment of silence that we hear the voices of the Infinite. When our ears are listening to the loud voices of the world, we cannot know that another voice is speaking in our heart. Therefore, those who have obtained direct vision of Truth are not inclined to make their own voice heard.

## PROPOSED BOARD OF SECONDARY EDUCATION : REPORT OF SENATE COMMITTEE ON COUNCIL RESOLUTION.

**I**T will be remembered that about this time last year a resolution was passed in the Bengal Legislative Council, advocating the early establishment of a Board of Secondary Education in Bengal for the control and supervision of all secondary schools in the province, both general and vocational. The proposal was not made a day too soon. The Calcutta University Commission had spoken out in no uncertain terms as to the condition of our schools and as to the fundamental viciousness of the system which condemned them to a sort of stepfatherly protection from and under the University. If education in Bengal was to be retrieved, the first and foremost reform necessary was, therefore, a radical re-organisation of the whole system of secondary education, a drastic change of guardianship, so to speak,—taking it away wholly from the hands of the University and assigning it to a body which would make it its special care. The Commission went even further than this. They would also remove the Intermediate classes from the jurisdiction of the University and place them under the new authority for the control of secondary education. This part of their proposals, however, as is well known, constituted a direct challenge to the existence of many of the degree colleges in Bengal which depended for their sustenance to a large extent on the fees derived from the Intermediate classes. The Bengal Council were apparently deterred by this consideration from touching the intermediate colleges for the present, and confined their proposals merely to the secondary schools. It is inevitable, however, that if the Intermediate classes are not to be doomed to chronic intellectual anæmia, they will have to be released at no distant date from the grasp of the “dead-hand” which now heavily rests on them, but it is of the greatest importance that a beginning should be made, and as a beginning we have no doubt that the proposal of the Bengal Council will meet with general acceptance. The

organisation may easily be made elastic enough to absorb the Intermediate classes, as and when occasion may arise.

The resolution of the Bengal Council was in due course forwarded by Government to the University for opinion. It is some consolation to find that the Committee which was appointed by the Senate to consider and report on the matter has generally expressed itself in favour of the proposal. In acquiescing in the formation of the proposed Board of Secondary Education, the Committee has no doubt stipulated that certain conditions will have to be fulfilled, but these conditions are on the whole so reasonable that strong exception need not be taken to them. Thus, for instance, in the first place, the Committee demands that in constituting the Board, Government must keep in view the principle that “educationists should have a predominant share in guiding and controlling the educational system of the country.” This, we believe, may be easily conceded, though we certainly think that a good deal of care will be necessary in selecting the “educationists”. There are educationists who are educationists, while there are educationists who are diplomatists. Let not the wolves in the clothing of sheep be admitted. Then, the Committee require that the University should be “adequately” represented on the proposed Board. This, again, is a proposition with which it is not necessary to quarrel, but much will depend on the interpretation of the word “adequately”. Someone may think, for instance, that no University representation can be possibly “adequate” unless the Vice-Chancellor of the University is also ex-officio the President of the Board of Secondary Education! Such a calamity, however, will require to be guarded against, for “adequate representation” ought not to mean that the Board should only be a department of the University. In the third place, the Committee demands consideration of the question of “compensation” which may

have to be paid to the University for the loss it may sustain in the shape of Matriculation fees. This is certainly a point which will have to be considered, but in estimating the loss, it will be necessary also to take into account the savings the University will make under the head of Examination expenses, and the calculation will also have to be made on the basis of actual figures and not necessarily on the bloated figures of belated Budgets. Finally, the Committee winds up by uttering some well worn platitudes which need not be disputed :

"The principle of a fundamental unity in national education should never be lost sight of in the re-organisation and re-construction of the existing system of educational administration.

"In the creation of a new system, this unity should be the main principle to be kept in view, and every attempt should be made to maintain and develop it by securing organic co-ordination between its component parts.

"Education in all grades should be looked upon as an organic whole, and to try to re-model one part of this complex organism to the exclusion of other inter-related and inter-dependent parts, would defeat the main object of the attempted reform, and might also result in unforeseen and dangerous consequences."

We only hope that in the rapidly changing vocabulary of the University "co-ordination" may not be afterwards interpreted as synonymous with "sub-ordination". Organic co-ordination there ought certainly to be, from the primary schools up to the highest University classes, in order that there may not be waste of effort and resources and overlapping. But that does not mean that education of all kinds and grades must be under the same authority. It is not so in England, where educational theory and practice are far more advanced than here.

We confess it was a surprise to us not to find in the Committee's report any suggestion that the proposed reform of secondary edu-

cation should wait, pending the re-construction of the University of Calcutta ! Our surprise was only slightly checked on glancing through the names of the signatories to the report. Our mind was, however, completely set at rest on reading the agenda of the Senate meeting of the 29th July last. The report of this Committee was set down as the last item of business, and then there was notice of a significant resolution by Mr. Mahendra Nath Ray, as follows :—

"That a letter be addressed to the Government of Bengal, requesting that the Senate may be furnished with information on the following points :—

(1) Whether compensation will be made to the University for loss of income which must result from the creation of a Board of Secondary Education for the exercise of control over secondary schools and the conduct of the Matriculation examination ?

(2) How, when, on what principle and by what Body will the compensation be determined ?

(3) Will the payment of the amount assessed as compensation be contingent upon the vote of the Legislative Council from year to year, or will it be made a fixed perpetual grant—if the latter, by what method ?

(4) How and in what proportion will the University be represented on the Board of Secondary Education ?

And that pending the receipt of the reply, further consideration of the matter be postponed "

It is something that amid the arduous duties which he has to discharge as President of the Board of Accounts in the University, Mr. Mahendra Nath Ray has found time to bestow so much thought on this question. The resolution does as much credit to his head as to his heart, and he certainly deserves to be congratulated alike on his ingenuity and his loyalty. Let us hope, however, that neither the Government nor the Legislative Council will be deterred from doing its duty by this attitude of the University. For what is it but a plea for the perpetuation of its present blood-sucking methods ?

A. L. P.

## BLINDNESS

Now will I close my body up in quiet  
To sit in the white shadows of still Mind  
Apart from the mad multitudinous riot  
Of the outer world, through dearth of dream,  
grown blind.

Then will the little painted birds come  
Upon my body now at one with woods

And squirrels, like swift flickering flames,  
come searching  
Ripe meal of fruits among my burgeoned  
moods.

Since in the high born silences, forever  
One sudden fire is lit in flesh and tree,  
Extinguished only when our dead hands sever  
Our separate selves from single mystery.  
H. CHATTOPADHYAYA.

## NOTES

**Baroda State and British Districts.**

According to the census returns for 1921, the population of the State of Baroda was 2,126,522. According to the census returns for the same year, the populations of some Bengal districts were as follows: Midnapur, more than 26 lakhs, 24 Parganas more than 26 lakhs; Rangpur, more than 25 lakhs; Dacca, more than 31 lakhs; Mymensingh more than 48 lakhs; Faridpur more than 22 lakhs; Bakarganj more than 22 lakhs; and Tippera more than 27 lakhs. Therefore, the State of Baroda contains a smaller population than many single British districts. As in the last resort Governments generally derive their wealth from taxation, and it is the people of a State who, for the most part, are taxed, the revenue derived from taxes increases or decreases according to the largeness or smallness of the population, other things being equal. For this reason, Baroda cannot have a larger income than British districts with a larger population. No doubt, there is a permanent settlement of the land revenue in Bengal. But there are British districts outside Bengal where there is no permanent settlement and of which the population is larger than that of Baroda. The area of many British districts is also larger than that of Baroda. Many British districts have mines which Baroda has not. As Mr. Manubhai Nandshankar, the Dewan of Baroda says: "Our sources of revenue are inelastic. We are denied the means of expanding our resources from Customs Duties or from salt, opium, post and telegraph charges or from profits of minting....." We do not know whether the incidence of taxation per head is greater in Baroda than in the adjoining British districts; but if greater, it is not very much greater,

and the people of Baroda do not appear to be less prosperous and physically weaker and intellectually more backward than the people of the neighbouring British districts.

With resources which are, speaking generally, not greater than those of British districts of equal or greater area and population, Baroda, however, manages to do many more things for the material and moral progress, and enlightenment of its people than any British district that we know of. How is it done? How is it possible in an Indian State, though not considered possible in any British district?

Baroda does everything that the Government does in British districts. It has all the government departments which we have in our midst. Though only like a district, it maintains a small army, and has legislative and executive councils, the judiciary, police, prisons, a registration department, court of wards, religious and charitable institutions, revenue and settlement departments, railways, departments of excise, customs and port dues, stamps and salt, Local Self-government department, departments of agriculture, commerce, forest, co-operative societies, manufacturing industries, public works, department of public instruction, medical relief, sanitation, vaccination, meteorology, etc. There is no British district which has to maintain so many or more departments.

Let us refer to some special features of Baroda. First, as regards recent legislation:—

The village Panchayat is the real foundation of the edifice of Local Self-Government. In the Panchayat, two-thirds of the members are selected by the people; so there is the majority of non-official members. Some of the important functions in the matter of sanitation, water-supply, supervision over public charities, within the village area and powers to try criminal and civil cases within the specified limits are

given to the Panchayat where the popular element is expected to prevail. If the Panchayats exercised their delegated powers with a sense of civic responsibility, the Government would be pleased to consider, whether, still higher powers should not be conferred upon them. This new piece of legislation has given every opportunity to the villages to make progress in the matter of Local Self-Government.

The next Act in importance is the Agricultural Holdings Consolidation Act. This Act will have far-reaching effects on the economic development of the Raj. When pieces of land are scattered and split into small holdings, there is unnecessary expenditure in cultivation and waste of energy in labour. The present measure aims at consolidation of scattered holdings on an economic basis and the measure for the present is of an optional nature.

The policy of consolidation along such lines has already been tried in foreign countries like Holland, Sweden and Denmark and the successful working of the Act is calculated to bring about a radical change in the agricultural conditions in the Raj.

As regards laws in existence from previous years, tables have been given showing the good results of the Infant Marriage Prevention Act.

There has been an abnormal decrease in the number of applications for exemption. There have been six applications but there is not a single one from the higher and orthodox classes like the Brahmins and Baniyas. Analysing the number of offences against the Act, it can be clearly seen that there is a great falling off in number and that infant marriages generally prevail only among the backward classes.

Baroda has a system of conciliation which does not exist in British India. The number of conciliators during the year was 116. In addition to the village munsiffs and conciliators there were 77 village panchayats empowered to dispose of judicial work.

Baroda has a Finger Print Bureau.

There were two charitable institutions under direct government management for the maintenance of the Hindu and Mahomedan destitutes at an annual expense of Rs. 88,105.

Religious and Charitable Institutions managed by private individuals under the general supervision of the State during the year under report numbered 4,469 enjoying an aggregate approximate grant of Rs. 2,93,696 in the form of Inami Villages, Barkhali lands and cash allowances. Of these those having an annual income of Rs. 200 and upwards are required by the Charitable Endowments Act,

to get their budgets sanctioned by Government every five years. The managers of 146 such institutions have already tendered their budgets.

The total receipts of revenue amounted in 1920-21 to Rs. 2,08,55,605. A few heads of disbursements are worth mentioning. Police expenditure amounted to Rs. 10,38,716. *Expenditure on education was two and a half times as large as police expenditure*, namely, Rs. 25,42,032. It was more than 12 per cent of the total revenues. Is there any district or province in British India where educational expenditure is greater than police expenditure, or bears so large a ratio to the total revenues? Medical expenditure also was adequate, namely, Rs. 5,60,022. The expenditure on public works was Rs. 29,30,930.

The cash balances in 1920-21 amounted to Rs. 42,73,576 and investments, to Rs. 6,99,56,962. The net assets, exclusive of opium and its juice, amounted to Rs. 7,01,52,712. So Baroda is not bankrupt.

As regards agriculture, some special features deserve mention.

The introduction and demonstration of tractors following on the trials at Nagpur, formed the outstanding feature of the year's activities. Government had sanctioned Rs. 30,000 to be advanced without interest to enterprising agriculturists for the purchase of power farming machinery in addition to Rs. 10,000 sanctioned for the purchase of a tractor for demonstration purposes for the Agricultural Department.

Quite a number of students were deputed for special training in Cotton, Dairying and Statistics. An exhaustive study of the possibility of sugarcane cultivation for sugar manufacture was made by the Tata Sugar Corporation. Improved cotton seed was distributed and sold.

The thoughtful provision of grants for productive Agricultural Improvements meets with full appreciation by the people. The grant is chiefly used for the installation of oil engine and pumps. During the year, a sum of Rs. 99,600 has been so advanced to 19 persons.

There were two model farms, at Baroda and Jagudan. There was a dairy. The entomological office dealt with insects and other pests. The agricultural depart-

ment\* did propaganda work by, (1) the appointment of four agricultural graduates, who act as advisers to agriculturists in the matter of improvement, supervise trials of new crops or manure in their jurisdiction, and demonstrate implements of proved utility to farmers; (2) demonstrations; (3) an exhibition; (4) by the publication of the annual agricultural calendar "The Khedut Panchang," the Gujrati agricultural quarterly "Kheti and Sahakarya," a leaflet on motor tractors, and some bulletins. The agricultural engineering section bored 76 wells with boring sets, thus greatly increasing the water-supply.

There were eleven veterinary dispensaries in the State.

Regarding manufacturing industries, the Dewan writes :—

The new Industrial Companies started in the State have flourished. Of the ten Cotton Spinning and Weaving Mills promoted in the previous year, 9 have materialised and were making a fair progress. The Maharani Woollen Mill is being steadily pushed forward and the Cement Factory at Dwarka which was opened after the close of the year is now the largest of its kinds in India. Five new Cotton Mills, one Mill for cotton waste and one Factory for the manufacture of Hume pipes are being promoted in different parts of the Raj.

Other industries which have either been started or are receiving attention, are oil mills, chemical works, sulphuric acid factory, pottery works, saw mill, stove manufacturing factory, dairy company, sugar factory, candle works, &c.

*Loans to Industries.* Four applications were received for loans of the total value of Rs. 48,00,000. All the four applications were sanctioned, but the amount of the loans was reduced to Rs. 24,50,000.

Construction of new railways and two new harbours will be undertaken.

Information has been given in the Baroda Administration Report about investigation of industries under the headings, employment of a fermentation expert for the Alembic Chemical Works, glass manufacture, manufacture of ruby glass, Petlad tobacco, alkaline waters in Kadi district, casein and lactose, wood-distillation, ceramic survey, geological survey resulting in the finding of

new deposits of calcite and bauxite, natural gas at Jagatia, granite quarrying, fisheries, hand-loom demonstrations, experiments in wool weaving, hosiery class, publications on weaving, etc. As regards hand-loom factories, we read :—

The Mehsana factory proved very successful and served as a model in the District. The most interesting feature of Rarod and Ganpatpura factories was that they were started by agriculturists with the object of utilising their spare time in weaving. The weavers engaged on the looms were also cultivators and learnt weaving with the same object.

An office dealt with joint stock companies and benevolent societies.

There were 461 agricultural societies comprising credit and non-credit societies. Of the 44 non-agricultural societies, 5 were government servants' societies, 21 weavers' societies, 5 Chamars' societies, and 2 Antyajias'. There were co-operative stores, milk stores, co-operative conferences, and agricultural banks.

Under the heading Forests, there are some noteworthy points, e. g., lac culture, experiment to propagate lac, silviculture, &c.

Under Public Works, we read of a scheme for converting the Salher village into a sanatorium.

The total outlay on Irrigation and Water Works was Rs. 60,94,346 up to the end of the year under report, the expenditure incurred during the year being Rs. 1,41,626.

There are many water works in Baroda State. There is a State Furniture Works. There is a City Improvement Trust.

Education is the pride of Baroda.

The total number of Educational Institutions at the end of the year was 2,797. The total number of pupils attending these Institutions was 1,98,816 as against 1,79,339 of the preceding year. It is a matter of great satisfaction that the number of pupils has increased in spite of many adverse circumstances. The year up to its close had been bad, and the agricultural outlook was gloomy. The satisfactory improvement in the school attendance figures is due to greater stringency in the system of levying compulsory fines and to the exercise of greater care by Inspectors in their supervision of the schools.

There is a Compulsory Education Act.

There has been more than 50 per cent increase in the salaries of primary school teachers.

A Central Educational Museum has been established.

Musical instruction is a special feature. There are many musical schools and the art is taught in many classes of ordinary schools, too. There are a Museum and Picture Gallery. The Kalabhavan, which is a school of arts and crafts and technology, has been improved.

The Government of India is not too proud to learn from Baroda.

The Bureau of Education of the Government of India sent two representatives to the Baroda Central Library to enquire into the working of its Visual Instruction Section and published a pamphlet No. 10 entitled "Visual Instruction in Baroda" explaining the methods and congratulating the Central Library Department on the educational value of the work.

The Library Movement is very strong in Baroda.

The Library movement also maintained its normal progress. The number of town and rural Libraries rose from 672 to 720 during this year. About three thousand volumes were added to the Central Library which now registers no less than 88,763 volumes on its rolls.

Great attention is paid to the education of girls and women in Baroda. The teaching of domestic subjects in girls' schools is provided for.

Needle-work, Drawing and Embroidery are taught to girls in the principal Girls' Schools. Cookery classes are attached to the schools at Baroda, Fatan, Petlad, Navsari and Amreli and Mrs. Strong, the Directress of Household Arts, during her short career here did good work in spreading the knowledge of the principles of household management among different classes of students, male and female, through various Institutions and prepared a batch of specialists so as to continue her work after her departure.

96 women were under training as teachers. The total number of lady teachers was 252 during the year. Can any British district show such a number?

The education of backward classes is specially attended to.

For the education of the children of the Antyajas or depressed classes, whose population in the census of 1921 is numbered 1,76,821,

there were 226 Antyaja schools of which 4 were exclusively for girls. The total number of Antyaja children in these schools was 8,840 (8,616 boys and 224 girls). There were also 3,255 Antyaja children learning in the ordinary Gujarati primary schools, which brings the total number of such children receiving primary instruction to 12,095 which is equal to about 7 per cent. of their population. There were 122 boys receiving secondary education in Antyaja schools at Baroda and Pattan and 2 in the Baroda High School. Also there were 4 girls learning English in the Maharani Girls' High School at Baroda, 1 in Standard IV, 2 in Standard II, and 1 in Standard I. Government gives books and other school requisites free to these children. Scholarships of the aggregate value of Rs. 122 per mensem were awarded to Antyaja children in the primary schools and 9 scholarships of the aggregate value of Rs. 47 per month were awarded to Antyaja students in secondary schools. In the Training College at Baroda, 8 Antyaja scholars were reading for the different courses, along with other Hindoo scholars. The Antyaja Boarding Houses at Baroda, Pattan, Navsari and Amreli had 45, 30, 40 and 37 inmates respectively, and free boarding, lodging and necessary clothing were as usual provided to them by Government.

There are schools for defectives, kindergarten classes, a jail school, seven military schools, and physical culture and moral and religious education in a good many schools. In addition to the Kalabhavan there are district industrial schools.

The Travelling Libraries Section sent out 116 cases and circulated 4,392 books in the different villages all over the State.

The Visual Instruction Branch continued its useful activities and 89 Cinema and Lantern shows in different parts of four Prants at which 1,78,775 persons attended as against 1,96,181 in the preceding year, were held. A Rotary Cinema worked by electric current, and 8 War Films were purchased while 40 new Standard Films were purchased in England by Mr. A. H. Coyle under instructions from His Highness the Maharaja Sahib. This Section also circulated a large number of Stereoscopes and Stereographic views in various towns and villages of the Raj.

In addition to the ordinary hospitals and dispensaries there were a leper asylum, a lunatic asylum and a maternity home.

The increase of literacy in Baroda has been very encouraging.

The total number of literates has increased from 2,04,947 (1,84,888 males, 20,064 females)

country-made cloth. Country-made cloth serves the purpose of covering the body and protecting it against heat and cold as well as foreign cloth. As for the difference in prices, that argument was trotted out during the days of the agitation against the partition of Bengal, when foreign dhotis and saris were cheaper than country-made ones only by a few annas per pair. This difference many persons pretended to be unable to pay. But now the same persons buy foreign cloth at more than twice its pre-war price! Such is the elasticity of men's capacity to pay. Where there is a will, there is a way. An ample wardrobe is not a necessity. We can do with scantier clothing than we think.

"Law" and Logic and Economics apart, we cannot but respect the pluck and patriotism of the ladies and gentlemen who are trying at considerable risk to themselves to induce the public to use swadeshi cloth. Here we must add that picketing alone cannot bring about the general use of swadeshi cloth and prevent the import of foreign cloth. There must be greater production of swadeshi cloth and greatly extended facilities for buying it.

### Suppression of Cow-Killing.

If cow-killing has to be prevented, and we are distinctly of the opinion that it should be put a stop to, it should be done by reasoning and persuasion. No attempt should be made to stop it by legislation or municipal rule. That may stir up ill-feeling and lead to the sacrifice of more cattle than if no such attempt were made. At the same time, if any municipalities make such rules, the Musalman community should not consider it a proof of Hindu conspiracy, and get irritated in consequence.

### Indian Art for London.

At a largely attended *conversazione* of the India Society, Professor William Rothenstein, Principal of the Royal College of Art, London, revived the pre-war proposal for a great depository of Indian art and literature in Central London.

Professor Rothenstein said, it was strange that the English had not before other European nations realized the importance of Eastern art. Even to-day, while Japanese and Chinese sculpture occupied the minds of our collectors, there was a very imperfect understanding of the importance and significance of Indian sculpture. Yet it was the ingeniousness of Indian invention, both of form and subject-matter, which fertilized the whole of Japanese religious art. For instance, the invention of the Buddha figure was one of the greatest inspirations which had entered the mind of the artist. In the "natarajas" and other dynamic conceptions, the endless and ordered motion of the universe had been symbolized in enchanting and profound forms. He doubted if any civilization had invented a greater variety of artistic conceptions than the Indian races.

He proceeded to observe:—

The Victoria and Albert Museum and the British Museum certainly contained beautiful examples of Indian art; but more than this was required. European scholars unable to travel in Asia should find in London a centre of Eastern artistic culture. He pleaded for a collection of casts, worthily housed, of the masterpieces of Indian art. A building containing the India Office library, a noble collection of Indian painting and sculpture, and objects of art, should form a centre where Indian and European students could meet on common ground. We thought of India too often in political terms only, and had paid too little attention to her magnificent contribution to the culture of the world. England should lead the way in paying homage to the achievements of the Aryan civilization.

We are entirely in favour of the idea—provided India is neither asked nor made to pay for its materialization.

### Votes for Women in Calcutta Municipality.

When the Corporation of Calcutta met to consider the report of a special committee on the provisions of the Calcutta Municipal Bill, there was a lively debate on the question of extending the franchise to women. It was finally decided by a large majority to recommend that women be given the vote. Good. The Bengal Council should follow suit.

### Hand Spinning and Hand Weaving.

The official provincial joint conference, which had to do with agriculture, industries and Co-operation and which met the



other day at the Dalhousie Institute, has passed the following resolution:—

"The Committee recommends to government to issue a communique supporting the introduction of *charka* as one of the principal home industries in Bengal."

The resolution as originally moved had the following concluding words: "declaring that spinning by *charka* and weaving of home-spun cloth will not be looked upon with disfavour by Government officials." But these were omitted.

Why not say, the wearing of *Khaddar* will not be looked upon with disfavour by government officials?

We do not think, the passing of the resolution will make the *charka* more popular than it is.

We note that Mr. G. S. Hart, collector of Burdwan, gave credit to the non-co-operators for what they had done to increase the incomes of hand-loom weavers, and that Mr. G. S. Dutt, Collector of Bankura, "never thought that the *charka* would find disfavour at the hands of Government officials."

### "The Vanguard of Indian Independence".

A newspaper named *The Vanguard of Indian Independence*, coming from overseas, has been proscribed by Government, and all copies of it found anywhere will be confiscated. Therefore, the first thing that Government ought to do is to raid the P. and O. Mail steamer as soon as it arrives at Bombay harbour and search the mail bags for copies of this paper and other similar proscribed material. That will save the police in the provinces and districts a lot of trouble.

*The Vanguard of Independence* is, as far as we are aware, hostile to Mr. Gandhi's movement. Why does not Government, then, encourage it on the principle, "one poison kills another"?

### Police Searches for Proscribed Papers.

Recently some newspaper offices and bookshops were raided by the police in search of seditious and inflammatory newspapers and leaflets coming from abroad.

Nothing incriminating was found anywhere. If these searches were not uselessly annoying, their funny character would impress the public most. No newspaper office or bookshop sends any order for the printed matter which the police seek to find. Nor have any editors or booksellers any steamers or railway lines or aeroplanes of their own by which these things are imported. The bringing of the mails from abroad is entirely in the hands of Government. And it is the Government Post Office which scatters these things all over the country. It is very funny that one Government department should throw into people's houses objectionable matter without their seeking and knowledge and another Government department should try to find them out in order to incriminate people.

We know it is difficult to censor mails effectively; and it is expensive, too. There was censorship during the war. But in spite of it, people used to get many "seditious" foreign newspapers and leaflets which were afterwards sold by weight along with other waste paper.

No; censoring is useless, as police searches are futile. The only wise way is so to change the government that no indigenous or foreign "seditious" matter can inflame the people or serve any other similar purpose.

That means the establishment of Swaraj.

### Revision of Pay of Ministerial Services.

In a resolution issued by the Government of Bengal, dealing with the revision of the pay of ministerial officers, that is to say, clerks of various kinds, it is said:

"In the event of a material reduction in the cost of living the rates of pay in full will come under further consideration and will be liable to such reduction as may appear necessary in the interest of economical administration."

When the pay of officers in various Imperial and Provincial services was largely increased, was any such condition as the above laid down? If not, why not? If such a condition was laid down, will some one quote it, giving references?

## • Titles and Councillors.

(Associated Press of India)  
Madras, July 20.

Mr. C. V. Venkatraman Iyenger proposes to move at the next session of the Legislative Council a resolution recommending the Government that, as a general rule, no title be recommended for award to anyone while he is a member of the Council, except when it is approved in special cases by a committee of the Council.

Someone else may propose that so long as one is a member of Council, no relative of his should have any Government contract or appointment. But can one circumvent self-seeking men ready to sell their independence for a price and a bureaucracy ready to buy it for the same, by such devices?

## Some Resolutions of the Indian Journalists' Association.

The following resolutions have been passed at a meeting of the Council of the Indian Journalists' Association :—

That a sub-committee be formed, consisting of the members of the council mentioned below to prepare a statement of cases of libel instituted against newspapers in Bengal by Government officers with the approval of the Government, for news or comments published in the papers relating to the conduct of such officers in the discharge of their public duties, and that the same be submitted to the council for such action as the council may take :—Sj. Krishna Kumar Mitra (President), Mr. J. Choudhury, Sj. Hemendra Prasad Ghosh and Sj. Mrinal Kanti Bose (Secretary.)

That in the opinion of the Council the proper course for the Government, when an allegation relating to the conduct of a Government servant in the discharge of his public duties appears in any paper, is to send a communique to that paper, after proper enquiry, for publication and if the paper publishes that communique and makes no adverse comment on it, no action should be taken against that paper.

The first resolution has our support. The second calls for some words of comment.

When any wrong criticism or statement regarding a private individual appears in any newspaper, he either remains silent, or contradicts it, or asks his lawyer to send a letter to the offending journal. It is necessary in the public interests that it should not be made more

difficult to criticise a Government servant than a private individual. In fact, provided there is no proof of malice or absence of ordinary care in ascertaining facts, even wrong criticism or statements regarding public officers should not be penalised. Ordinarily, therefore, when a public officer finds himself misrepresented or wrongly criticised in any newspaper, the proper course for him to adopt is to obtain the permission of Government to send a contradiction to the journal himself or through the publicity officer. As in the case of contradictions coming from private parties, editors have and use the right to comment on such communications, so in the case of the aforesaid official contradictions the editors should, as at present, have and exercise the right of commenting thereupon. The aggrieved parties, whether public officers or private individuals, should also have the right of reply or rejoinder.

Our suggestion that the aggrieved public officer should send a contradiction himself or through the publicity officer, would not introduce any *material* change in the present practice. For the communiques which Governments have hitherto issued after "enquiry", have been generally issued without any other enquiry than asking the criticised officer himself what had happened. Ordinarily, therefore, the procedure suggested by us would quite serve the purpose. In case of malice or extreme carelessness in ascertaining facts, the aggrieved officer may, if his contradiction is commented upon unfavourably by the editor, obtain the permission of Government to sue the latter for libel.

As regards the procedure suggested in the second resolution, we agree that if Government adopts it, and if a journal does not make any adverse comment on the communique, no legal step should be taken against it. But we may take it that it is not implied that Government should take such action or would have the right to take such action in case adverse comment were made. At present journalists have the right to criticise all official publications and published official documents. We do not see any reason

why communiques of the aforesaid kind should be considered sacrosanct and above criticism. We would rather suggest that Government should exercise its right to issue a further communique on the journal's comments. Such a course may, no doubt, be thought to militate against the dignity of Government. But would it be dignified on the part of Government to say, big stick in hand, "Publish this communique without comment, or you will catch it?"

As all Indian journalists know, Government communiques are often full of sophistry, often evade the points at issue, and not rarely embody inaccurate statements made by the officers criticised in the public press. It is better in the public interests that some journalists should be prosecuted and suffer imprisonment for boldly standing up for truth and justice than that Government communiques of the kind described above should go uncriticised.

#### "The Servant" and Mr. Kidd.

An appeal has been filed against the conviction of the editor and the printer of *The Servant* for alleged defamation of Mr. Kidd, Deputy Commissioner. Hence we refrain from making any comments.

#### "Saraswat Asram."

Babu Nripendrachandra Banerji was Vice-principal of the Chittagong Government College when in response to the call of the country he resigned. He established the Saraswat Asram "to train a body of young men who would take to educating the people in an ascetic and missionary spirit." Subsequently he was prosecuted and imprisoned. We are glad to learn from *The Servant* that his Asram has not been left to die uncared for.

When Nripendra Chandra went to jail the Asram had only two looms; at present nine are working. During the year under review, four thousand one hundred and fifty yards of Khaddar were woven on the Asram looms, of which eight hundred and eighty yards were pure, i.e., both the warp and woof were Charkayarn: five looms are being worked by five teachers; and the rest are used in teaching boys. More than fifty students of the Asram have after learning weaving migrated to different centres carrying the message of the Charka and Khaddar to the homes of the people.

#### Non-co-operation and Calcutta University Finance.

The official statement of reasons for giving the Calcutta University a grant of Rs. 2,50,000 during the current year to meet a huge deficit contained the following words:—

The deficit is due mainly to the fall in the receipts from examination fees, owing to the unexpected fall in the number of candidates for some of the University examinations in 1920-21 and to some extent owing to the (1) foundation of the Rangoon University, (ii) the establishment of the Dacca Intermediate and Secondary Education Board, and (iii) the non-co-operation movement.

We are not aware if any statistics of the number of candidates in different years and the fees realised from them were placed before the members of the Bengal Legislative Council. We have been able to get together from different sources only the numbers of candidates for the Matriculation Examination in the years 1919, 1920, 1921, and 1922. They are as follows:—

Year	Number of Matriculation Candidates.
1919	15922
1920	17563
1921	19125
1922	19133

Our authorities are a statement of the number of candidates at the Calcutta University Examinations from 1857 to 1920 published by the University, *The Calcutta Review* for October, 1921, and *The Indian Daily News* for July 19 last.

If the figures for the higher examinations for these years could be obtained, the exact situation could be understood. So far as the Matriculation Examination is concerned, which is the biggest held by the University, there has not been any falling off in the actual number of candidates.

#### Russian Famine Horrors.

A special cable to the *Statesman* gives a shocking description of the condition of famine-stricken Russia.

M. Jean de Lubersac, the economic expert whom Dr. Nausen sent to the Ukraine, has

returned to Geneva and reports an appalling situation in Kieff, Kharkoff and Odessa. These places, he says, are flooded with famine refugees, who are compelled to remain foodless at the railway stations owing to the lack of municipal resources. Bodies are being collected daily, some half eaten by rats.

The rich agricultural country between Odessa and Poltava is now uncultivated, houses being abandoned after the peasants had eaten the thatch off the roofs. Some of the cities have lost 85 per cent of their population.

Cannibalism has become so common that the authorities have ceased to prosecute.

### **Bengal's Proposed Retrenchment Committee.**

The reader is aware that the Bengal Government has appointed a retrenchment committee. But last month a different kind of retrenchment committee was proposed in the Bengal Legislative Council by Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, who moved,—

The Council recommends to the Government that a committee with a non-official majority (the non-officials to be elected by the system of the single transferable vote) be appointed to investigate and report as to what retrenchments can be effected in the administration of the Government of Bengal.

The resolution was eventually withdrawn. But it would be interesting to examine what Sir John Kerr said in opposing it.

He would remind Mr. Suhrawardy, who was the first member to mention the Geddes Committee, that that committee was not elected by the House of Commons. It was appointed by the Government in the same way that the retrenchment committee for Bengal had been appointed.

But the British Government in Britain is a national government, the Bengal Government is not a national government. The British Government derives its authority from the House of Commons, which can make or unmake it. The Bengal Government does not derive its power from the Bengal Legislative Council, which cannot make or unmake it.

Babu Indubhushan Datta's speech contained many home truths, as will be clear from the following extract from it:—

Both the *personnel* of the committee and its scope, as outlined in the Council only the other

day, had dispelled any delusion that many of them might have had in the matter. Business men were very useful in their own sphere, and the expert business man who had kindly consented to preside over the deliberations of the committee might curtail the waste of the Public Works Department, but what could business men do in suggesting a change in the policy of the Government? Unless the policy of the Government was changed in certain matters a cut here and there would not serve much useful purpose. Would it be open to the Retrenchment Committee to discuss the salutary principle that the standard of salary in this country must be fixed according to the standard of living in Bengal, not according to the standard of living in the richest country in the world, nor according to the needs of people who had to serve 7,000 miles from home, but rather according to the paying capacity of the taxpayer?

### **Travelling and Residential Allowances of M. L. C.'s.**

The modest sum of Rs. 1,52,923-2-2 was paid to the members of the Bengal Legislative Council as travelling and residential allowances for the period January 1921 to June 1922. Not all members charged and accepted such allowances, but many did. As Government has fixed a certain scale of allowances, there was nothing morally wrong on the part of those members to accept them who had actually travelled first class on bona fide business and, whose usual place of residence not being in Calcutta, had to spend money for board and lodging. But it is alleged that some members—some rich men, too, among them—usually and habitually reside in Calcutta, and yet they charged both travelling and residential allowances; that some members travelled in lower class railway carriages, and yet charged double first class; and that some members travelled to some mofussil station or other on Saturdays and Sundays and returned after a stay of a few hours there, because they could make a greater profit by charging double first class fares for these journeys than by staying in Calcutta and charging Rs. 20 as two days' residential allowances. If these allegations be true, as we understand they undoubtedly are in at least a few

cases, the high-placed "profiteers" deserve short shrift.

Effective remedies ought to be found and applied, though dishonest men may be able to turn a penny in spite of stringent rules.

So far as Bengali gentlemen are concerned, the generality do not usually travel in any higher class of carriage than the second. Therefore the payment of second class fare for travelling would not be felt as a hardship by Bengali gentlemen generally. And, instead of cash payments, members may be provided with passes or warrants and payment may be made to the railway companies according to the number of trips and the distance travelled. Such a step might imply a slur on the reliability of the members. But what is to be done? People have sometimes to suffer if there be even a few black sheep among them.

### Educational Grants in Bengal.

The educational programme of Mr. P. C. Mitter, minister of education, Bengal, includes the following items:—

Improvement of Girls' Education.

Improvement of Physical Education.

Expansion of Education among the Backward Classes.

Expansion of the teaching of Science in the Mofussil Colleges.

Provision for Education Among Children with Criminal Tendencies.

Additional Grants to the Calcutta University.

All the items deserve support, provided waste and overlapping can be prevented. Mr. Mitter proposes that in all primary schools which will receive Government grants, half the scholars are to be free. So far as the removal of illiteracy is concerned, this is a step in the right direction. But the most important part of education is the development of a self-respecting manhood and womanhood in all. This is possible only if the poorest boys and girls can mix with all their classmates on terms of equality and with heads erect. But if some be charity boys and girls and others are paying scholars, the self-respect of the former cannot but

be impaired. Therefore, the best system is that which provides free education for all, irrespective of the pecuniary circumstances of their parents or other guardians.

### Retrenchment and Military Expenditure.

One does not feel disposed to go into the details of all sorts of possible reduction of expenditure; because if expenses be cut down in any direction which affects the pockets of the British people, the British bureaucracy can take money from the Indian Treasury in some other way. This is well illustrated by an example given by *The Bengalee*.

The second report of the standing Joint Committee on Indian Affairs, dealing with the cost of maintenance of British troops in India, is responsible for the astounding revelation that some time ago the pay of these troops was increased by the Imperial Government without any formal consultation with the India Office or authorities in India, and that the Indian Government had no alternative but to accept the increment, although there had already been a serious deficiency in our state revenue. The autocratic conduct of the Imperial Government in this connection was a deliberate insult to the Government of India; but the latter seem to be so devoid of the sense of self-respect that not only had they no courage to protest, but they did not even come forward to vouchsafe the information to the Indian Legislature in course of the many discussions that took place there during the last budget session on military expenditure.

In connection with military expenditure another extract from *The Bengalee* would be found edifying.

The Standing Joint Committee on Indian Affairs are evidently of opinion that the General Headquarters Staff of the Indian Army is so inflated that it is capable of some reduction without much disadvantage. In accordance with the information supplied to them, the Headquarters Staff has increased from 98 in 1914 to 166 in 1921. The total of Officers' Staffs, other than Headquarters, has increased from 203 in 1914 to 278 in 1921. It would be remembered that Sir Sivaswamy Iyer made a similar complaint in course of a very remarkable speech which he delivered on military expenditure in the last session of the Legislative Assembly. He pointed out that there had been an increase in the Army Headquarters over the

pre-war establishment of 83 per cent., of British officers and this inspite of a reduction of fighting units.

*The Statesman*, too, writes thus on the same topic :—

Chief among possible economies is the swollen Headquarters Staff, with an aggregate increase of 143 officers to administer an army which is smaller by 20,000 men than it was eight years ago. From the information supplied to Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer it appears that under the head of Army Headquarters (Staff of Commands and Districts) an increase was shown in the estimates of over 70 per cent. in the number of British officers and 600 per cent. in the number of civilians employed—all this in spite of a reduction in fighting units. It is hardly surprising to find that the cost has risen from 70 lakhs to two crores. Here is a notable opportunity of making a "clean cut."

The Indianisation of the army is one of the chief means of reducing military expenditure. A British private costs on an average more than four times as much as an Indian sepoy, and British officers do not cost less proportionately. But two things stand in the way of the Indianisation of the army. One is the idea—all lip professions notwithstanding—that India is to be kept as a British possession, garrisoned by British troops. The other is the idea that the "army in India" is to be used for Imperial purposes. If the British people sincerely believe that India should be treated as a sister country, they should help India to win Swaraj. That would be the most effective way to strengthen the British Commonwealth of Nations and to cut down Indian Government expenditure.

#### **The Bankura District Organisations.**

The present district of Bankura is a part of old Mallabhum of the Bishnupur Raj. The ruins and the struggling industries which still survive indicate the prosperity which the region must have enjoyed in the past. It was a great cultural centre, and its natural scenery and spiritual achievement earned for it the name of Gupta Brindaban. But now, with malaria rampant in the district, industries ruined, and agriculture totally dependent on adequate distribution of rainfall, we

have the records of the two terrible famines in the course of five years (1914-15 and 1919) to indicate the alarming condition of the people. As regards the causes of this state of affairs, we had occasion to publish a regional survey of the district in a previous number of this REVIEW (May, 1919). We are glad to find that the local authorities and the public have taken up the problems in right earnest. At the District Conference held in last February in connection with the Bankura Health and Welfare Exhibition, Mr. G. S. Dutt, I. C. S., the present energetic District Magistrate, stated the problems with great lucidity and directness. He said :

"Not only had the population of the districts decreased by a lakh and a quarter in the last ten years (which is more than 10 per cent.) but what was left of it was hopelessly in the grip of poverty and disease. The only way to avert the danger was to kindle the smouldering flame of social service and to organise the people for a combined co-operative effort in every village. They breathe the air of the cess-pools and drink their water from day to day, caring nothing for the simple laws of health and sanitation. This was done not only by the ignorant but also by the educated people. He was of opinion that if an organised attempt at social service and health propaganda was made by a band of workers in the district and in every village, the whole problem of insanitation in Bankura could be solved in one year, if not in six months. They should solve the irrigation problem by the re-excavation of the thousands (well over 30,000) of silted-up irrigation tanks in the district by forming co-operative irrigation societies, which, if pushed on with sufficient speed and energy along the lines on which work had already been started, would solve the problem of malaria and poverty in the course of five years. He urged them to organise in every village a Village Agriculture and Welfare Society to banish litigation and party factions which are draining the life-blood of the people, and to focus the forces of unity and social service into one supreme effort for the thorough cleansing of the villages and the regulation of the lives of the people in accordance with the elementary laws of health, the improvement of agriculture, and organisation of the weavers and other artisans for their economic improvement through the introduction of scientific methods, and elimination of middlemen, and the spread of mass education, not only by starting new schools but also by resuscitating the existing ones."

In Mr. Dutt's speech and the definite

resolutions adopted the appeal was mainly directed to the people concerned, and though the help of the Government had been asked, the work was not relegated to a future conference, nor was the necessity of creating a new Department with expert Directors and Inspectors was urged. The work was taken in hand immediately with such facilities as could be had. The help of the different Government Departments and philanthropic organisations has not only been asked for but utilised for the solution of definite problems with the utmost advantage. Thus the local people are asked to construct the irrigation *bunds* themselves, the District Engineer giving them the benefit of his technical knowledge and expert advice. With this arrangement, apart from a great reduction of cost the people are being trained in organised work and mutual aid. Again, instead of reclaiming the jungles for third class paddy fields, scientific methods of rearing silk cocoons, once a great source of income but now a lost industry of the district, are being introduced. The district abounds in Palmyra Palm trees, but the process of "Milking the Palmyra Palm"—to use Prof. Bose's expression—is unknown. Its introduction is going to be a good source of income. Cultivation of fruits and fish on an intensive scale is being organised and the Departments are not being imposed on the people, but their scientific information utilised with great profit and education. The Government of Bengal should help Mr. Dutt with all the money and officers that it can. His recent lecture in Calcutta on the problem of life and death in rural areas was very effective.

### Indians in Fiji.

A Reuter's telegram informs the public that at a crowded meeting at Suva, Fiji, presided over by the Mayor and attended by [white] delegates from six country districts a resolution was passed unanimously against granting equal political status to the Indians of Fiji. Indians cannot but consider this unjust and arrogant. But no amount of resolutions and

angry speeches in the Council of State and Legislative Assembly can set this state of things right so long as we are not masters in our own country. And in order to be masters in our own country, we must make the masses of India march abreast with the classes. That can be brought about only by the removal of untouchability, social uplift, universal juvenile and adult education, and economic improvement in the condition of the laboring population.

### Removal of Sacred Threads of Hindus in Jails.

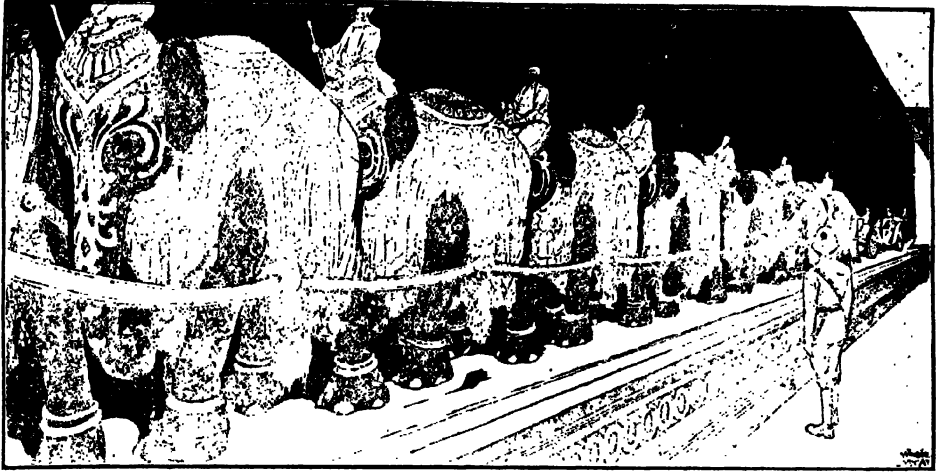
Srijut Radhamohan Gokulji, organiser of the Asahayoga Asram of Nagpur, on being released from jail, has asked the authorities a few questions, one of which is: (1) "In the jails the sacred threads of Hindus are removed. My own sacred thread was removed. Is this not an outrage on the Hindu religion?" It certainly is. It should be ascertained whether this is done in all jails in all provinces and according to any jail rule. If so, the rule should be expunged.

### Position of Indians in British Colonies.

At a representative meeting held at Bombay on the 19th July last to consider the position of Indians overseas, the speakers gave expression to great indignation at the treatment meted out to the Indian settlers of South and East Africa, Uganda, and Fiji by the respective Governments.

Sir Dinshaw Petit, President, said that so long as the Indians did not enjoy within the Empire the same rights as other subjects of the British Empire did, the Imperial Conference was a sham and a mockery. Indians had lost faith in sending memorials and telegrams and the situation might drift to such a pass that the Imperial Government might have to choose between India and South Africa.

Mr. Polak referred to the mission of Sir B. Robertson and said that the ordinance of racial segregation in Durban as passed by the Provincial Council was illegal. The Union Government being a



Elephants Hauling An Indian Maharajah's Silver Chariot. The Prince of Wales Looking On.  
—*Chicago Herald and Examiner*.

This picture shows you what is still done in India. Behold the Maharajah of B. hauled in a chariot of pure silver by eight elephants covered with gorgeous trappings.

On the right that small Prince, a good deal wiser, looks on. He sees in these eight elephants, and the primitive Maharajah, one of the reasons why his father on a little island thousands of miles away is able to rule the three hundred million inhabitants of India.

part of the British Empire had no right to encroach upon the rightful citizenship of Indians there.

Mr K. Natarajan said that the position of Indian women in Fiji was most degrading. The only remedy lay in the Indians getting "Swarajya."

Mr. J. B. Petit believed that Mr. Srinivasa Sastri's mission was a failure and suggested that Rs. 25,00,000 budgetted by the Indian Legislature for the Imperial Exhibition to be held in London in 1924 should be withdrawn, as India should have nothing to do with an Empire which did not give them equal rights.

Brave words should be followed by brave deeds.

### "Eight Elephants Pull One Man."

Such is the heading of an illustrated leading article in the *Chicago Herald and Examiner*. We reproduce the picture with the letter-press printed below. The article begins with the following general observations:—

The more men think of outward appearance,

beyond cleanliness and decency, the less they are bound to think inwardly.

As you go lower and lower among the savages, you find a more desperate effort to make the outward man look impressive, AWE inspiring. Bodies painted, their noses and ears pierced, dozens of bracelets, bright colors, feathers, everything is done for LOOKS.

As you go higher in the realm of thought you get rid of all that nonsense.

If you meet a great scientist, you see a man most plainly dressed all his life and "decorations" are INSIDE of the thin skull.

Then follows a description of and reflections on the picture.

The Prince of Wales is visiting various parts of the British Empire, the idea being that human beings are naturally snobs and delight in royalty. The soundness of that idea was demonstrated in this glorious republic where many proud sons of democracy shivered with mingled awe and delight when the young "royal highness" deigned to shake hands with them.

Recently the Prince has been in India, the land of palaces, traditions, many religions, castes, where three hundred million vegetarian teetotalers live under the thumb and rule of a handful of meat-eating, beer-drinking Englishmen, thousands of miles away.

In this cartoon Mr. McCay shows you a feature of Indian life that the Prince saw and perhaps THOUGHT about.



This row of elephants, eight of them, driven and controlled each by a human being, "the mahout," sitting on its head, use their gigantic power to pull ONE single man, sitting in his elaborate carriage made of pure silver.

That takes you back thousands of years into the history of India—and all Asia. Alexander the Great, conquering Persia, found potentates dragged by the elephants, using fighting elephants in battle, believing that made THEM great and invulnerable. Alexander dealt with the fighting elephants quite easily.

When Columbus started on his trip elephants were still dragging the Asiatic rulers of the day. And now, when the English Prince of Wales goes to inspect his father's subjects in territory that was once an Asiatic empire, he is met by an Indian prince, speaking good English, elaborately dressed, with huge diamonds in his turban—and that prince, descendant of ancient rulers, the Maharajah of B., is still dragged along by elephants, eight of them to pull one single human being.

One elephant could pull a hundred men. The foolish Maharajah thinks it makes him as important as hundreds or thousands to have eight elephants to pull him. It simply makes him foolish, but it makes him no more foolish than our suddenly grown rich Americans that have eight full-grown men to wait upon them in their dining rooms and their halls.

The American editor does not spare his own rich countrymen.

While ridiculing the prince with his eight elephants, it is just as well to remember that some of the old foolishness still sticks to us.

How many really believe in their hearts that when they ride in an automobile costing fifteen thousand dollars, they are at least fifteen times as important as the man whose automobile cost one thousand dollars, and ten thousand times as important as the man that has no automobile at all?

What is the real difference between thinking that importance can be got out of eight elephants and thinking that importance can be got out of a ninety horsepower silver-plated automobile? There is no difference.

The only thing that counts is INSIDE OF YOUR OWN SKULL. What goes on there matters, it produces results, nothing else does.

The editor then returns to his attack on the Indian maharajas.

Centuries ago these native princes put their faith in elephants, and did it wisely. For the elephant had power, he could trample their enemies, and did, until Alexander appeared and sent the elephants galloping over their own troops. The potentates of India are a joke and their elephants are a joke.

The power of to-day is the weakness of to-morrow.

If any king went out now to make war with elephants he would be a poor joke, his elephants simply an extraordinarily good target.

While those princes of India, with women and slaves, their Nautch girls to dance, their jewels, elephants and public executioners, thought themselves all powerful, destined to rule forever, a few men of a different, more modern kind with white skins, were THINKING on a foggy island off the northwest corner of Europe.

A few men in England rule the hundreds of millions in India, because they had EARNEST THOUGHT as against NO THOUGHT.

And almost before those maharajahs knew it, England owned India and the rajahs were the tolerated dummies of the English government, living by permission of England in the palaces that once were their own.

The postscript appended to the article by the editor is very important.

P. S.—How many children do you suppose have starved to death in India during the past century in order that the elephants of the rajahs might have plenty of food?

All that food was produced by fathers of the starved children, then taken from them.

### European Recognition for Indian Researchers.

We are glad to note that Rai Bahadur Saratchandra Roy's Patna University Readership Lectures on the *Principles and Methods of Physical Anthropology*, highly praised in our pages some time ago by one of our reviewers, have been very favorably reviewed in *Nature* by Dr. Sir Arthur Keith, the greatest authority on physical anthropology in England. Says he:—

"There is not an anthropologist in Europe who will not extend a welcome to this work by Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, reader in anthropology at Patna University, not only for what it is, but also for what its appearance signifies. Anthropology, hitherto a plant of exotic growth in India, has at length taken root in the native mind. A single readership in a single University is a somewhat slender root for a plant which has to cover more than 300 millions of people, but those who have noted the series of excellent researches and monographs which have been published in recent years by Mr. Roy and by his colleagues and disciples will have no fear of the result if a fostering hand be extended by the Government of India."

Dr. Keith, it would seem from the above, does not know that the subject is taught in the Calcutta University. He adds:—

"The book under review, 'Principles and Methods of Physical Anthropology,' is based on the first course of lectures given by Mr. Roy as reader in anthropology in Patna University. The lectures now published, six in number, form one of the best introductions to the study of anthropology in the English language. It is true that many minor statements require emendation or qualification, but we are surprised that one who has made his reputation as a cultural anthropologist should have grasped so accurately the methods, aims, and theories of those who study the evolution of the human body and brain, as well as the rise and spread of modern races of mankind."

"Certain it is that India is nearer the hub of the anthropological universe than Western Europe."

We are also glad to learn that Dr. Meghnad Saha, Khaira Professor of Physics at the Calcutta University College of Science, of whose original researches we have had occasion to speak more than once, has been elected a member of the International Astronomical Union at its last quinquennial meeting held at Rome, and attached to the stellar physics section. This section consists of the directors of the Astrophysical observatories of Cambridge, Harvard, Princeton, and Mount Wilson (U. S. A.). Among the physicists the other members are Professor Fowler of the Imperial College, London, and Professor Neils Bohr of Copenhagen, author of the Quantun Theory of spectral radiation.

### The Allahabad Women's University.

Though, considering its small beginning the cynically disposed may consider its name rather high sounding, yet the Allahabad Women's University, founded by some leading members of the Allahabad Municipal Board in connection with that body, is a very laudable educational enterprise. Its principal promoter and worker, Mr. Sangam Lal Agarwala, M.A., LL. B., Vakil, Allahabad High Court, deserves well of the public for his self-sacrificing labours. The object of this university is "to make better provision than exists at present for the higher education of women through the medium

of their own language, and not in the English language, foreign to them and difficult to learn, and to encourage them in higher studies conducted in such language by conferring suitable degrees after holding the necessary examinations." Though the medium of instruction and examination is to be an Indian vernacular, the study of English also has been provided for. For the present courses in Hindi, Urdu, Bengali and Marathi have been prescribed. It is a pleasure to note that history, geography, domestic economy and hygiene, drawing, music and physics and chemistry are included in the courses of study.

### An Western Idea About the Indian Unrest.

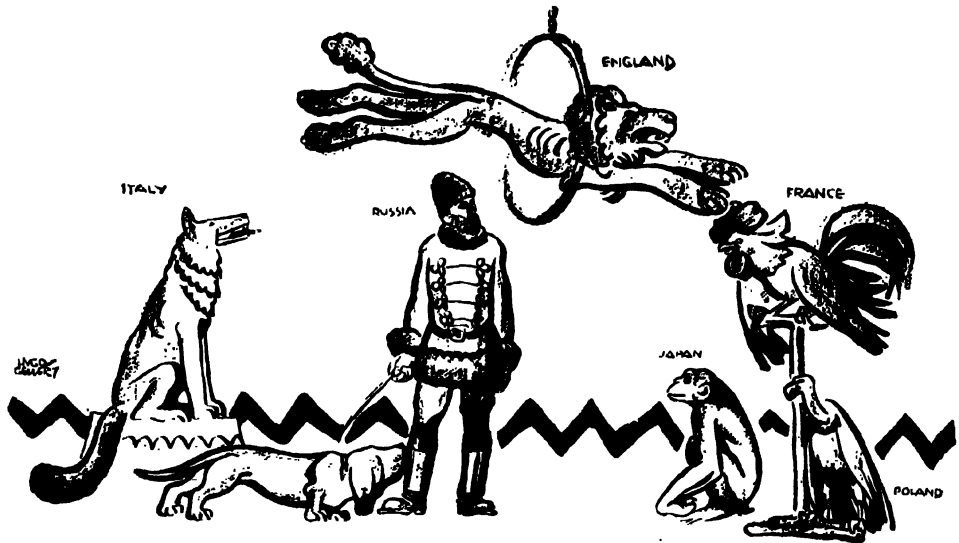
The cartoon reproduced here represents the prevailing impression in the West about the Indian Non-co-operation move-



If the Music Fails.

—Indianapolis News.

ment. The cartoonist and all who think with him are wrong if by the serpent a violent revolution is suggested.



The Circus at Genoa

—*Liberator*.

### Russia And The other Powers at Genoa.

An American cartoonist has very cleverly hit off in the accompanying cartoon the position occupied by Russia and the other powers at the Genoa Conference.

#### Staff Selection Board.

There are some mysterious government departments the purpose and necessity of whose existence would be a worthy subject for a research scholar. Recently the creation of such a department has come to our knowledge. It is the Staff Selection Board. It was created only a few years ago for the ostensible reason of selecting clerical staffs for the offices at the Head Quarters of the Government of India. The Board consisted of a chairman, a few official and non-official members, not necessarily members of any legislatures, and a paid secretary. The present chairman of the Board, as the Inspector of Office Procedure, which is also a mysterious post said to be recommended by the Llewelyn Smith Committee, of which no report has yet been published, is getting at

present a princely salary of more than Rs. 2000 a month. We do not know the precise duties of the chairman and his board; but we are informed that the Board is in the habit of visiting different places and provinces, like the bride-inspecting parties of our country, for the inspection and examination of the prospective candidates. And, of course, for this task the chairman and the other members get a good travelling allowance, besides the salary of the Inspector of Office Procedure, from the depleted coffers of India.

We fail to understand the special reason for the creation of such a Board. Are not the office master of each department competent to select their own ministerial staffs? What are the special qualifications of the present chairman for the work required of him?

Last year Mr. Kshitish Chandra Neogi raised a question regarding the Board's utility and its competence in the Legislative Assembly; and he got, as far as we remember, nothing but an angry reply from the then finance member. This year, perhaps, the Board thought

It is desirable, therefore, to justify its existence before the public. A few months ago it issued a notice in many papers requiring the services of many stenographers, clerks and so on, who were to be examined and selected by the Board on the payment of an examination fee of Rs. 10 per head. Of course in the notice there was neither any definite statement of any vacancy of the posts advertised nor any promise that any of the candidates would be taken in. But as is always the case in this poor country, numerous were the candidates who paid the examination fee, which, as far as our information goes, amounted to no less than Rs. 20,000. The poor candidates in their dire want of a job forgot to ask themselves how in the days of retrenchment now, vacancies could arise!

In this connection we have but one question to ask. What is the real explanation of this peculiar notice? Retrenchment work has already begun and the services of many old hands will be shortly dispensed with if it has not been done already. Will new hands be taken in without any provision being made for the old ones? Or is it but a hoax—intended only to justify the existence of the Board? This year the Board has raised the examination fee of Rs. 2 to Rs. 10. What tempts the Board to raise this fee is difficult to understand. But it enabled the Board to get a good sum of Rs. 20,000 by a single advertisement. Is it to show to the Retrenchment Committee that the Board is a self-supporting one and need not be abolished, however useless it may be? No doubt then the Board must be congratulated on its ingenuity in devising methods for making itself self-supporting.

### Repression.

Repression, ruthless repression, is still going on in all provinces, in and outside J. P., on such an extensive scale that it is possible for a monthly review only to note the fact without entering into details. The latest prominent victim is Maulana Muztar-al-Haque of Patna.

There is one feature of the acts of repression which is peculiarly futile, vindictive and mean. In many a case gentlemen of high character and leading position in society are, after conviction for political offences, led to jail on foot, handcuffed and with a rope tied round their waists. Those executive and police officers who order such things to be done must be typical fools if they think that the people can be terrorised or the prisoners lowered in the estimation of the public in this way.

### A Globe-trotter.

An American globe-trotter named H. Martinet, who is doing the world mostly on foot, walking bare-footed, has been creating a mild sensation wherever he appears. He is not encumbered with either a purse or with superfluous luggage. His exploit certainly indicates the possession of pluck and resource. His experiences will also be more varied and intimate than those



Mr. Martinet, the Globe-trotter with the Members of the College Square Swimming Club.



Mr. Martinet, the American Globe-trotter.

of travellers who tour round the world in the ordinary way.

### **Vacancies at the Calcutta Presidency College.**

It has been brought to our notice that Dr. Harrison, professor of physics in the Calcutta Presidency College, will soon give up his present post and leave India for good, and that Dr. D. N. Mallik, professor of applied mathematics in the same college, has retired. These vacancies will have to be filled up soon. The Presidency College has some well-equipped laboratories. A correspondent draws our attention to the fact that in this College "the physical laboratory has behind itself the hallowed traditions of the late Sir John Eliot and of Sir J. C. Bose. When these two gentlemen worked the laboratory was housed in a small wing of the old college buildings. Now a new laboratory has been constructed at the cost of more than ten lakhs of rupees, containing, besides a magnificent collection of apparatus, a splendid library

and workshop." The correspondent adds: "Still, to my knowledge, not a single original paper worth mentioning has been published within the space of the last 7 or 8 years from this laboratory." We are not in a position to vouch for the accuracy of these statements. But whatever may have been the case in the past, it is unquestionable that Dr. Harrison's successor should be a man who has done and can do research work in physics. A European man of this description would perhaps be too costly a commodity. But it would not be impossible to secure the services of a properly qualified Indian physicist.

As regards the successor of Dr. D. N. Mallik, it goes without saying that he, too, should be a man who has done and can do research work. The correspondent whom we have quoted above tells us that "The astronomical observatory was built at the personal initiative of the late Prof. Little, and he got the Government to sanction an amount of Rs. 2500 annually for carrying on research work. The observatory contains a fine equatorial and a telescope for stellar photometric and spectrographic work (built on the top of the Hare School). But to the knowledge of the present writer, not a single stellar spectrum was ever photographed with the apparatus. Not only that, the last two professors in charge—one a European and the other an Indian, did not even know how to utilise the yearly grant of Rs. 2500, so that this money has been lapsing year after year for the last ten years. Yet the late professor in charge got the Education Minister of the India Government to grant him an amount of Rs. 9,000 to enable him to proceed to Europe for studying the organisation of the astrophysical laboratories of Europe. The most curious part of this story is that just 2 or 3 months after his return from Europe, his term of service expired, and the organisation of the astrophysical laboratory was left to the gods who command the stars." For the accuracy of these statements, too, we cannot vouch. But whatever may have been the case in the past, obviously for the immediate

riage of Hindu widows. But though we have spoken of his efforts as having been successful, so far as Bengal, the province of his birth and activities, is concerned there have been fewer such marriages than in some other provinces. Yet humanity and justice demand that there should be such marriages. In the interests of social purity and the maintenance of the strength of the Hindu race also, the remarriage of widows is necessary. Though Bengal has not taken kindly to this way of relieving the misery of widows, it may atone to some extent for its neglect of duty by helping to give widows and other helpless women such education as would make them self-supporting in such ways as would not impair their self-respect. This, too, was an object dear to the Pandit's soul. The Vidyasagar Vani Bhavan is an institution founded with this object. It was opened on the 29th July. Its honorary secretary is Lady Bose and its office is situated at 105, Upper Circular Road. All contributions should be sent and all enquiries should be addressed to her there.

### **Lahore Widow Marriage Association.**

We find from the report of the Vidhya Vivah Sahaik Sabha ( Association for the Promotion of Widow Marriage ) of Lahore for the year 1921, that the marriage of 317 widows was brought about by it during that period. This is a remarkable and praiseworthy achievement.

### **The Indian Association on Retrenchment.**

The *Sanjibani* has published a summary of the suggestions made by the Indian Association of this city for the reduction of Government expenditure. The suggestions are important, and the Retrenchment Committees should pay due attention to them.

### **Retrenchment.**

From time to time we have made various suggestions and observations for the reduction of the expenses of Government. Such expenditure can be kept

within due bounds only if two conditions are present. One of them is that the Government must be thoroughly national or national to all intents and purposes. If the country has to import rulers, administrators and officials from abroad to any extent, to that extent there would be extravagant expenditure, for men who have to serve at a distance from their motherland must needs demand higher wages than the children of the soil. Moreover, a foreign government incurs much expenditure for safeguarding and promoting the interests of its own home country which a national government need not incur. The second condition without which a government cannot be economical is that the persons who carry it on must consider government service not a means of enriching themselves but a means of serving the country, the salaries being only maintenance allowances. If this kind of mentality be not present among the official classes and if there be not effective democratic checks, even a national government may be extravagant and even rapacious. This kind of mentality is present in Japan, and hence its prime minister is satisfied with a salary of Rs. 1500 per mensem and the other ministers with Rs. 1000 ; whereas even in our provinces the executive councillors and ministers get Rs. 64000 per annum and the governors much higher salaries. The Viceroy gets a higher salary than any officer anywhere else in the world.

### **Retrenchment in the Calcutta University.**

Efforts are being made to cut down expenditure in the Calcutta University. As according to an announcement made by the Minister of Education, Bengal, bills for the establishment of a secondary education board and the re-constitution of the University are on the anvil, the arrangements now being made for cutting down expenditure must be considered more or less provisional. Still they are welcome, so far as they go. We have a few suggestions to make in this connection.

In the report on post-graduate teaching

in the Calcutta University for 1920-21 it is shown that Lieutenant-Colonel George Ranking drew a salary of Rs. 500 per month, but no work was done by him for this salary. Such sinecures should be abolished.

The posts of the two secretaries to the Post-graduate departments in Arts and Science are unnecessary and should be abolished. A clerk can easily do the work of either or both. In many of the subjects which have very few students, the number of professors can be easily reduced. As there are in the University professors, each of whom is versatile enough to lecture on different subjects, it is not too much to believe that there are professors who can lecture on different parts, groups, or sections of the same subject. The University library and the post-graduate library should be amalgamated, with a single librarian and staff. There is no sufficient reason for keeping two libraries with two offices and staff. The press and publication departments are overmanned, and a reduction can be easily made therein. There is no necessity for maintaining both the Registrar and the Controller of Examinations and their offices and staff. One of them with a single office and staff is quite enough. There is not sufficient work for both. We have heard that in the Registrar's department there are about 50 hands and in the Controller's some 30. Many of these persons have generally little or no work to do and sit idle day after day. There are, moreover, many temporary hands, who should also be cashiered. As it is most likely that the Matriculation Examination will be conducted from next year by the secondary education board to be newly created, there should obviously be only one officer and office, as before 1917-18, who may be styled the Registrar and Controller of Examinations. The Law College should be a day college, as in Allahabad, with whole-time professors and lecturers. By making this salutary change, a large reduction can be made in the number of professors and lecturers, and the teaching improved. The Ripon College (Law Department) pays a much

lower salary to its principal than the University Law College, which pays Rs. 1000 besides free quarters, but there is no appreciable difference in the quality of teaching and of the results produced. There is no reason, also, why in addition to a good salary the principal of the Law College should have free quarters of which the rent per month may be a good round sum. There is no reason, further, why there should be a Vice-principal with a comfortable salary. The gentleman who is the present incumbent of the office has so many other things to do, that we do not think that he really earns his salary as Vice-principal of Rs. 500 per mensem. Being a busy practitioner by virtue of the office of the High Court Deputy Registrar's Vakil held by him, a member of the syndicate year in and year out, a senator year after year, a tabulator of marks year by year, the head-examiner in geography year after year, an examiner in law twice a year, a member of many a committee in the University, and the managing proprietor of the Calcutta Law Journal, he is naturally so fully occupied with his multifarious duties as to have neither the time nor the energy and inclination to undertake the teaching of a law class with any degree of earnestness. As for what office-work of the Principal he now does, a clerk can do it as well.

As the members of the Bengal Legislative Council and the Minister of Education are bound to see that the Government grant of 2½ lakhs of rupees already given to the university and any further grants that may be made hereafter are being economically and properly spent, it is their duty to consider suggestions for reduction of expenditure coming from all quarters. We, therefore, draw their attention to ours.

### Reports of Two University Committees.

At a special meeting of the Calcutta University Senate held on the 13th March last, a committee was appointed to draw up a statement on the points arising in connection with the speech delivered by the Minister of Education, Bengal, on March 1st in

the Bengal Legislative Council. That statement was to "be submitted to the Senate within one month from" the 13th March, that is, not later than the 13th April last. Another committee was appointed at the meeting of the Senate held on the 25th March to report on matters relating to the finances and the general working of the University. Its report was due on the 25th April last at the latest.

The first committee's report was signed by Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, Sir Nil Ratan Sircar, Principal Herambachandra Maitra, Sir A. Chaudhuri, Sir P. C. Ray, Rev. Dr. George Howells and Dr. Bidhan Chandra Ray on the 20th April, that is, sixteen days after it was due, but *more than two months before the July sessions of the Bengal Legislative Council*. It was, however, marked "*Confidential till considered by the Senate*"; and the Senate considered and adopted it on the 29th July, that is, many days after the close of the July sessions of the Bengal Legislative Council.

The second committee's report was signed by Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, Sir Nil Ratan Sircar, Principal G. C. Bose, Sir Asutosh Chaudhuri, Dr. Hiralal Halder, Rev. Dr. G. Watt, Rev. Dr. George Howells, Dr. Bidhan Chandra Ray and Dr. Jatindranath Maitra on the 8th July, that is two months and twelve days after it was due, but *at a time when the Bengal Legislative Council was in session*. But this report, too, was marked "*Confidential till considered by the Senate*"; and the Senate considered and adopted it on the 29th July, that is, many days after the close of the July sittings of the Bengal Council.

The reader is aware that the University had applied to Government for a grant of 5½ lakhs of rupees to cover a reported deficit and that it was known that the question of making this grant would be considered at the July session of the Legislative Council. Eventually a grant of 2½ lakhs was given. The first committee's report was ready more than two months before the July session. And it was due even earlier. Why was it kept "*confidential*" till after the grant had been obtained? Why could it not be considered and adopted by the Senate early enough to be available to members of the Legislative Council? We ask this question for two reasons. The report seeks to prove that the financial management of the Univer-

sity and its general working are not open to the criticisms to which they have been subjected by the Minister of Education and the M. L. C.s. It seeks, too, to prove that the University is an autonomous body, not subject to the kind of official control and inspection under which it has been sought to bring it. The report also strongly criticises the Minister and the M. L. C.s, commenting adversely on the tone and temper displayed, etc. It is also sarcastic. In one word, it is a brave and somewhat defiant report. The question arises, why this display of bravery was not openly made earlier but is published after obtaining the grant? It is certain that it would have been very difficult to obtain a grant if the M. L. C.s had been in possession of this report when the question of the grant was discussed in council.

It should be remembered that Member after Member said in council that the University had "come down", and the Minister gave an assurance that the University was "willing to place financial information before the Government", which is true. We have already said in *Prabasi* that it was right for the council to make the grant if it was satisfied that the money would be properly spent, but not because some party was formerly haughty and had now "come down"—which was an unworthy feeling. But there is no doubt that many members agreed to the giving of the grant because of the Minister's assurance and the prevailing feeling that the University had been humbled and had climbed down.\*

That was how the grant came to be given. But now, after the grant has been given comes the report which discloses an altogether different spirit and tone and temper of the

\* Dr. Jatindra Nath Maitra said, it seemed to be the desire of some of the members of the Council to see the Vice-Chancellor of the University, who had been referred to as the "autocrat of autocrats", bumbled down at their feet.

Babu Kishori Mohan Chaudhuri said that since the University authorities had come down and were willing to submit accounts they should also reconsider the situation.

Mr. S. N. Mullick said there was much in the present activities of the Calcutta University which he deplored. The University had come down and it was time that they should show that they were relenting. He would support the grant on the condition that the University behaved better in future and that the Minister would take steps towards its democratisation.



Senate or its boss. The report seems to say: "Who said we had come down? We are spoiling for a fight as ever before!" This may be very clever, but it is certainly nothing better.

The second committee's report which is in considerable part identical with the first, is also "brave" and sarcastic. It devotes a special section to what it sarcastically calls "Choice Sentiments", culled from the speeches of some of the M. L. C.s. If this report had been seen by the M. L. C.s at or before the time of the debate on the grant, the difficulties of getting it sanctioned would have been greatly increased. But the two reports were purposely kept in the dark, furnishing a fresh illustration of the adage, "Discretion is the better part of valour." It would be very enjoyable now to mark the expression in the faces of the outwitted Members of Council at their discomfiture.

The reports comment unfavorably on the tone, temper, language &c., of the Minister and the M. L. C.s; but as it would have been irrelevant to discuss whether the University boss's abuse of the critics of the University on various occasions and the vulgarities of the Calcutta Review (Third Series) were angelic, the committees refrained from such discussion! We refer to the Calcutta Review, as it is an organ of the boss and as there is a similarity in the styles of that review and the reports and some of the contents are common to both.

The two reports contain 96 pages, foolscap folio, of printed matter. It is not possible to discuss their contents within the compass of a note. We shall content ourselves with only a few brief remarks.

We read in the first report:

"Intelligent criticism is impossible without much fuller knowledge of the details of University administration than the Minister can be expected to acquire on a study of budget estimates with or without the aid of experts."

The most important subject of the two reports is finance. When the first committee was formed, we observed that it contained no expert in finance or accounts, except of course Sir Asutosh Mukherjee, who is an expert in everything. But as he was pre-eminently the person whose administration was the subject of criticism, there should have been other and independent experts. As there were none such,

may it be asked, who were the experts whose "aid" was taken by the other six members of the first committee and the other eight members of the second committee in understanding and unravelling the mysteries of university finance? But if some amount of intelligence and education suffice to make people financial experts, cannot the minister of education be presumed to possess those qualifications?

### Prophetic Legislation.

As a specimen of the arguments contained in the two reports, let us quote some sentences common to both. Both quote section 15 of the Act of Incorporation passed in 1857, which runs as follows:—

"The said Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor and Fellows shall have power to charge such reasonable fees for the degrees to be conferred by them, and upon admission into the said University, and for continuance therein, as they, with the approbation of the Governor-General of India in Council, shall, from time to time, see fit to impose. Such fees shall be carried to one General Fee Fund for the payment of expenses of the said University, under the direction and regulations of the Governor-General of India in Council, to whom the accounts of income and expenditure of the said university shall once in every year be submitted for such examination and audit as the said Governor-General of India in Council may direct."

The section was amended in 1921, when the expression "Governor-General of India in Council" was replaced by the expression "Local Government of Bengal."

The reports interpret this section thus:—

Let us now turn to the language of section 15, which, as we have stated, has been in operation since 1857. The fees mentioned in the first sentence of the section have to be carried into one General Fee Fund for the payment of expenses of the University under the direction and regulations of the Government. Apart from the question of the meaning of the expression "direction and regulations," it is obvious that such direction and regulations can apply only to the classes of fees specified in the first sentence, namely, (1) fees for degrees conferred by the Senate, (2) fees for admission into the University, (3) fees for continuance in the University. Under (1) comes the fee of Rs. 5 charged by the University when a degree is conferred *in absentia*; under (2) comes what is known as the Registration fee of Rs. 2; under (3) comes the fee payable by Registered Graduates. The Government is not authorised to issue "direction and regulations" in respect of other classes of fees which the University may charge or other kinds of income which the University may possess.

"The fee of Rs. 5 charged by the University when a degree is conferred *in absentia*" first came to be prescribed and levied about

half a century after the passing of the Act of Incorporation in 1857. We do not find the Registration fee of Rs. 2 mentioned in the Act of Incorporation of 1857, but it is mentioned in chapter xv of the New Regulations framed after the passing of the Indian Universities Act of 1904 and it is referred to in section 25 (2) (h) of that Act. Similarly Registered Graduates, whose function is to elect some Fellows, are first mentioned in the Indian Universities Act of 1904, section 5 (2) (a), section 7 and section 25 (2) (h). The fee payable by Registered Graduates has been mentioned and its amount, etc., fixed in chapter xiv of the New Regulations framed after the passing of the Indian Universities Act in 1904. So the members of the two committees would have us believe that in 1857 Government enacted with prophetic foreknowledge a Section of the Act of Incorporation in order to authorize itself to issue "direction and regulations" in relation to three kinds of fees which came to be levied about half a century afterwards!

Though prophetic foreknowledge was required for such enactment, no prophetic powers were needed to perceive that the University would have to hold examinations for conferring degrees, for testing the fitness of pupils for "Entrance" into the University and for "continuing" their studies in it until they were fit to sit for the degree examinations, and that fees would have to be levied for such examinations. In our opinion the fees referred to in Section 15, are these examination fees, primarily. For in the whole Act of Incorporation, the charging of fees of any sort is not sanctioned or provided for in any other section than 15, and it is incredible that the Act did not empower the University to charge those fees without which the University could not do its work but that it empowered the University to charge some minor fees which came to be thought of and levied after the University had gone on doing its work without them for half a century. It should be remembered that, as stated in the preamble to the Act of Incorporation, the University was established for the purpose of conferring degrees after examination. Therefore, it was indispensably necessary to sanction the charging of examination fees. And as fees are mentioned in only one section, these fees are undoubtedly the examination fees, *not* the other fees which

lay buried in the womb of futurity in the nineteenth century.

In the opinion of the committees Section 15 does not apply to the examination fees. Let us further examine the probability of this view being correct.

The object of direction and regulations in relation to expenditure is to ensure economy and prevent waste, defalcation, etc. Common sense tells us that no Government can be so foolish as to think that it is necessary to issue "direction and regulations" in order to ensure the right use and prevent the waste of comparatively small sums, but that it is unnecessary to take such precautions in respect of much larger amounts. Let us now see what are the amounts of the different fees.

In the Calcutta University Draft Budget Estimates for 1921-22, we find that in 1920-21 the total amount received as fees for the various examinations was Rs. 9,27,595. In the same year fees for diplomas amounted to Rs. 945, graduates' registration fees and subscriptions to Rs. 11,100, and students' registration fees to Rs. 15,220,—total Rs. 27,265. Well then, if we are to believe the learned members of the Committee, Government was so penny wise and pound foolish that it enacted a Section of the Act of Incorporation so long ago as 1857 in order to ensure the right spending of Rs. 27,265 in the twentieth century, leaving the sum of Rupees nine lakhs twenty-seven thousand five hundred and ninety-five to be spent or misspent by the University or its boss at its or his sweet will! It could trust the university to spend lakhs but not thousands! *Credat Judæus Apella!*

### The Need of Industrial Banks.

At the agricultural, industrial and co-operative conference held recently, Sir Nil Ratan Sircar put in a very timely and effective plea for greater banking facilities for the development of industries by Indians. The Imperial Bank and other banks entirely or practically under European management did not or could not, for reasons of their own, finance Indian industries as much as is necessary and desirable. Industrial banks are required not merely to render assistance to our industries in times of need, but also generally to study the industrial requirements and capabilities of the country and promote

industries. This has been done in all progressive countries. Sir Nil Ratan Sircar paid a well-deserved compliment to the Bengal National Bank in this connection.

### Fitness for Civil Disobedience.

Hakim Ajmal Khan, Pandit Motilal Nehru and a few other leaders of the Non-co-operation movement are touring in the country to ascertain where the conditions have been fulfilled, according to the Bardoli programme, for the practice of "mass civil disobedience." Two of the conditions are the removal of untouchability and the manufacture and use of khaddar or homespun handwoven cloth on an extensive scale. From what little knowledge of Bengal we possess we are sorry to say that these two conditions are yet far from being fulfilled in this province.

### The Bardoli Programme and Swaraj.

Both in our English and Bengali reviews we have more than once tried to explain that the manufacture and use of khaddar, the removal of untouchability, the giving up of liquor, etc., cannot directly lead to the winning of Swaraj, but that they are sure to produce in us the fitness for engaging in a struggle for Swaraj and for doing our duties when Swaraj has been won. As regards the removal of untouchability in particular, we do not know how many times and for how many years we have been saying that even if India were or could be made absolutely independent, it would still be our duty to insist on equal and humane treatment of all men and women. That is not true Swaraj which would leave a single person in a degraded condition on account of his race, caste, creed or birth. As regards khaddar, if we can clothe ourselves without importing foreign cloth or machinery, that itself will be partial attainment of economic Swaraj.

The following extract from *The Indian Social Reformer* shows what two of our leaders think on the subject of the attainment of Swaraj by carrying out the Bardoli programme :—

Speaking on Monday evening, the first day of the Committee in Bombay, its President, Hakim Ajmal Khan, who is perhaps possessed of most statesmanly gifts at present among Indians, made a remarkable statement referring to the Bardoli programme. "It was," he said, "a very far-sighted programme. He did not promise them Swaraj by carrying out that

programme, but he did promise that Swarajya would knock at their doors and would fast approach them," to the extent that that programme was carried out. Never before has this profound truth been put with such preciseness and felicity, and not even by the Hakim Sahib himself. To the bulk of Non-Co-operationists the Bardoli programme is a programme, like the earlier Non-Co-operation and various other programmes to be carried out more or less perfunctorily, and nothing more. The Hakim Sahib's observation shows that he at any rate has thoroughly grasped that the programme in its four main items comprehends all the cardinal features of the social revolution without which *swaraj*, even if bestowed as a free gift, will be an embarrassment and, indeed, an illusion. Pandit Motilal Nehru, speaking at the same place the next day, emphasised the same truth with reference to the most important matter of unity among our several communities. "Unity", he said, "must be for its own sake, and not for the sake of any particular object" such as the Khilafat or the prevention of cow-killing and so on. Similarly, the removal of untouchability must be motivated purely by the duty of removing a cruel social wrong and not, as is too often done, by the hope and for the purpose of obtaining *swarajya*. The Bardoli programme must be understood and worked in the spirit of utter disinterestedness.

### Satyendranath Datta's Library.

The fine library of the deceased poet Satyendranath Datta has been given, as desired by him, to the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, to be kept by that Academy of Letters in its hall as a distinct collection bearing the poet's name. This gift has been entirely appropriate. Satyendranath's library will be a lasting witness to the wide range of his interests and studies.

### Decrease of Hindus in Bengal.

The Hindu population of Bengal, as revealed by the census of 1921, has decreased by 1,36,231. The Musalman population has increased by 12,48,896. Apart from social and other causes, decrease of the Hindus is due to the fact that the Hindus preponderate in West Bengal, which has become more unhealthy than East Bengal where the Musalmans preponderate.

### Resumption of Practice by Some Lawyers.

The resumption of practice by some lawyers belonging to the non-co-operation party has caused jubilation among the Moderates. As some at least of these lawyers had merely *suspended* practice, we do not see why so much importance should be attached

to its resumption by them. From the days of the inauguration of the Non-co-operation movement, we have not been in favour of students leaving their schools and colleges and lawyers giving up their practice as an indispensable condition precedent to joining the movement. We have urged all along that as consistent and thorough-going non-co-operation in all matters was not being insisted upon or practised, students and lawyers should not be called upon to undergo greater sacrifice than others.

It is better that a lawyer should earn his living in his own way and at the same time do what patriotic work he can, than that he should be a burden on the country.

It would undoubtedly be good for all patriotic movements if there were more ascetic householders in our midst like Mr. Gandhi. But if we have not got the genuine thing, what is the good of camouflaging?

### **Extension of Calcutta.**

Calcutta cannot be made sufficiently healthy merely by attending to its sanitation, water-supply, &c. So long as the fringe areas remain in an insanitary condition, the city, too, will be correspondingly unhealthy. Therefore, it is best to add these areas to the Calcutta Municipality. But this should be done, only if the municipal administration can be made free from corruption and phenomenal sloth and procrastination.

### **Sir P. C. Ray's Reappointment As Palit Professor of Chemistry.**

At a meeting of the governing body of the Sir T. N. Palit Trusts, a letter from Sir P. C. Ray was read to the effect that under the conditions of appointment of a Palit Professor he had vacated his chair on the completion of the sixtieth year of his age. We are glad to note that he has been re-appointed, as the governing body had power to do, to the Palit chair of chemistry for a term of five years longer, it being "necessary in the interests of research." As Dr. Ray is still in full possession of his intellectual powers and of his usual physical vigour and as he continues to train and inspire fresh batches of students, and to carry on research as much as or perhaps more than ever before, the governing body

could not possibly have acted more wisely than it has done.

### **"All for Independence."**

Such is the heading of some paragraphs in a Press Bulletin issued recently by the Philippine Commission of Independence, which show that all political parties in the Philippines are united in their demand for independence. The paragraphs are quoted below.

The most important election that has ever been held in the Philippine Islands will take place on June 6.

Three political parties now have their candidates before the electorate.

Judging by the past, no matter what party is successful, the opponents of Philippine independence are likely to send reports to the United States to the effect that the result of the election is a set-back for independence.

In order to beat our opponents to it, we wish to advise the American people in advance that all three political parties stand for not only independence, but immediate independence.

Therefore, independence is not in any way, shape, form or manner, an issue in the election. The issues are local. No candidate for any office, not even that of dog catcher, no matter how much money he may spend or how popular he may be personally, can be elected in the Philippine Islands if he does not unequivocally pledge himself to work for immediate independence.

Can we not have a similar unanimity as to our greatest political demand, though we may differ as to the means of winning what we want? As far as we can see, it is possible to be unanimous. For the Moderates want Dominion Home Rule, Mr. Gandhi has said that by Swaraj in its political sense he understood Dominion Self-rule, and the Congress by negating a resolution in favour of absolute independence has shown that it does not go beyond what Mr. Gandhi wants.

### **Scientific Exchange between India and Germany.**

Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar has sent us the following from Germany :—

"The undersigned has the honour to communicate to the authors, learned societies, journalists and publishing houses in India the wishes of some of the scholars, academies and public men of Germany in regard to a possible exchange of books and periodicals between the two countries.

"Owing to the unusually low value of the

German Mark (one Rupee being often equivalent to 70 Marks) it will long remain impossible for the learned men of Germany to buy the Indian publications. But they will be pleased to offer any German books in exchange such as may be desired by the Indian librarians, publishers, authors, research societies, science institutes, and so forth.

"In order to reduce the costs of foreign correspondence, transportation, etc., which are bound to be heavy if the exchange is carried on between individuals at the German and Indian ends, it is suggested that one or two centres be established in India, for example at Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta, under the auspices, say, of the *Sahitya Parishats* or *Sammelans*. These centres will collect the books and periodicals from different parts of the country, forward the same to a specified address in Germany, receive the German collections therefrom and finally circulate or distribute them among the institutions or individuals in India.

"Books and Journals dealing with any and every problem, no matter in what Indian language (not excluding English), will be welcome in Germany. Ancient and medieval Sanskrit, Prakrit, Persian, Arabic, and vernacular texts are also in demand. Arrangements may be made to have the publications announced in lots from time to time, and whenever possible, reviewed in some standard German journals.

"For the present, correspondence may be opened immediately with Geheimer Regierungsrat Professor Dr. Heinrich Lueders, Akademie der Wissenschaften, Unter den Linden 38, Berlin."

### "Nature Mysterious".

The tide approaches the painfully longing, painfully contracted branch of a tree. It died before the water could reach it and now it blesses the late-comer

by dropping the last withered leaves on its silvery surface. Clouds pass by on a sky of darkness, and nothingness stretches over the calm sea which has left on its shore the deadly heaviness of lingering stones. Surely they are tombstones, for nature has died—or may be, they are seals of a hidden life. And suddenly the same tree which was dead just now, radiates with the golden green perfume of tender-fresh leaves, which are dead and alive at the same time. And behind them she quietly is present bodily but her face turns away to the clouds and to the dark motionless depth. Her glowing halo spreads far over the sky.

Coming and parting is the contact of water and earth; life and death grow out of one root. They render homage to Her, whose mind dwells in the infinite.

But the picture reveals connections of deeper reality than words can do. Shy and sensitive lines pass through a dream of colours and the myth of the "sleeping beauty" has become an everlasting state, surrendered to the loving caress of *Asit Kumar Halder's* imagination.

STELLA KRAMRISCH

### A Correction.

In the June number of the Modern Review I published a statement which implied that it was practically certain that some of the strikers had wrecked the Punjab Mail. It has been pointed out to me by the Editor of 'Swadharma' that it is unfair to charge men with doing a thing which has not been proved against them. I agree with the editor of 'Swadharma' and regret that I made an unfair statement.

C. F. A.

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## THE PREROGATIVES OF THE MUGHAL EMPERORS

BY PROF. JADUNATH SARKAR, M. A., P. R. S.

FROM Persian sources we have full information as to the rights and enjoyments which were reserved for the Mughal Emperor, and which it was high crime and misdemeanour for a subject to appropriate to himself. In the seventeenth century several incidents took place which made it necessary to clearly define and formally announce the imperial prerogatives. Every provincial viceroy's ambition was to play the part of the Emperor within his own jurisdiction, to conduct himself at the seat of his government or in his camp just as his master did at the capital or during royal progresses through the country. The worst offenders in this respect were the holders of the four "greater subahdaris", or the viceroys of the frontier provinces, who were higher in power and rank than their brethren elsewhere, like the 'Marcher Earls' of Feudal England. The evil reached its climax under Islam Khan Chishti, the governor of Bengal from 1608 to 1613. He was an inordinately haughty and self-willed man, and emboldened by his relation of foster-brother to the Emperor, — (Jahangir having been born in the house of Islam's grand-father Shaikh Salim Chishti and named after him), — he gave himself royal airs and treated all other men, both officials and zamindars, with a proud

disdain, forcing them to do homage to him in the same way as subjects did to the Emperor.

Jahangir, therefore, found it necessary to issue a circular order in his 6th year (1611) forbidding certain practices on the part of his viceroys as infringement of the royal prerogative. [*Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Sayyid Ahmad's ed., p. 100; *Baharistan* 103 a; *Iqbaliyah*, 59; *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, 200.]

Aurangzib was equally punctilious about the prestige of the Crown, and jealously punished any assumption of imperial prerogatives even by his sons. As he used to say in defence of his unbending strictness in these matters, —

"If a single rule is disregarded, all the regulations will be destroyed. Though I have not yet permitted the violation of any rule [of the court], men have grown so bold as to ask me to set rules aside!" [*Ahkam-i-Alamgiri*, § 63.]

And, again, "How did he [meaning his son Prince Muazzam or Shah Alam] dare do a thing which is the special prerogative of kings? The late Emperor Shah Jahan was very negligent towards his sons, so that his affairs came to a pass that is notorious." [*Ibid*, § 15.]

From the official records of these two reigns we learn that sixteen things were

specially reserved for the sovereign and forbidden to all subjects, however high in rank.

First. Showing his face to his subjects from the palace balcony in the morning. This was called *darshan*, from a Sanskrit word meaning 'the view of an idol or saint.' The Emperor Akbar began this practice. As his Court historian Abul Fazl writes,—

"His Majesty generally receives twice in the course of twenty-four hours, when people of all classes can satisfy their eyes and hearts with the light of his countenance. First, after performing his morning prayers, he is visible from outside the awning to people of all ranks,...without any molestation from the mace-bearers. (*Ain*, i. 196.)

In the eastern wall of the Agra palace (as well as at Delhi) there is a balcony, called the *jharokha-i-darshan*, overlooking the foreshore of the Jamuna which stretches like a plain below. Vast crowds of expectant people assembled on this sandy plain every morning while the Emperor was in residence. He used to appear at the balcony about three quarters of an hour after sunrise and show his face to his subjects, who at once bowed, while he returned their salute. Half an hour or more was spent here, not merely in showing himself but also in doing business. The plain being outside the fort walls, the public had free access to it, and the oppressed could submit their petitions and make their complaints to the Emperor without having to grease the palms of the door-keepers and court-underlings. Often a string was let down from the balcony, and the people tied their petitions to it, which were then drawn up by the attendants and submitted to the Emperor.

Curiously enough, there arose a class of servile people called the *darshaniyas*, who formed themselves into a sect of the Emperor's worshippers, like the guilds of *Augustales* in the Roman empire. These men did not begin their day's work nor eat their breakfast until they had gazed at the auspicious face of the Emperor in the morning, just as devout Hindus at

Gaya and Jagannath-Puri act in respect of the local idols.

Aurangzib put an end to this practice of man-worship, by refusing to appear at the balcony of morning salute from the 11th year of his reign onwards. (Khati Khan, ii. 213.)

Second. *Chauki* and *taslim* of *chauki*, i.e., making the nobles mount guard round the royal residence and formally salute the place. Akbar instituted the practice. I quote from the *Ain-i-Akbari* (i. 257).

"Mounting guard is called *chauki* in Hindi. The four divisions of the army have been divided into seven parts, each of which is appointed for one day, under the superintendence of a trustworthy *mansabdar*. They are day and night in attendance about the palace, ready for any orders His Majesty may issue. In the evening the imperial standards (*qur*) are taken to the Hall of Public Audience. The mounting guards stand on the right; the ranks of the guards to be relieved are drawn up on the other side. Both ranks salute His Majesty.....If any one is absent without proper excuse,.....he is fined one week's pay or receives a suitable reprimand."

Bernier gives us fuller information :

"An *umara* must also, in rotation, keep guard in the fortress (i. e., the Emperor's palace enclosure) once every week, during four and twenty hours. He sends thither his bed, carpet and other furniture; the king supplying him with nothing but his meals. These (dishes) are received with peculiar ceremony. Thrice the *umara* performs the *taslim*, or reverence, the face turned towards the royal apartment; first dropping the hand down to the ground, and then lifting it up to the head. (Pp. 214 and 258.)

"The Rajahs (i. e., Hindu *mansabdars*) never mount guard within a fortress, but invariably without the walls, under their own tents" (p. 210).

This mounting guard round the royal residence, though it was for 24 hours only in a week, was considered an irksome duty by the nobles, but it was always insisted upon by the Emperors. The provincial governors, however, had no reason for giving themselves royal airs and compelling the military officers of the imperial army posted in the province to do this sentry duty round their residence.

Third. No subject was to require any other person to touch the ground before him or perform the *taslim* and *kurnish*.

*Taslim*, or the peculiar mode of salutation followed in the Court of Delhi, was originated by Akbar. "The salutation called *taslim* consists in placing the back of the right hand on the ground, and then raising it gently till the person stands erect, when he puts the palm of his hand upon the crown of his head, which pleasing manner of saluting signifies that he is ready to give himself as an offering" (to the Emperor). Akbar tells us that he once made reverence to his father in this mode by accident, and Humayun was so pleased with it that he ordered it to be adopted as the regular mode of salutation at Court. (*Ain*, i. 158).

In other Muhammadan countries the mode of saluting the sovereign was different, viz., folding the arms over the breast and then bending the head, and it was the anxious concern of the Emperors of Delhi that foreign visitors (especially the Persian envoys) should salute them according to the Indian method and not after the fashion of their own countries.

While speaking of *taslim*, I may mention that in April 1670 Aurangzib forbade his Muslim courtiers to make *taslim* to each other. When they met together they were simply to cry out *salam alekum* (peace be on you!) and not to raise their hands to their heads. (*Masir-i-Alamgiri*, 98, 272.)

Abul Fazl describes the *kurnish* thus:—

"His majesty has commanded the palm of the right hand to be placed upon the forehead and the head bent downwards. This mode of salutation, in the language of the present age, is called *kurnish*, and signifies that the saluter has placed his head (which is the seat of the senses and of the mind) into the hand of humility, giving it to the royal assembly as a present, and has made himself in obedience ready for any service that may be required of him." (*Ain*, i. 158.)

"Upon taking leave [for one's post] or presentation [at Court], or upon receiving a *mansab*, a *jagir* or a dress of honour, or a horse, the rule is to make three *taslims*: but only one on all other occasions, [as] when salaries are paid or presents made." (*Ibid.*)

Fourth. No *subahdar* was to compel musicians and singers to attend his court in regular *chauki* after the manner of the imperial *darbar*.

Akbar's practice in this matter is thus described:

"About three hours before daybreak, musicians of all races are introduced [to the Emperor in the Hall of Private Audience.] They recreate the assembly with music and songs, and religious strains; and when four *gharis* (i. e., an hour and a half) are left till morning His Majesty retires to his private apartments [for sleep]...

"Whenever his Majesty holds court [in public]...during the whole time, singers male and female are in waiting." (*Ain*, i. 156 and 157.)

"The Court musicians are arranged in seven divisions, one for each day of the week. When His Majesty gives the order, they let the wine of harmony flow." (*Ibid.*, 12, 6)

Aurangzib forbade the practice and dismissed the court musicians on pension, retaining only the royal band or *naubat*. (11th year of his reign, 1667.)

Fifth. Beating kettle-drums at the time of setting out on a journey.

The imperial practice in this respect is described by Manucci:

"At the time when he [Aurangzib] mounted the [portable] throne [*takht-i-raswan*] and issued from his tents, all the warlike instruments of music were sounded." (*Storia*, ii. 69.)

When the Emperor took his seat in the Hall of Public Audience, a big drum (called *damdama*, as distinct from the kettle-drum or *naqqara*) was beaten, to give notice to all men that the court had commenced. (*Ain*, i. 157.)

We learn from Hamiduddin's *Ahkam* that Shah Alam, when governor of Kabul, brought down upon himself the sharp reprimand of his father by ordering four kettle-drums to be beaten when he was holding court. The Emperor wrote to him: "In the place of the four drums you should beat four tabors, because it is the prerogative of Emperors alone to beat kettle-drums while holding court. When God gives you the throne you will enjoy [these imperial rights.] Why this impatience?" (*Ahkam*, 12.)

Late in the reign of Aurangzib the highest nobles began to be rewarded with the right of carrying a standard (*alam*) and kettledrum (*naqqara*) with themselves. But they were not to beat the kettledrum in the imperial camp or capital, nor when holding public *darbar*.



in their provinces. As a special mark of favour for service of the highest importance, we read of a nobleman being permitted to strike up his kettledrums from the door of the imperial tent as he set out on his expedition.

Sixth. When a subahdar presented a horse or elephant to anyone, he was not to require the latter to make obeisance to the donor with the bridle or elephant-goad placed on his back. This had to be done only when the Emperor was the giver.

Seventh. No subahdar should grant any title to any of his officers. The imperial prerogative of conferring titles was so jealously guarded that even vassal princes were not permitted to grant any title of honour to their subjects. In the reign of Shah Jahan it was made a cause of war with Muhammad Adil Shah of Bijapur that he had presumptuously rivalled his suzerain of Delhi by creating his own prime minister *Khan-i-Khanan*; but war was averted by a letter of submission and apology from Bijapur.

Eighth. No noble should make any imperial officer walk on foot in his retinue. As Tavernier observes,—

"When the Emperor goes to the mosque in his *palki* one of his sons follows on horseback and all the Princes and officers of the household on foot.....On his return [from hunt] he uses a *palki* and there is the same guard and the same order as when he goes to the mosque." (i. 390 and 392.)

Ninth. The viceroys should not affix their seals to the letters they address to the imperial officers, but only their signatures. The seal and the *panja* (i.e., impression of the palm of the hand dipped in vermillion) on letters and deeds of gift or appointment were proper for the Emperor only. No official, however high, could use them in his letters written to another official, because all of them were equal in status with him in the sense of being equally subordinate to the Emperor. [The rules about the Emperor's seals are given in *Ain*, i. 52 and 263.]

The nobles had to take care not to imitate even the style of the imperial *farmans* in any way in their own letters to their colleagues or subordinates.

Thus, in the last years of the reign of Aurangzib, he severely took to task Ghaziuddin Khan Bahadur Firuz Jang, one of the two highest nobles of the realm, for presuming to begin his orders with the phrase, "By the *miracle-working command* of the Khan.....it is ordered that..." This was an appropriation of the royal phraseology and Aurangzib scornfully remarked, on learning of it, that a commander of seven thousand, as Firuz Jang then was, did not possess the power of working miracles. (Hamid-ud-din's *Ahkam*, § 35.) Aurangzib's eldest son Muhammad Sultan, when a boy of fourteen, was censured by his father for having adopted the imperial epistolary style in an unintelligent attempt to model his own letters on those of Akbar as drafted by Abul Fazl. [*Studies in Mughal India*, 77.]

Tenth. No viceroy could pass the sentence of blinding an offender or cutting off his nose or ear.

For theft and certain other offences there was the legal punishment of mutilation (cutting off the hand or hands at the wrist). For murder there was the penalty of death, unless the relatives of the victim were willing to spare the murderer's life by accepting from him the "price of the blood" of the murdered man. [But all these sentences could be inflicted only by the Qazi or Canon Law Judge and not by the civilian magistrate, such as a *subahdar* was.] But the Quranic law does not permit such punishments as putting out a man's eyes or chopping off his nose and ears, though kings sometimes inflicted the former on their political enemies and rivals and the latter on ordinary criminals, in fits of violent anger. These, however were not judicial acts, and subjects had to be restrained from the exercise of such illegal power.

Eleventh. No one was to be forcibly converted to Islam by any subahdar.

No doubt, prisoners of war, were often converted to Islam against their wishes; and sometimes a person condemned to death or lifelong imprisonment could gain his life or liberty, or a claimant might

secure the right to an estate in case of disputed succession, by embracing Islam at the instance of the Emperor. But all these conversions were decreed by the sovereign and no lesser person could undertake them. He alone was the commander of the faithful or the supreme executive officer and agent of Islam in the land.

Twelfth. Ordering combats between elephants. This was a very jealously-guarded prerogative of the Emperors of Delhi, many of whom, from Akbar onwards, were very fond of this royal pastime. Their sons inherited this taste and we have a comic example of Prince Shah Alam being unable to resist the temptation of getting up an elephant-fight during his march from Sashind and afterwards trying to deprecate his father's wrath by representing it as an accidental encounter between the two beasts!

Between the outer wall of the palace at Agra (as well as Delhi) and the river Jamuna there is a large sandy plain. After the morning salute ( *darshan* ) was over, this plain was cleared of the crowd and two royal elephants were set to fight each other. As Tavernier remarks, "They have purposely selected this spot near the water, because the elephant which has been victorious being enraged, they would not be able to pacify him for a long time if they did not urge him into the river, to effect which it is necessary to use artifice,"—by attaching fire-works to the end of spears and setting them on fire in order to drive him into the water. ( i. 106. )

In the imperial stables every elephant had his match appointed for fighting. When such a well-matched pair was set to fight, a third elephant, called the *tabanchah*, was kept ready at hand to assist either of the combatants when too severely handled by the other. (*Ain*, i. 131, 467.)

"The two ponderous beasts meet one another face to face...each having a couple of riders that the place of the man who sits on the shoulders for guiding the elephant may immediately be supplied if he should be thrown down. The riders animate the elephants either by soothing

words, or by chiding them as cowards, and urge them on with their heels....The shock is tremendous. There are frequent pauses during the fight; it is suspended and renewed...The more courageous elephant attacks his opponent and, putting him to flight, pursues and fastens upon him with so much obstinacy that the animals can be separated only by means of fire-works which are made to explode between them." (Bernier, 276-277.)

This royal pastime was usually attended by injury to limbs and loss of life to the drivers and the spectators.

"It frequently happens that some of the riders are trodden underfoot, and killed on the spot, the elephant having always cunning enough to feel the importance of dismounting the rider of his adversary, whom he therefore endeavours to strike down with his trunk. So imminent is the danger considered, that on the day of combat the unhappy men take the same formal leave of their wives and children as if condemned to death." (Bernier, 277.)

Manucci observed the same thing,

"When the king makes the elephants fight, the wives of the drivers remove their ornaments, smash their bracelets, and put on mourning, just as if they were widows. If their husbands come back alive, they give a great feast, just as if newly married." (*Storia*, ii. 364.)

The men's reward for thus risking their lives was a bonus of copper coins worth six rupees and a quarter—equivalent to their pay for a month or two—presented to them in a bag as soon as the fight was over. (*Ain*, i. 131; Bernier, 277.)

Nor was this the only risk. "It often happened that some of the spectators were knocked down and trampled upon by the elephants, or by the crowd; for the rush was terrible when, to avoid the infuriated combatants, men and horses took to flight." (Bernier, 278.) Readers of Mughal history will remember how Aurangzib, when a lad of fifteen, was unhorsed by such an unmanageable fighting elephant and put in imminent danger of death, but he saved his life by his wonderful coolness and courage. (The incident is fully described in Hamiduddin's *Ahkam*, § 1.) Aurangzib punished an officer for having made two elephants fight before him. (Ishwardas, 144 b.)

The above are the twelve prerogatives of the Crown laid down by Jahangir.

We learn of four more from other sources.

Thirteenth. Bernier (p. 378) tells us that the hunting of the lion was peculiarly royal, "for, except by special permission, the King and the Princes are the only persons who engage in the sport." He gives a full description of this game (pp. 378-380), the bait being an ass, and the gorged lion being enclosed within net walls and shot by the Emperor from an elephant's back.

Fourteenth. No subject, when holding office or giving audience, should sit on a higher level than the carpet on the floor of the hall,—(or, according to *Baharistan*, more than half the human stature above the ground).

About 1695 Aurangzib learnt from a news-writer that "Ibrahim Khan, the governor of Bengal, in excess of pomp and pride, used to hold court sitting on a couch (*charpai*), while the Qazi and other officers of Canon Law had to sit in humility on the floor. The Emperor immediately sent a sharp letter to the governor, telling him that if he was unable to sit on the ground by reason of any disease, he should urge his doctors to cure him soon." (Hamiduddin's *Ahkam*, § 64.)

Even the Princes of the blood were no exception to this rule. A few years after the above incident, Shah Alam, the eldest surviving son of the Emperor, offended his father in the same way and received swift punishment for it, which I shall describe in the words of Hamid-ud-din Khan :

"From the news-letter of the province of Kabul the Emperor learnt that Muhammad Muazzam Bahadur Shah in holding court used to sit on a platform raised one yard above the ground. The Emperor wrote on the page of the report,

(Verses) 'It is not by mere wishing that our works are done.  
God's grace is necessary in every thing.  
You cannot secure the seat of great ones  
by mere rash acts....

Two strict mace-bearers should be sent to make him get down from his seat in

open court and to dismantle the platform." (*Ahkam*, § 15.)

This use of a high seat was the distinctive badge of royalty, and Aurangzib here taunts his son with giving himself royal airs even before succeeding to the throne, as if his mere wishing for his father's crown had already made him king.

The procedure at the Emperor's darbars was that he entered the high balcony abutting into the *diwan-i-am* (hall of public audience) by a door connected with the harem, and then took his seat on his throne which stood in that high recess—or in the midst of the hall, when the darbar was held in a tent. "His Majesty's sons and grandsons, the grantees of the court, and all other men who have the *entree*, attend to make the *kurnish*, and remain standing in their proper places,—according to their rank, with their arms crossed." (*Ain*, i. 157, 160, see also Tavernier, i. 99.)

The Emperors, however, often permitted their sons to sit down in their presence, by special command. (*Ain*, i. 160; *Storia*, ii. 191.)

Jahangir went a step further, he had a golden throne made, lower than his own, and placed it in the Hall of Public Audience, for his son Shah Jahan to sit on.

Shah Jahan showed the same favour to his eldest son Dara Shukoh, who was given the high title of *Shah-i-buland-i-qbul* or Prince of Exalted Fortune and permitted to occupy a golden seat, a little lower in height than the Emperor's throne and placed a few feet distant from it.

Fifteenth. The Emperor alone could go in a *palki* to the Public (*Jama*) mosque, to say his Friday prayers. At the very end of Aurangzib's reign, Ibrahim Khan, the viceroy of Gujrat, was reported against as riding to the *Jama Masjid* in a *palki*, though even the princes could not do so without the special permission of the Emperor. Aurangzib wrote to this *subahdar*, "Why should you do an act which gives a handle to the report-writer to complain against you?" (*Ahkam*, § 65.)

Sixteenth. Weighing the body against

gold (*tula*) was a royal prerogative, though the Emperor sometimes permitted it in the case of a favourite son. (Abdul Hamid's *Padishahnamah*, ii. 377 ; *Tuzuk*, 163.)

Seventeenth. No subahdar was to set up his standards and compel the

officers posted under him to bow to them. This *taslim* of the *qur* was to be done only at the Imperial Court, as described in my *Studies in Mughal India*, p. 68.

[*Patna University Readership Lecture*,  
Feb. 1921.]

## BUDDHISM AND CHRISTIANITY

### A POSTSCRIPT.

**D**URING the early months of the year 1914, while I was travelling in Africa and witnessing every day the racial treatment of the African people and Indian settlers by the Europeans, the conviction of the predatory character of the modern civilisation of the West was forced upon me with an increasingly painful intensity. It became clear to me also, that the basic conception of society in Europe, as a rivalry and a struggle for power, as a fierce competition rather than a mutual co-operation, was essentially unchristian. It belonged at heart to the old retaliatory period of man's existence—the period of 'an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth,'—and was entirely inconsistent with the teaching of the Sermon on the Mount. My conviction became all the stronger as I voyaged up the coast of Africa and met on board ship commercial travellers and planters and others, who discussed openly before me the callous exploitation that was still going on in every part of the interior.

As I thought deeply over the problem of Christianity and its place in the world, it seemed to me that the Christ who had given to mankind the Sermon on the Mount,—the Christ whom I loved and worshipped,—was already on the point of leaving those arrogant and powerful ones, and was saying to them,—“Woe unto you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites,” while at the same time he was calling to himself the despised and the oppressed peoples of

the earth, in Africa, India, China and elsewhere, and was saying to them,—

“Come unto me, all ye that are weary and heavy laden, and I will give you rest. Take my yoke upon you and learn of me, for I am meek and lowly of heart, and ye shall find rest to your souls. For my yoke is easy and my burden is light.”

The sacred words of this text, which every Christian knows, haunted me at this time, and I spoke from the pulpit about it. I felt, as I had never done before, that the down-trodden peoples of the world were very near and dear to the heart of Christ, my Master. But the worldly-wise and the wealthy, who believed in power, were rejecting Christ in scorn, as they had rejected him of old. Very soon this rejection would be complete. Christ would reject them.

I had no idea how very close to its hour of fulfilment this rejection of the West had drawn. But it can now be seen by historical records, which are incontestably true, that the cup of oppression by Europe in other continents of the world had been filled to the very brim.

The European War broke suddenly, like a crash of thunder, on a startled world. It was one of those days of judgment,—those ‘days of the coming of the Son of Man’—which Christ himself had foretold. Then followed the brutalities of the war, which soaked the very soil of Europe with blood, and stained her seas. There were the horrors of the submarines and the

mines and the trenches; the bombs hurled from the air upon defenceless people; the inhuman starvation blockade; the poison gas; the treacherous secret treaties; the holocaust of old men and women and little children; the devastation of God's smiling earth; the mangling of dumb beasts of burden. Christ was crucified afresh.

And all that the Churches, during this time of internecine strife and bloodshed, seemed able to do was to echo the patriotic cries of men who slaughtered one another. Banners that were to be carried on the field of battle by fighting regiments were blessed by the Church. They were hung, on their return from the battlefield, with their blood-stains upon them, in the sanctuary of God's temple. The Church bells were rung in Christian Churches, in the name of the Prince of Peace, for the bloody victories of war. Drifting helplessly to and fro, like some derelict ship, the Church swung in the wake of the war-tide, swaying as the tide swelled and turning as the tide turned.

There were, it is true, great deeds of tenderness and devotion, which were worthy of the name of Christ. There were also individuals ready to suffer for his name, rather than soil their hands with blood and their souls with the war-lust. But while the personal sacrifice of life itself was unstinted in its nobility, the public witness of the Churches to the ideal of Christ was insignificant. They were swept by the war-passions. No one from the high seat of authority had the insight and the courage to denounce the fratricidal crime that was being committed. This was left to the literary writers and thinkers,—men like Romain Rolland in France and Bertrand Russell in England. Among the followers of Christ, who were true to his name, the Society of Friends stood out faithfully against the war passion which was raging on every side. A tiny band of conscientious objectors possessed their souls in patience, counting it all joy to suffer in the name of Jesus.

During this crisis, when decision of mind and purpose was most needed, I found myself wavering and doubtful,—torn

with questionings and hesitations. For in the midst of that contagion of war excitement, the war spirit found a lodgement within me, and I could not wholly shake myself free, or altogether keep it under control, though my better mind revolted against it. By the very eagerness with which I followed the war news in the papers each day, I could feel its hidden power. Yet I hated it, wherever it appeared on the surface, and in my more sober moments could survey with naked eyes the savagery which war represented. I learnt to understand the insensate folly of it all as a remedy for human ills. My whole conscious intellect and will became more settled, and I could gain more self-control. The sheer impossibility of winning a moral victory with the weapons of hate became more and more self-evident. The saying of the Buddha was like a sheet anchor to me,—

' Evil cannot be overcome by evil,  
Evil can only be overcome by good,'  
and the words of Christ were indissolubly linked with these when he says,—

" Love your enemies ;

Do good to those that hate you,  
That ye may be children of your  
Father which is in heaven."

A thousand times over, I retraced this ancient argument of the highest religions of mankind against war, and I found it true. It made me at length determine never to take up arms in this struggle, whatever might be the consequence.

There was another thing that caused the truth of these great sayings of the ancient Scriptures to be easier for me to understand and follow. It was the fact of the common guilt of Europe in the plunder of the world. All that I had seen in Africa was vividly fresh in my mind. This enabled me to trace, as I could not otherwise have done, the law of cause and effect and to get to the heart of the world problem. It cleared away from my strictly thinking mind any delusion. Europe as a whole was to blame on account of this universal exploitation of the weaker peoples of the world. This war was Europe's just reward. The writings of Mr. E. D. Morel had a great effect

upon me in this direction, and convinced me by their moral cogency and sanity.

In this larger sphere, I could understand that my own country was not less, but more deeply involved, than that of others. It was not easy to acknowledge this, yet it had to be acknowledged.

But the pendulum of my mind swung back to the more immediate causes of the war; and here I sought to justify my own country. The fate of Belgium appeared so obviously clear as an issue. To-day I still feel its force, but not so strongly since I have understood what the allied powers did in Shantung and in Greece, where they in their turn invaded neutral territory without warning and against the rules of war. France again appeared to me then a wholly innocent victim. I cannot think so now, after the revelations recently divulged of French militarism and its sinister designs before the war. I believed that Italy had come into the war by fair means. I know now that the means were foul, involving among other things the complete dismemberment of Turkey. The one thing above all others that troubled my conscience at that time was the Russian alliance. Mr. Schuster's book "The Strangling of Persia" was well known to me; and I could not bear to think that my country was allied with a corrupt government of that kind. Thoughts such as these were continually distressing and disturbing me and sometimes torturing my mind all through the first years of the war. For I still found it hard to accept the truth with my emotional mind, that the Western predatory outlook on the world had been the exciting cause which had brought this final catastrophe on Europe. This idea was still somewhat new to me, and it took time to get it fully accepted by my inner thoughts.

A year after the War had started, the clear call came to me to go out to Fiji along with my friend Mr. W. W. Pearson. We were called upon to enquire into the condition of Indian indentured labour in the Pacific. There I saw once more, as I had seen before in Natal, the abomination of the coolie traffic and the hateful-

ness of the commercial greed of my own countrymen, which had in no wise been diminished by the calamity of the War.

Again the consideration was forced upon my attention with redoubled power, that the economic exploitation of the weak all over the world was the common and universal vice of the West. My depression grew more and more intense. It seemed to me, in the words of the Psalmist, as if the "whole earth was full of darkness and cruel habitations." I said to myself,—"How is it possible to regard Germany alone as guilty, when the whole policy of my own country in the rest of the world, outside Europe, is based upon commercial greed? As for Belgium, what could have been worse than the inhuman cruelty on the Congo. Italy's record in Tripoli and that of France in Morocco tell the same story of unscrupulousness. Here are the ultimate causes; and Germany, with her brutal treatment of the Hereros, in South-West Africa, is only one guilty party among many."

By this time, I had already given up my active ministrations as a clergyman in the Established Church of England. There were many intellectual difficulties which caused me finally to determine to abstain from exercising my orders in the Church. Above all, I could not tolerate the Athanasian Creed, with its damnatory clauses, so utterly contrary to the spirit of Christ. To utter that Creed in a Christian Church became to me a lie. From the moment that I saw it clearly in that light I was of course bound to refrain. But beyond these intellectual difficulties there loomed always in the background the great moral discrepancy which I have already mentioned. It seemed to me that in order to follow Christ truly and sincerely in the moral sphere, I must take the step of giving up my official position in the Established Church of England which was intimately linked up with the State. I longed intensely to be free, to speak out freely my own mind, to act freely in everything I did, and yet I seemed, by accepting an official position in a State Established Church, to have given away my birth-right of freedom.

The figure of Christ, all through this time of stress and trial, became more central to me than ever. It began to be more clear to me (to quote Browning's words) 'how hard it is to be a Christian'.

More than ever before, my mind turned wistfully towards India. The thought was constantly before me, how in India the great humane advance had been made when men learnt truly for the first time that evil cannot be overcome by evil, but only by good, that love alone can conquer hate and put an end to war. The universal compassion of the Buddha had brought a new world into being in the East. Might it not be God's will, that from India once more should go forth, in this hour of the world's need, a new message with a new living power. This thought of the part that India might play in the future history of man became a passionate and a burning hope.

In the year 1916, the Poet Rabindranath Tagore, took me with him, along with Mr. W. W. Pearson, to Japan. On the voyage out, I looked forward with an eager confidence, thinking that I should find a greatness of spirit in the Japanese people which would command my reverence and affection. I remembered how, for centuries, Japan had been under the sway of the Buddhist Faith, which had reached the Far East from India. I had also heard much about the chivalry of the Japanese people, and I felt that the welcome given to the Poet, Rabindranath Tagore, would be supreme.

But disillusionment and disappointment followed. What I actually found was almost an exact replica of all that was evil in the West,—the repetition of those things that were bringing the West to utter ruin. In the Japanese Government schools, even the smallest children were taught to wear military uniform, to undergo military discipline and to learn military drill. From the tenderest age, the glories of war were instilled into their minds. War trophies and symbols of conquest over China and Russia were everywhere displayed as national assets. The strident sounds of militarism

were heard at every street corner. Troops marched here and there incessantly. The newspapers were furiously militant. The atmosphere was full of the excitement of war, although Japan was at that time outside the European struggle except in naval affairs.

During the time that I stayed in the country I found more and more that the pure Buddhist tradition of universal compassion had departed from Japan in the same way that the tradition of the Sermon on the Mount had departed from Europe. Only here and there, in some remote monastery, far from the busy haunts of active men, had it survived. The life of the cities of Japan, with their huge war factories and ammunition arsenals, was as alien to the spirit of the Buddha as the modern predatory life of Europe was alien to the spirit of the Christ.

One very touching incident occurred, that I could never forget. At the wayside station, in the heart of the hill country, the train stopped, as the Poet, Rabindranath Tagore, passed through. A group of Buddhist priests, who were clad in their sacramental robes, came to welcome him and to offer their gifts. Their faces were marked with lines of sorrow and compassion. They were bearing in their hearts, the burden of their Master, the burden of the sorrow of the world. Around them stood groups of men in military uniforms,—soldiers, police, railway officials. But in the midst of the soldiers here before us there was a vision that seemed to come to us from another world,—the beautiful sight of the poet's face radiant with sympathy and the look of reverence and peace on the face of the Buddhist monks. Here again at this wayside station I seemed to see none other than the Christ, as I had seen him in the faces of the Hindu passive resisters in South Africa.

The climax of the aggressive spirit of Japan, which had rejected the Buddha, came to us at last through a careless insolent epithet hurled at the Poet by the newspapers and accepted by the

people. He had come to the Japanese nation from India with infinite love in his heart in order to speak to them afresh, and to learn from them, the universal message of the Buddha. In the first weeks of his visit, when they believed him to be the prophet of their own reaction against Europe, representing the superiority of Asia, they received him with immense public enthusiasm. It was estimated that many hundreds of thousands of people came out to welcome his arrival at Tokio Station. As soon as he appeared in the streets, his carriage was everywhere thronged. But when they discovered that his message was not racial, but universal, they rejected him with something akin to scorn. The newspapers inspired by the higher authorities, warned the public that Japan must rely on military and naval strength, and not pay heed to a messenger like the Indian Poet who came from a "defeated nation". The epithet 'defeated' was deliberately chosen, and it went home.

My whole heart went out to India in that hour of outward insult. The memory of another 'defeated nation' came vividly before me,—the Jewish people. I remembered how in those days, when the Christ was to be born, Mary sang the song of the defeated. It was a song of victory :—

My soul doth magnify the Lord,  
And my spirit hath rejoiced in God my  
Saviour.

For he hath regarded  
The lowliness of his handmaiden.  
For he that is mighty hath  
magnified me,

And holy is his name.  
He hath shewed strength with his arm.  
He hath scattered the proud  
In the imagination of their heart.  
He hath put down the mighty  
from their seats,  
And hath exalted the humble and meek.  
He hath filled the hungry with good  
things,

And the rich he hath sent empty away.  
It was now clear to me that Japan,  
with her forcible rule in Formosa and  
Korea, and her intrigues in China, was

not on the side of the oppressed but on the side of the oppressors. She had become equal with Europe in rapacity and earth hunger.

I was obliged to leave the Poet, who went on to America, and I returned alone to India. On the voyage my thoughts were engaged with the one problem of the part played by religion in the world's history. What had been its effect in the past? What would be its effect in days to come? What was its central theme? Where was its unity to be found?

During this voyage, and on a later voyage, I visited the Malay Archipelago. Borobudur, in the Island of Java,—the Hill of the Great Buddha,—was a revelation to me. I spent some days there all alone on one of these voyages. It was quite possible to recall, while traversing these galleries of sculpture round the hill-top, the wonderful story of the past which they portrayed. The history of man in the past ages gained a new significance. It became clear to me that the Buddhist Movement had humanised the East in the earlier ages of the world, in the same way that the Christian movement had humanised the West. In each instance, the message that had wrought this spiritual miracle had been essentially one, though the forms of expression had been different. It had been the message of the supreme beauty of love as mightier than force: of forgiveness as greater than retaliation; of pure goodness itself as the only conqueror of evil.

These words and phrases, by themselves, might have been no more than pious platitudes. But through the personalities of those who spoke them,—the Buddha and the Christ,—the greater part of the world had been changed and humanity had advanced.

It was true that the giant forces of evil had rolled back in East and West alike. There was at the present time the danger of a set-back for many centuries, so deadly was the evil of the World War. Yet even now was it not possible that India might once more send forth to the world a living voice that should stir the heart of man afresh?



After returning to India, I was obliged to take other voyages to distant parts of the world. In the Pacific, I found that the exploitation which I had painfully witnessed before, had grown worse than ever. On two successive voyages to Africa I saw with my own eyes how the oppression both of the Africans and of the Indians was increasing. But in Uganda I saw also the beautiful service of love, which the Christian missionaries there had performed. I stayed with them and was nursed by them when I was sick and ill. The thought came to me again and again, that the story of their lives was singularly parallel to that which was written in stone by the sculptors at Borobudur, who had depicted the glorious work of the early Buddhist missionaries in the Island of Java. Just as those Buddhist monks and nuns had gone forth all over Eastern Asia in order to humanise the dark places of the earth, so Central Africa, which had been never reached by the Buddhist movement, had been waiting during all these centuries for the pure service of love which now at last these Christian missionaries were ready to offer.

The War in Europe dragged on to its bitter end, and the infamous Treaty of Versailles followed, bringing to the Western world a Carthaginian peace. Gradually my own hopes of any great spiritual reformation in the West, which should imply a change of heart, began to grow more distant. The West was exhausted not only materially, but spiritually. It was therefore with an anxious and eager expectation that I witnessed the rise of the Non-co-operation movement in India, with Ahimsa as its watchword and creed. The time is still too near and the movement too recent for me to continue my narrative farther and give a clear impression of the effect which it has had upon my inner mind. I can only say briefly that my expectations have not yet been fulfilled, and I long for a less narrowly national expression of the truth than that which I have seen. It may be that the movement itself will be raised by the power of suffering into a higher sphere and through its service of the depressed and despised

classes become universal in its humanity. It may be that the first passions of resentment against the foreigner will subside and the spirit of love will gain its later victories. But this the future will decide.

Meanwhile there are those in the West and East alike who see the imminent danger of civilisation crumbling in the dust; those who know that the only remedy lies in men throwing away all narrow nationalisms both of race and of creed and meeting together as men; those who seek to love and to serve humanity itself. Raja Rammohan Roy with prophetic eyes saw this and understood it all a century ago. Kabir saw this also and understood in his own day. But their words and their lives did not find at the time their proper and congenial soil. Today we read about them and marvel at their insight and their greatness.

It may be that very soon we shall be compelled to listen to the voice of reason and religion by the very disasters that are overtaking humanity. We shall be compelled, by force of circumstance, to recognise that the world of man must either come together, or perish. We shall see how very small and provincial, compared with the greatness of the whole, our previous outlook on humanity has been; how small also, in proportion, has been our idea of God Himself. We shall find it literally and exactly true, that in the one Body of Humanity, when one member suffers all the members suffer with it; that it is impossible for one member to get rich at the expense of another, without bringing destruction both to itself and to the whole body. Such ideas, when seen as truths, which cannot be disputed, will imply a vast transvaluation of values. Perhaps the very disasters which have come to the world in our own generation, and the unbearable of human life on this crowded planet under any other conditions, will cause the truth at last to come home to the minds of average men.

But what is needed most of all, if the victory for humanity is to be won quickly, before ruin becomes irretrievable and a

new war adds still further to the horrors of the old, is a living voice that can speak not to one nation, or one creed, but to the world. Can India rise from the con-

templation of her own wounds? Can India lose her individual life to help to save the world?  
*Santiniketan,*  
C. F. ANDREWS.

## SOCIAL LIFE IN THE RAMAYANA AGE

OF all the vast sacred literature of the Hindus—and the great epics and the mythologies come as much under that description as the Vedas and the Upanishads—there is no portion which affords more exalted pleasure to the modern student than the Ramayana of Valmiki. As he goes through the mellifluous verses of the great epic and the exquisite story unfolds itself before his admiring vision, however critical may be his outlook, he meets with little which, from the enlightened standpoint of modern ethics, deserves his reprobation. All through the narrative the stately dignity of the main characters is maintained unimpaired and there is almost nothing to mar the sustained elevation of our feelings. If any epic ever written in any language captivates our imagination by sublimity and grandeur, the Ramayana is that epic. Except in a very few instances, e. g., the slaying of Bali and of Sambuka, the sudra saint, and the fire-ordeal and banishment of Sita, for all of which justification may be found in the prevalent customs and morality of the times, every word and act of Rama corresponds to what we would expect of the perfect royal hero, and there is absolutely nothing in the portrait of the grandest creation of Sanskrit epic poetry, Queen Sita, as painted by the immortal Valmiki, which is not entirely in keeping with the high idea which the reader forms in his mind of this *beau idéal* of Indian womanhood. The Ramayana abounds in exquisite poetic touches, superb imageries, and in descriptions which reveal the depth of the poet's love of nature.<sup>1</sup> A true artist in the felicitous choice of expressions, the very soul of nobility in the treatment of the high themes of which the epic is so full, the poet displays a sobriety and moderation of judgment in his conceptions, a sense of

proportion in the deeds and utterances of his principal creations, a sympathetic appreciation of contrasted characters like Rama and Ravana,<sup>2</sup> and a mastery in the skilful grouping of subordinate characters like Lakshmana, Bharata, Bibhisana, Hanumana, each a noble figure in his own sphere, which point to a genius of the very first order. The perusal of the great poem is indeed an act which, judged by the test of purity of thought and elevation of sentiment and the moral uplift which follows in its train, it is not an exaggeration to characterise, as it has been characterised by the Hindus all through the ages, as religious in the highest and best sense.

The present writer, in making a critical study of the social life of the ancient Hindus as seen through their literature, sacred and profane, has had to say many unpleasant truths regarding his hoary ancestors. But if there is one classic before which the critic must bare his head in mute reverence, it is the epic *par excellence*, the Ramayana.

It was Rama's proud boast that he would not deviate from the promise he had made to his royal father, even if the ragon should lose her loveliness, the Himalayas should give up their fridity, or the ocean should exceed her limits.<sup>3</sup> Truly could Rama in an excess of exaltation, say to Lakshmana, 'Not all brothers are like Bharata, nor all sons like myself, nor all friends like you.'<sup>4</sup> But every noble crown, in the words of Carlyle, is in this world a crown of thorns, and so it was fated that Rama should lead a life of sorrow and should never be happy, as predicted of him by the sage Durbasha when King Dasaratha wanted the latter to read his son's future.<sup>5</sup> The profound sorrow and pity for the stricken bird which welled up in the bosom of Valmiki and called forth

a metrical outburst, the first attempt at versification in the Sanskrit language, was also the *motif* of the epic tragedy which Valmiki composed under orders of Brahma in the same rhymed couplet.<sup>6</sup> Many volumes may be written on this noble epic, dealing with all the principal characters in it, but I shall advert only for a moment, to the central figure, the tragic queen Sita, one of the sublimest personalities that ever wore a crown.

The delicacy of touch in delineating her character strikes us at once. We feel at every step that we are being ushered into the presence of a rare nature, free, so far as is humanly possible, from the grossness of the flesh, one habitually dwelling in the pure empyrean whence all great souls draw their inspiration. Sita, the devoted consort of Rama who was like the ocean in gravity and the mountain in patience,<sup>7</sup> was the high-souled lady who always followed him like his shadow.<sup>8</sup> Exiled in Ravana's *Asoka* grove, beautiful though unadorned, she looked like tragedy personified, reverence outraged, hope disappointed, worship deprived of her dues, effulgence darkened, a cold tongue of fire.<sup>9</sup> She was however protected by her spiritual fervour, and the faithful Hanumana felt assured that all was well with her, for fire does not burn fire.<sup>10</sup> When a fit of depression would overtake her in her solitary confinement, thoughts of Rama and Lakshmana, and of her own high descent, would restrain her from laying violent hands on herself.<sup>11</sup> When Hanumana offered to carry her on his shoulders across the sea to Rama's camp, she steadily refused, saying that it was up to Rama to rescue her by the strength of his own right arm,<sup>12</sup> and Rama was also of the same opinion.<sup>13</sup> The proud contempt with which she repudiated the addresses of Ravana is very forcibly expressed in the following burning words of indignation: 'It is as impossible for you to think of laying violent hands on me as for a Chandala to touch the sacrificial altar sanctified by Vedic verses uttered by Brahmins and surrounded by holy vessels of service.'<sup>14</sup> After the fall of Lanka, when the faintest suspicion of her virtue clouded, for the nonce, the mind of Rama, the dignity and reserve of her rebuke is entirely worthy of her: 'Why utterest thou such unseemly things, so cruciating to the ear, like a mere common fellow addressing a non-Aryan like himself?'<sup>15</sup>

Then she went through the ordeal, when the God of Fire appeared and assured Rama, 'This great lady is protected by her own inner fire, and Ravana could not overcome her, just as the ocean cannot exceed its limits.'<sup>16</sup> Again and again does the same metaphor, indicating her invincible spirit, her indomitable strength of character, occur. The great Maithili is like a dazzling tongue of fire, like the brilliant ray of the sun.<sup>17</sup> The spirit of King Dasaratha appears and says: 'O my beloved daughter, the virtues that adorn your noble character are rare indeed.'<sup>18</sup> Emerging victorious from the ordeal, Sita administers another dignified rebuke to her royal husband which is entirely in keeping with the estimate we have learnt to form of her. 'My heart,' says she, 'is alone within my control, and it is entirely thine. I have no control over my body, so what could I do to protect it from insult? If you have not learnt to know me, even by the long years we have grown up together in mutual love and regard, then indeed am I lost.'<sup>19</sup> The banishment of Sita, which, together with her fire-ordeal, are regarded by many as the greatest blots on Rama's character, were dictated purely by a desire to sacrifice his personal happiness to the welfare, and conciliate the good opinion, of his subjects—deeply convinced as he was of the immaculate chastity of his spouse.<sup>20</sup> 'What the king does, that do his subjects imitate',<sup>21</sup> so thought Rama, though in his heart of heart he knew that Sita was pure in soul and wholly virtuous. We must remember that Rama's subsequent conduct was entirely on a par with this high conception of Sita, unsullied character, for in an age when it was the usual custom for kings to take many wives,<sup>22</sup> Rama did not marry again after Sita's exile to the hermitage of Valmiki, and performed his numerous royal sacrifices with a golden image of Sita for his consort.<sup>23</sup>

Our aim, however, in this short article is not to descant on the literary merits of the epic or analyse the characters of the hero and the heroine, but to dwell on those features of the social life of the age which strike us as worthy of note. To begin again with the ever-blessed name of Sita, she was eighteen years of age, and her husband was twenty-five years old, at the time of their exile, which seems to have taken place shortly after their marriage.<sup>24</sup> It is well to remember in these days of precocious marriages and

exorbitant dowries that Sita's bride price was valour, and that he who could break the great bow of Siva was alone permitted to aspire to her hand.<sup>20</sup> It was indeed a race of heroes which forms the appropriate theme of the great epic. Even the rough sea became calm at the sight of Ravana<sup>21</sup> whose iron temperament is best described in his own words: 'My invariable characteristic is, though I may break in twain, I shall never bend.'<sup>22</sup> Lakshmana's ringing words to Rama were—it is only the man who is weak and has gone under who resigns himself to fate.<sup>23</sup>

Very remarkable descriptions of the royal cities of Ayodhya and Lanka are to be found in the second and fifth books of the Ramayana. They reveal a mighty civilisation, which had reached the very acme of material prosperity, where the arts and sciences were applied to minister to comforts and luxuries of every kind that the imagination can conceive. We read of arcades, avenues, colonnades, arches, promenades, squares, rows of 'cloud-capped' buildings, well-watered streets lined with shady trees, temples, council chambers, towers, show-rooms and shops, residences of wealthy citizens, illuminated roads decorated with flags, festoons and bunting.<sup>24</sup> We read of the king's palace, with extensive grounds, and the ladies' apartments with their several sections, containing pleasure-gardens, menageries, and lakes, and beautifully painted and carved woodwork.<sup>25</sup> The cities of Ayodhya and Lanka were guarded by guns and armed cavalry.<sup>26</sup> The city of Lanka, situated on the crest of a high hill, was really a marvel of architectural grandeur. Pavillions studded with gold and jewels, crystal palaces, groves and gardens adorned with art-galleries, dining and drinking saloons, ferneries, playgrounds and pleasantries, artificial hillocks, fountains and streams, music-halls, studs,—everything conducive to a refined and pleasant life here on earth, was, in fact, to be seen congregated in the golden city of Ravana.<sup>27</sup> In the centre of the royal palace was the vast seraglio, whose grandeur defies description. Around the soft down and the magnificent coverings of the royal bed, fragrant with incense and decked with charming garlands, were artfully contrived figures of beautiful women fanning the king.<sup>28</sup> The descriptions of sleeping ladies in their delicate beauty, the jewellery they

wore, the musical instruments lying by their bedside, transport the reader to a fairyland of ethereal dreams.<sup>29</sup>

The city of Ayodhya abounded in theatres and recreation-halls for the use of ladies.<sup>30</sup> On the occasion of the installation of Rama to the heirship to the throne, there was a vast concourse of actors, dancers, and musicians in the capital.<sup>31</sup> On the way to the palace Rama was bestrewn with flowers showered by ladies in gala dress from the windows.<sup>32</sup> From these and other allusions in the Ramayana we find that ladies in those ancient days took a not inconsiderable part in the public life of the city, and had various recreations provided for their entertainment. That music and dancing were among the familiar accomplishments of highborn ladies would appear from references to be found everywhere in the epics, the Puranas, and the dramas. From chapter VII of the Adbhuta Ramayana we learn that Rukmini and Jambavati, two of the queens of Krishna, learnt music for a period of two years, of both the vocal and instrumental kind, from the celestial musician Narada. Queens had their 'anger rooms,'<sup>33</sup> to which they would retire out of pique when they fell out with their royal lovers, and they would not come out from their retirement until they were propitiated, sometimes, as in the case of King Dasaratha, by touching their feet, a sign of the most abject humiliation.<sup>34</sup> Among the festive preparations for the investiture of Rama, were parties of dancing girls, and according to the custom of the times, bejewelled prostitutes,<sup>35</sup> who were ordered to make themselves merry in the second division of the royal seraglio.<sup>36</sup>

Prince Bharata, summoned to Ayodhya on the demise of his father, arriving at the outskirts of the city found the groves and villas deserted by pleasure-seeking ladies and gentlemen, nor did he find the leading men going in and out as usual on elephants, horses and in carriages, nor hear the mighty din of the populous city from afar, and so he suspected that something was amiss.<sup>37</sup> In a drama of the poet Bhasa, who flourished long before Chanakya and Panini, there is a more graphic description of Bharata's entrance into the city. Alighting in the suburbs for a little rest, he espied a temple which he entered, in which there were statues of his departed ancestors. He made obeisance to the images, and was admiring

the marvellous dexterity of the sculptor who had given such lifelike motion and expression to his stone models, when suddenly he observed the latest addition to the collection, his father's statue, and understood in a moment that the king was no more.<sup>44</sup> The plastic arts must have been in a very high state of development to call forth the exclamation quoted in the footnote.

On the demise of King Dasaratha, his body was not immediately cremated, as none of the princes were present, but was embalmed and preserved in oil against the arrival of Bharata.<sup>45</sup> We learn from a simile used by Sita that Caesarean operations used to be performed by skilful surgeons.<sup>46</sup> Poisoning of wells and tanks and even of fruit bearing trees to prevent the march of the enemy, is not a recent German invention, but was an ancient mode of warfare wellknown to the Rakshasas.<sup>47</sup> Arrived on the seacoast, the monkey-army of Rama (supposed to stand for the non-Aryans of Southern India) carried huge slabs of stone with the aid of mechanical contrivances for building the bridge to Lanka, while a large number of monkeys were engaged in measuring the perpendicular elevation of the bridge with the plumb line.<sup>48</sup>

Even when Lanka was denuded of heroes and the city was making its last stand, Ravana took good care to guard the courts of justice.<sup>49</sup> From the days of Ravana downwards, the fall of princely dynasties and even of the Hindu power everywhere in India was facilitated by blood feuds among near kinsmen, and Ravana could rightly point to their mutual jealousies as a time-worn characteristic of universal application.<sup>50</sup> Ravana's politic advice to Bibhisana accordingly was, even if strangers be well-endowed and kinsmen be without virtues, the latter are to be preferred, for once an alien always an alien.<sup>51</sup> But Bibhisana, the disregard of whose sage counsels led to Ravana's downfall, might well reply to his august brother, in the words of Maricha, that those who habitually speak what is pleasant to the ear are cheap enough, while the speaker and listener of unpleasant but wholesome truths are equally rare.<sup>52</sup>

The monkey general of Rama was fully cognisant of the rules of civilised warfare, and took every care to see that the towns

through which his army passed were not ravaged by it.<sup>53</sup> Rama laid down the laws of war thus: He who is not fighting, or prays for mercy, or seeks shelter, or is in hiding, or has lost his senses, or is running away, should not be attacked.<sup>54</sup> Similarly we read elsewhere that envoys may not be killed,<sup>55</sup> and that female life is sacred among all kinds of animals.<sup>56</sup> Rama enjoined the performance of Ravana's funeral on the ground that hostility lasts only till death and should not be pursued into the grave.

When king Dasaratha conceived the idea of installing Rama as heir to the throne, he took counsel of his ministers, and feudatory princes, among whom were Aryans and Mlecchas, and chiefs of the hill tribes.<sup>57</sup> On the death of Dasaratha, the leading Brahmins who were the 'king-makers', assembled to nominate a successor to the throne.<sup>58</sup> In the *Maha-Govinda-Suttanta* of the *Digha Nikaya* we find that on the demise of king Disampati, the 'kingmakers' anointed his son Renu as the king.<sup>59</sup> When the army of Rama was encamped on the outskirts of Lanka, Ravana called a council of war to decide on his course of action.<sup>60</sup> All this would go to show that the royal power was far from absolute, though in the second book we have a remarkable description of the anarchical state of things prevailing in a kingless state which is worthy of Hobbes himself. Peace and order vanishes from the realm, the morals are polluted, heretical opinions gain the ascendancy, the army loses its cohesion and strength, the fine arts, dancing and musical entertainments, and associations for the well-being of the state cannot flourish, temples and gardens cease to be built or laid out, public assemblies are no longer organised, orators are not honoured, right dealing among men becomes extinct, well-dressed ladies cannot make excursions on foot or in carriages to the public gardens in the evenings, nor can men take long rides in coaches or on horseback, nor philosophers hold discourses in their academic groves, nor merchants carrying merchandise from far and near safely travel on their journeys, nor cultivators live in peace.<sup>61</sup> The type of civilisation of which we get a glimpse incidentally in this passage is as far removed from the proverbial simplicity of the golden age as the advanced civilisation of our own days.

When the Brahman Javali recapitulated the familiar arguments of Indian materialistic philosophy in order to induce Rama to give up his determination to go to exile and ascend the throne of Ayodhya, they had no effect whatsoever on him.—Some of Javali's rationalistic arguments would bear repetition. The funeral feasts to commemorate our ancestors only deplete our own store, without doing any good to their spirits. If food eaten by one enures to the benefit of another, then a dinner in honour of an absent person ought to satisfy his hunger, but it does not. Feasts, worship of Gods, sacrifices, ascetic vows, are all prescribed by the clever authors of our scriptures in order to make us open our purse-strings. There is, in fact, no other world, so follow that which can be apprehended by the senses, setting your back on that which can only be inferred by the philosophic reason.<sup>68</sup> But though these specious arguments were lost on Rama, for the majority of common people worldly pleasures had the same attraction then as now. From the days of the Kathopnishad<sup>69</sup> bad men have ever preferred the pleasant to the good, and the path of material prosperity which Nachiketa abjured. In the Adhyatma Ramayana we read: Wealth is uncertain like the shadow, youth impermanent like the waves of the sea, sexual joys like a dream, life is short—yet people are addicted to these things.<sup>64</sup>

We seldom get any mention of dogs in Sanskrit literature, though allusions to horses bred in Sind, Balkh, Camboj<sup>65</sup> and other provinces, is common enough, but among the presents given by King Aswapati to his nephew Bharata, we find both horses and fierce-looking dogs.<sup>66</sup> Among the animals killed for food by Rama during his exile with Sita and Lakshmana, were iguanas and boars.<sup>67</sup> The sage Bharadwaja offered pigs, peacocks and fowl for food and alcoholic beverages for drink to the army of Bharata.<sup>68</sup> The sage Vasistha welcomed the army of Viswamitra with various kinds of wine.<sup>69</sup> When, later on, they fell out, and a fierce battle raged between them, Vasistha was miraculously assisted by a huge army of Sakas, Yavanas, Palhavas [Persians], Mlecchas, Parharas, Kiratas, Cambojas.<sup>70</sup> On his return from Lanka to his capital, Rama used to regale Sita with fermented drinks and poultry meats.<sup>71</sup> In the Adhyatma Ramayana, Chapter VI, Sita, while crossing the Ganges, offered an offering of meats and wines to the

sacred river on her return from exile. After taking leave of the Nishada king Guha, the three royal exiles ate meat and slept under a tree.

When Rama resolved to perform the Rajashuya sacrifice after his installation as king, Bharata wisely warned him of the dangers attending it, and said that as it would lead to keen rivalry among the contending kings for hegemony, and ultimately bring about their destruction, Rama should not be the instrument for the depopulation of the world. Rama had to admit the truth of this observation, and gave up his resolve, saying that whatever leads to the distress of the people should be eschewed, and that wise words, coming even from children, should be accepted.<sup>72</sup> But forthwith he decided upon performing the Aswamedha sacrifice,<sup>73</sup> of which Tod<sup>74</sup> truly says: "Of its fatal results we have many historical records, from the first dawn of Indian history to the last of its princes, Prithwiraj. The Ramayana, the Mahabharata, and the poems of Chund, all illustrate the imposing rite and its fatal results." Among the sacrifices performed by king Rama were innumerable Go-medha (cow) sacrifices.<sup>75</sup> The Aswamedha sacrifice was performed by king Dasaratha with a view to remove the barrenness of his queen. We learn from the Ramayana<sup>76</sup> that birds, beasts, reptiles, and fish of various kinds were offered at the sacrifice and that Queen Kousalya with the other wives of the King of lower castes, spent a night with the sacrificial horse. The object of this nocturnal vigil was to bestow fertility on the principal queen.<sup>77</sup> The ceremonies performed in the steed, the mantras uttered, the colloquies and the pleasantries in which the priests as well as the ladies took part, as detailed in the Vajasaneyi Samhita, are too gross to be described in words.<sup>78</sup> We also learn from the same source that as many as 600 different kinds of animals had to be killed in the Aswamedha sacrifice.<sup>79</sup>

In the Ramayana we find the system of four castes firmly established. In the city of Ayodhya, they were engaged in performing their respective functions with strict adherence to the law.<sup>80</sup> For the sin of aspiring to sainthood by practising austerities, the Sudra ascetic Sambuka had to sacrifice his life at the hands of Rama.<sup>81</sup> Viswamitra, finding himself ignominiously routed by the sage Vasistha, exclaimed: "Shame to the

physical prowess of the Kshatrias ! It is the Brahman's spiritual strength which alone deserves that name."<sup>1</sup> And yet the relations between the high and low castes seem to have been cordial enough. Rama had an intimate friend in Guha, a Nishada chief, his 'alter ego', sprung from the very lowest caste,<sup>2</sup> and miracles like those performed by Vasistha apart, which made Viswamitra an aspirant for Brahmanhood, the spiritual might of the priestly caste was but a poor protection against the physically strong. The Munis of the forest of Dandaka appealed to Rama for protection on the ground of their utter helplessness, saying that they had become as incapable of self-defence as the babe unborn.<sup>3</sup> Ravana, it may not be generally known, was a Brahmin by caste, of the lineage of the sage Pulastya, although a Rakshasa by race.<sup>4</sup> The Vedas were diligently studied in the city of Lanka.<sup>5</sup> Ravana had Brahmin wives.<sup>6</sup> The priestly profession was regarded as degraded and blameworthy. Knowing that Rama, the Supreme Being, would be born in the Ikshvaku dynasty, and wishing to come in touch with him, Vasistha adopted that profession albeit he knew it to be degraded and vile. Thus did Vasistha in the Adhyatma Ramayana try to explain away the humiliation he felt at being a Purohita, even though of the royal family.<sup>7</sup> In this connection it may be recalled that in the Samhitas, a Devala Brahmin whose duty it is to worship the temple gods, is invariably regarded as degraded and unfit to be invited at a funeral repast.<sup>8</sup> That these artificial distinctions and orders of precedence are absolutely without value will appear from the fact, if any were needed in support of so obvious a proposition, that the greatest saint of modern Bengal, Paramhansa Ramakrishna, belonged professionally to this order of Brahmins.

## BIBLIOPHILE.

(1) For examples, read the description of the rainy season in Canto 28 of Book IV—the completest picture of the Indian monsoons we have come across, a veritable *tour de force*. See also the description of

the Chitrakuta hills in II, 94-5, of a Rishi's Asram in III, 1 (of the beautiful passage in the poem entitled *Brahman* in Tagore's *Ratha*), and the pen-portraits of Ayodhya and Lanka in Books II and V.

(2) Ravana, as portrayed in the Ramayana, is Rama's equal in most things, except in greatness of soul and stern rectitude of conduct. As the ocean can only be compared with itself, and the sky with the sky, so the battle between Rama and Ravana was worthy of them alone, and could not be compared with anything else—(VI, 100).

(3) II, 112. (4) VI, 18. (5) VII, 60. (6) I, 2. (7) I, 1. (8) I, 73. (9) V, 19. (10) V, 53. (11) V, 28. (12) V, 37, 30. (13) V, 60. (14) III, 56. (15) VI, 113. (16) VI, 120. (17) VI, 120. (18) VI, 121. (19) VI, 118. (20) VI, 120. (21) VII, 53. (22) VII, 55. (23) King Dasaratha had a seraglio of 750 wives, II, 34. (24) VII, 112. (25) III, 47. (26) I, 60. (27) I, 15. (28) VI, 30. (29) II, 23. (30) I, 5-6 and II, 6. (31) II, 14-15. (32) I, 5 and V, 2. (33) V, 2-15. (34) V, 10. (35) V, 10-11. (36) I, 5. (37) II, 6. (38) II, 10. (39) II, 10. (40) II, 12. (41) II, 14. (42) II, 17. (43) II, 71.

(44) The *Pratima-Natakam*, with Introduction, edited by Ganapati Sastri, Trivandrum, 1915, Act III.

‘अहो क्रियाबाधुर्ध्वं पञ्चाशत्तान् अहो भवतिराजानान्’

(45) II, 60, 76. (46) V, 28. (47) VI, 4. (48) VI, 22. (49) VI, 72. (50) VI, 10. (51) VI, 87. (52) III, 37. (53) VI, 4. (54) VI, 80. (55) V, 13 and 52. (56) II, 78. (57) II, 1-3. (58) II, 67.

(59) Dialogues of the Buddha: by T. W. and C. A. F. Rhys Davids. Part II. London, 1910. No. XIX, 32-33.

(60) VI, 30. (61) II, 97. (62) II, 108. (63) I, 2, and I, 2, 3. (64) Ayodhya-Kandam, Ch. 1.

(65) I, 6. Camboj is the province adjoining Gandhara with capital at Dwaraka, vide Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 28.

(66) II, 70. (67) III, 47. (68) II, 91. (69) I, 53. (70) I, 54-55. (71) VII, 52. (72) VII, 96. (73) VII, 105. (74) Rajasthan, Vol. I, Pop. Ed., London, 1914, p. 64. (75) VII, 112. (76) I, 14.

(77) *Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity*, by Narendranath Law, Oxford, 1921, p. 190.

(78) Vajasaneyi Samhita, XXIII, 18-32, with Mahidhara's commentary. See also Satapatha Brahmana, XIII, 2, 8-9. Swami Dayananda Saraswati, in his *Rigveda-Bhasya-Bhumika* has tried to discover symbolical meanings for these obscenities, with but scant success.

(79) Vaj. Sam., XXIV, 40. (80) I, 6. (81) VII, 86-88. (82) I, 56. (83) II, 50. (84) III, 1. (85) Adhyatma Ramayana, Sundara-Kandam, ch. 4. (86) V, 4. (87) V, 9. (88) Ayodhya-Kandam, ch. 2. (89) e. g., Manu, III, 152.

# SOME EXAMPLES OF THE BENARES SCHOOL OF SCULPTURE

**I**N course of my survey of antiquities in Benares and its environs, I explored a number of rare sculptures hitherto unknown for their novel types, some of which were described in my paper called "Benares

Iconographical Notes".\* A great many of them still remain to be worked at and



Fig. No. 1.  
Krishna Stealing Butter (Kushan Period)  
From Benares.

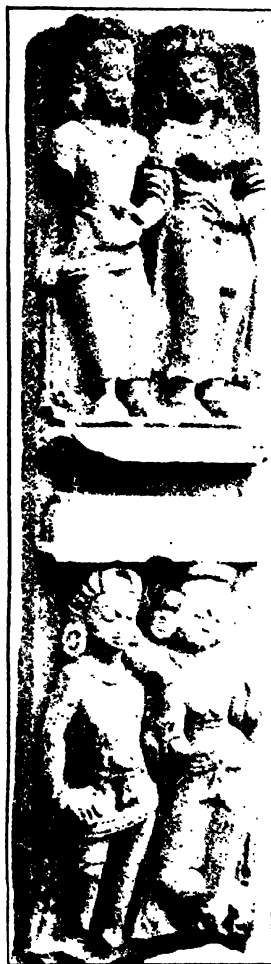


Fig. No. 2A.  
A Parting Scene  
(Kushan Period)  
From Sonarpura, Benares.

\* Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society, 1921 (Longmans, Green & Co.)





Fig. No. 2B.  
A Parting Scene (Kushan Period)  
From Sonarpura, Benares.

properly identified. All these sculptures are valuable from every standpoint: iconographic, artistic and mythological. Out of the lot, I choose to-day some important ones for detailing here with the help of illustrations. All that I have said in my article on the "Benares School of Sculpture" will be found to have an apposite application to these

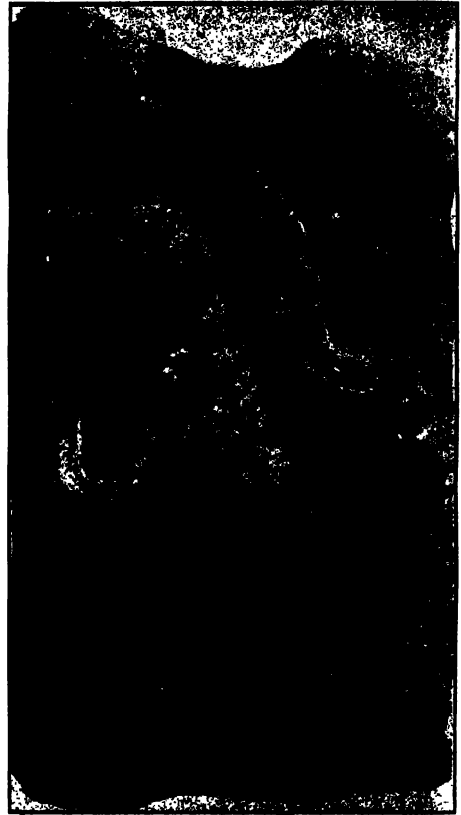


Fig. No. 3.  
Radha-Krishna (Early Gupta Period)  
From Benares.

examples. The dress, the ornament, the technique, the stature of the figures, the proportion of height in respect to breadth will mark a distinction, which is absolutely a native growth of Benares. Benares, as a cultural home of early times, developed a School of Sculpture, of which signs are abundantly manifest in the sculptures described below. I know not of similar sculptures found elsewhere to closely draw any comparison with. Thus, in most cases, they may stand isolated until further exploration should bring to light identical types.

Now, let us describe the illustrations: *seriatim*.

No. 1. An alto-relievo found by my friend Rai Krisnadas at Benares. It shows Yaśodā, the foster mother of Sri Krishna



Fig. No. 4.  
Hara-Gouri. From Benares.

churning butter and Krishna, a child, stealing it out of the pot. Two young milk-maids (Gopis) are standing with milk-pots on their heads. The sculpture appears to be very ancient, probably of the Kushan or the early Gupta age. Sri Krishna figure of such an early time has not been discovered anywhere before. The child Sri Krishna with curly locks crawling up without the knowledge of Yasodā and stealthily putting his small hand into the pot beautifully shows here the mischievous habit of his younger days. How the artist of so early a time has succeeded in depicting this scene with wonderful naturalism and with a true artistic merit can be best judged by all art critics. To us, it is simply splendid! The details are few and the outlines are broad and smallest in number that an artist can think of, yet the effect has been satisfactory. The looks of the three ladies is uniformly one of earnest duty. They are quite unmindful of what Sri Krishna has been up to. Judged from the artistic stand-point, it has few parallels among the Mezzo-relievo Sculptures of India. The short stature, a proportion peculiar to the

Benares School is also remarkable in all these figures.

No. 2. (A) & (B).—Two obelisks showing a male and a female in each panel. It presumably depicts some story in stone. These two broken pieces, made of fine-grained sand-stone coloured red, have been found out by me at Sonārpurā in the city. It appears that the male figure is one of a prince, who is parting from his wife for a distant military campaign. The lower panel shows him in



Fig. No. 5.  
Surya or the Sun-god (Kushan Period)  
From Omkareswar, Benares.

military dress with short trousers and a dagger tied to his belt. The lower panel of (B) also shows a parting scene. Then in the upper panel of (A), as the story continues, they are clearly shaking hands with each other. Then the upper portion of (B) shows finally the prince going away from his beloved. The entire column is missing, and thus we are not quite able to follow the connecting



Fig. No. 6.  
Surya, the Sun-god ( Early Gupta Period )  
From Benares.



Fig. No. 7.  
A Dancer Girl (Late Gupta Period )  
From Benares.

links of the story. From comparison of these sculptures with those of the ancient stone-reliefs of India, we can assign them to the Kushan or Early Gupta Period.

No. 3. A sculpture representing the standing figures of Rādhā and Krishna. At first sight, it appears to be the figures of Hara-Gaurī. But that identification has to be given up for several considerations. In the first place, the male figure has no symbols of Siva nor has he four hands. The posture of the couple is also not in favour of the identification. On the other hand, the thick locks of the main figure, his bending posture (*Banikima Thap*), the amorous attitude of the



Fig. No. 8.  
A Goddess ( Late Gupta Period )

beloved, leave very little doubt that it is a *Yasoda rūpa* of Vāsudeva Sri Krishna Chandra.

No. 4. This is a broken sculpture representing the seated type of Hara-Gaurī. Much of the Gaurī figure is fortunately preserved. From this, one can form a very high opinion of the artistic merit of the piece. The finely-developed body of Pārvatī in its contours would remind one of the lines of *Kumarsambhava*, where Kālidās has described the youthful limbs of Gaurī as she was growing up day by day. Now one may turn to the figure of the bull. I have seen several figures of a bull under the Hara-

Gaurī group, but such a realistic figure of bull with its ears, horns and dewlaps, recumbent in an easy posture has never met my eyes before. A little Ganesa is sitting at one end, and a standing figure of a child, probably Kārttikeya can be seen right down the seat of Siva. The sculpture, free from the barbarous profusion and signs of the late decadent art of the mediæval period, may be assigned to the early Gupta Period.

No. 5. A standing figure of Sūrya, found at Omkāresvar near Rājghāt in Benares. The figure had to be dug out of the earth under which it lay hidden up to the neck. It is altogether a new type of Sūrya, I have ever seen. The image has a high ornamental mitre flanked by a plain halo. It wears a fine necklace, earrings and a pair of long boots (or hoses) usual to the figures of Sūrya. The right hand is broken off. The



Fig. No. 9.  
Dancing Ganesha ( Late Gupta Period )



Fig. No. 10.  
Krisodari—The goddess of Famine, Pestilence &c., (Late Gupta Period)  
From Bhelupura, Benares.

left hand holds some sun-flowers (*Heliotrope*?). On the waist, are two belts, one for the cloth and another for holding a sword, which is shown in the next figure. The Sun-God is attended by two smaller figures, on both sides, undoubtedly of Danda (on the left) and Kundi (on the right) as the ancient iconographic literature has prescribed for his image. In the sculpture in question have not flocked other subordinate figures as found in later Sun-God figures. The image is also conspicuous by the absence of the seven horses associated with such figures.\* All this is due to its simple and early form, which fact is confirmed by a very ancient style of art clearly represented by the sculptor.

\* For further topics and details, Vide "Indian Images," vol. I (Thacker, Spink & Co.) and a paper on the Sun Images in the "Rupam" by S. J. Nalini Kanta Bhattacharya, M.A. Mr. G. R. Kaye's paper, "Hindu Astronomical Deities" contributed to J. P. A. S. B. (New Series), vol. XVI, 1920, No. 3, is also full of iconographical matter.

No. 6. A similar figure of the Sun-God, discovered by my friend Rai Krisnadas, showing a further development in art. Here, the halo is ornamented and the girdle more gaudy. The figure has a sword hanging by his side. The sculpture is in a state of good preservation. From several considerations this figure seems to be a little later in date than the preceding one and thus may be consigned to the early Gupta Period. This type of the sun-statues is original and peculiar to the Benares school of art.

No. 7. An early image of the so-called Bacchanalian type. Evidently, it represents the figure of some dancing girl. The fine and fashionable dress of the lady attired in rich ornaments may lend support to this identification. In fact, the Bacchanalian figures everywhere show men and women indulging in pleasures of the senses. Judging from the style, it belongs to the later Gupta Period.

No. 8. A sculpture representing the figure of a goddess which I identify to



Fig. No. 11.  
Siva (Brishadhwaja) ( Pala-Gupta Period )  
From Benares.

the Jainachakrini Debi from the symbols. Such one figure occurs in the Mathura Museum, which has been wrongly identified with the Vaisnavi image by Dr. Vogel.\* Our figure is far better in style and earlier in date than the one of the Mathura Museum. The illustrations of the two schools may be distinctly compared. The art exhibited here shows

\* Vogel: Catalogue of the Mathura Museum, p. 95, fig. D. 6. Dr. Vogel writes—"In the centre of the top of the slab is a cross-legged figure of a Jina" despite his finally entitling the illustration, Plate XVII., as "Statuette of Vaishnavi."

a great refinement in style. Attention may be specially drawn to the beautifully designed figures of the attendants. Their pointed nose, clear-cut faces and looks showing deep mental concentration deserve to be artistically studied. The main figure also has a fine outline of the stature. The sculpture may be assigned to the late Gupta Period.

No. 9. An image of a dancing Ganesa. He has eight hands holding the usual symbols of the Heramba Ganesa. Thus we can call



Fig. No. 12.  
Ashtabhuj Durga  
Killing the Buffalo Demon. ( Pala Period )  
From Benares.

this figure of Ganesa as the Heramba Ganesa.\* There is a mouse, the God's usual vehicle on the pedestal with a human figure at the back, presumably the donor of the image. The attendant figures, seated on both sides, manifest clearly an antiquity of style. On the ground of style and other important considerations, the sculpture belongs to the late Gupta Period.



Fig. No. 13.  
A Horse-rider  
From Surya Kunda, Benares.

No. 10. A broken alto-relievo of Krisodari figure. The lower part has been irrecoverably broken away. From what is left, we have no difficulty in properly identifying it.† But it represents completely a new type of Krisodari images so far known. The figure in full had, no doubt, an emaciated stomach from which it has derived its name. It is curious to note that the two figures on the upper row have also emaciated stomachs. The way in which the artist, with full

\* Indian Images, vol. I., pp. 24-25, for *Dhyai* and further details.

† Cf. Ibid, p. 41.



Fig. No. 11.  
Kinnari (?). From Benares.

knowledge of human anatomy, has succeeded in sculpturing the figures, calls for a high tribute of appreciation to be paid to the Benares School of Sculpture. The relief may be ascribed to the same age as that of the preceding one.

No. 11. A little corroded figure of Siva with six hands holding the Saivite symbols. The fact that it has six hands is rather an uncommon thing in the Brahmanic Iconography. The Sanskrit texts so far known to me, give to the figures of Siva either four or eight, ten or sixteen arms.\* Another new point connected with this figure is the vehicle of the God, Nandi, *reclining against a stupa*. Probably, this is due to the period of inter-communion of tolerant Brāhmanism and Buddhism, to which the sculpture belongs. That period in Indian History is the period when the half-Buddhist Palas were ruling most powerfully in Northern India.

No. 12. An image of Durgā killing the buffalo demon issuing out of the buffalo.

\* Refer to Ibid, p. 20.

The Goddess is *Astabhujā* or eight-handed and belongs to the type of icons that we find all over Northern India in ancient Durgā temples.\* The only subject of special interest here is that unlike all other figures of Durgā it has the lion on the left and the buffalo on the right below the main figure of the Goddess.

No. 13. A horse-rider apparently out for sporting excursion. Some indistinct animal is being trodden by the horse—probably the object of the chase. The rider has tight breeches and long boots. This and other sculptures throw light on what our dresses were for different occasions; and

\* There is an *Astabhujā* temple in Vindhyachal in Mirzapur. For other details, *Ibid*, p. 36.

*Dhoti* was hardly used for any public occasions. It looks like the figure of Revanta, but more accurately we should identify it as an architectural piece. Date—Mediaeval Period.

No. 14. A beautiful figure of a Kinnari or some celestial nymph playing on the harp. It is carved in black granite stone. The human portion and the bird portion have been so faithfully sculptured as to present a sharp differentiation between the two aspects. The ornaments, the *Vina*, and the skin of the thighs of the figure are extremely realistic in design. It is really a piece of art. Finally, I may mention here that all the sculptures described above are preserved in the "Kālā Parishad", Benares.

B. C. BHATTACHARYA.

## TRAGIC FOLLIES OF THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE

BY DR. SUDHINDRA BOSE, LECTURER, STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA, U. S. A.

**M**R. Lloyd George speaking in the British Parliament, day after the Washington Conference ended its sessions, proclaimed it as "one of the greatest achievements for peace which has ever been registered in the history of the world." Later when Sir Arthur J. Balfour, the head of the English delegation, returned to England he was greeted with monster ovations. Everywhere he was hailed as a hero. The British people, we read in the newspaper dispatch, were "intoxicated with joy." The Prime Minister, presiding at a government luncheon, paid a flattering tribute to Balfour, saying he had taken part in "one of the most notable contributions statesmanship has ever made for the sum of human peace and human happiness." Soon after, the King of England conferred upon him a peerage. He has won a great victory for the English empire. England was intoxicated with joy.

The English exultation is not hard to understand. Perhaps this is due to the fact that "something has been put over" on the Americans. At any rate nobody has seen the American people in America intoxicated with joy over the results of the Washington arms parley. As yet, no proposal has been made to crown the American delegation at the Conference with laurel wreaths, or to reward Mr. Charles Hughes, its chairman, with the United States Presidency. The net result of the Conference, remarked the *New York Call*, is to "reduce the cost of blowing each other up."

One of the newspaper cartoons represented Uncle Sam signing up the United States to act as a "Meal Ticket, Night Watchman, and General Meddler in all Foreign Trouble-Festivals." Another popular cartoon gave the following list of the "great benefits" which the Conference has accomplished for America :



**B**ROTHERLY TALK  
 Sometimes Called "Hot Air"  
**U**NEXPLAINABLE BUT SWEET  
 Sounding Sentiments  
**N**ICE, THOUGH RATHER  
 Indefinite Generalities  
**K**IND BUT HAZY  
 Theories

Note that the first letters of the four clauses quoted above, when put together, spell BUNK. It is an American slang, and means fudge, tommyrot, sentimental slush.

No doubt in certain quarters high hopes are being built upon the consolidation of friendship between America and England as the direct outcome of the Arms Conference. Some Americans, apparently susceptible to facile optimism, are of the opinion that from now on there can be no more war between these two English-speaking peoples. Those who take this view seem to have a superficial grasp of the situation. They ignore, for reasons best known to them, the latent causes of misunderstanding. They pretend to see no danger whatever "in creating imperial friction points, playing the diplomatic game, and launching campaigns for open doors, equal rights, and commercial freedom." Unfortunately, ugly facts cannot be wiped out merely by closing one's eyes to them. Hence the *New York Nation* thought it expedient to point out that "under what appears the calm surface of the relations between England and the United States are certain eddies and cross-currents which another Venezuelan message like that of President Cleveland might bring boiling to the surface." The great outstanding achievement of the Conference, to my mind, is not alleged Anglo-Saxon friendship or world peace, but chiefly psychological. The revelations which have been made of the present international politics are of enormous educational value.

#### THE FOUR-POWER TREATY.

Some of the treaties and agreements and intrigues of the Washington Conference are already beginning to clarify. It

appears now that strenuous efforts were made to keep the public mind occupied with submarines, chemical warfare, Shantung, Chinese tariffs, and other questions, while a month of secret negotiations were held behind closed doors on the Four-Power Treaty designated to take the place of the Anglo-Japanese alliance. It had recently cast darkest shadows over the Anglo-American relations. Something must be done to get it out of the way. England, which needs the support of Japan, could not, however, persuade the Nipponese to give up the Anglo-Japanese agreement—unless they had something equally effective. Finally the Four-Power Treaty was hatched up. It is in some ways a decided improvement upon the old Anglo-Japanese pact. "Baron Uchida," reported Senator Hitchcock during one of the sessions of the Conference, "has just informed the Japanese parliament that the Four-Power Treaty was not intended to abrogate the Anglo-Japanese alliance, but rather to widen and extend the alliance." The fact that Japan and England are inordinately jubilant over the Four-Power agreement prove that it will protect their interests as well as did the discarded alliance, if not better. Moreover, the Japanese and British empires—the two most pernicious imperialistic nations on earth—will now have the backing of the mighty American Republic. America has to do it, however, and of course, "with a view to the general preservation of peace!" This treaty will require the United States to respect each other's insular possessions in the regions of the Pacific and "maintain their rights." In other words, Americans are in a deal—though somewhat loosely drawn—to KEEP THINGS AS THEY ARE in the Pacific.

The quadruple pact, which practically legalizes and consecrates the wrongs of the past in Asia, was later somewhat sterilized and "sanitized" by the reservation of the Foreign Affairs Committee that "the United States understands that, under the statement in the preamble or under the terms of this treaty, there is to be no commitment to armed force, no

alliance, no obligation to join in any defence." Yet, the poison-fang is not altogether pulled out of the treaty. It will still make for war, rather than for peace. What is the proof? The treaty itself is the proof. To "communicate fully and frankly", to "arrive at an understanding as to the most efficient measures," to "meet the exigencies of the particular situation," to repel "the aggressive action of any other power"—what do these phrases in Article Two indicate? Just pleasant chats? Kind advice? Sweet, soft words to turn away wrath? Hardly. "These words mean," according to an American publicist who is in a position to know, "what they always have meant—meant when they bound England to fight Germany, Germany to fight Russia, Japan to declare war as England's ally. They are words of alliance, words of war." And what a pity that America—a world symbol of freedom—should be ensnared in such an entangling alliance!

The Quadruple Entente is, in effect, not much different from the rejected Versailles Covenant. "What we have," writes Dr. John Haynes Holmes with much wisdom in *Unity*, "is fundamentally a sanctification of all the conquest and capture, rapine and rape, which have stained the Pacific with blood these many generations, just as we had in the League of Nations a sanctification of the nameless abominations of the Versailles Peace. The Alliance is a pledging of the military and naval forces of the four powers to the maintenance of present conditions in the Pacific, no matter how outrageous or how menacing to peace and progress, just as the League was the establishment of a preponderance of power for the preservation of the *status quo* precipitated by the fall of Germany. Worse of all, this Alliance marks the definite entrance of the United States into the business of imperialistic piracy in the Pacific, as the agreement on China constitutes a similar invitation to join the freebooters already on the scene in looting of the Celestial Empire. America, in other words, is at last recognized as a full-fledged capitalistic power. England,

Japan, and France would ignore her if they could, but such policy is no longer possible. America is powerful, and she is hungry! So the robbers offer her membership in their band, with the pledge, so familiar in the organization of all conspiracies against the public welfare, of one for all and all for one!" To call the Four-Power Treaty a thieves' agreement may seem harsh. Nevertheless, all of us who have cut our eye-teeth must perceive that Japan, France, and England are confirmed of their titles which at one time or another they acquired by force or trickery. Nothing has been done to make them disgorge of their seizures. Can such a treaty then be regarded as a "righteous adjustment" of Pacific problems? Is this "a wonderful gesture of self-sacrifice", "a noble gesture of brotherhood"? Can such a iniquitous contract with the three most notorious disturbers of the world's peace be a contribution to the lasting peace of the Orient?

Under the dishonest camouflage of the compact, land-grabbing imperialism and blood-thirsty militarism will go on unabashed. This treaty, observed a keen editorial of *Chicago Herald and Examiner*, "is purely an alliance to make British imperialism and Japanese militarism safe in the possession of the territories and goods they have stolen from their rightful owners—and which is camouflaged under the false pretense of abolishing armaments, saving the expense of armies and navies, instituting permanent peace on the waters and coasts of the Western Ocean, and doing justice to the weaker people trading over those waters or living on those coasts.

That is a lie. No other word fits its crass and insolent falseness.

The cunning Englishman who came over here to bamboozle Hughes and his associates would not lift a finger to do justice to a weak people or to institute peace in any part of the world any longer than it took England to get her breath, digest her prey and look around for new spoils to be gained by diplomacy and war.

Mr. Balfour has personally inspired and helped conduct fifteen wars during his political lifetime.

During the course of his diplomatic career he has urged Germany to violate the neutrality of Belgium and attack France on that line and assured the German Kaiser that England would regard such a procedure as a military necessity and as no occasion for interference. And in 1917 he stood on the steps of the New York

city hall and wept over the wickedness of Germany in doing the very thing he urged Germany to do in 1887.

It is only in Washington that Mr. Balfour or any other British agent can find the trustful ignorance and childish credulity which take British professions of solicitude for democracy and for the rights of weak peoples and the safety and prosperity of America without a grin."

How long will the American people choose to remain in their Arcadian innocence of history and diplomacy? How long will they be soothed into slumber by high-sounding words and gilded phrases of the agents of military imperialism?

#### THE NAVAL TREATY.

The four-cornered pact was accompanied by the Five-Power naval treaty. It is to remain in force fifteen years. The first ten years will be the naval holiday, during which construction of capital ships will be generally suspended. As for the remaining five years, the powers will be at liberty to make replacements in conformity to detailed rules embodied in the agreement.

The treaty gives to America a parity with the naval strength of England, which in reality is a great victory for the English diplomacy.

As everybody knows, England lost its traditional supremacy over the seas by the last war. And being on the edge of bankruptcy, it has no more cash to get that supremacy back, whilst America has all the necessary money and means to build—in the words of an American Ex-Secretary of the Navy—"incomparably the greatest navy of the world." Indeed, the English naval strategists knew full well that, at least, by 1926 the American navy would surpass the English. That was the situation before the opening of the Washington Conference. Now what has happened? The parties to the naval treaty have agreed to a "ten-year naval holiday so that great Britain will have ten years to recuperate her ancient economic and financial standing; and she will be ready in ten years or before to build a new navy, stronger than any other nation's navy in the world." In the meantime, America has been bamboozled to

surrender her potential sea-power supremacy. Americans have entered into an agreement which condemns them to second place on the seas. More, they have pledged themselves not to use their superior wealth to remedy their naval inferiority. Would that there were a new Æsop to tell how Brother Balfour got the United States to cut off her navy, because England could no longer afford as great a one! You recall Æsop's fable of the fox with its tail cut off, don't you?

The naval pact provides that America, Japan and England proceed immediately to retire sixty-six capital ships in a way that they would be unfit for use as battleships again. Now battleships are rapidly becoming useless, anyway. Their scrapping will be a fine dramatic gesture. It will please all naive innocent souls beyond measure. And as the future wars will be fought with submarines and battle planes, the naval treaty will only change the direction of naval competition and not end sea-warfare. "The effect of reduction in capital ship tonnage," observes Captain Yates Stirling of the United States Navy in *Baltimore Sun*, "the naval holiday and limiting the size of capital ships is simply to plug up one rat hole. The other holes are left wide open with the usual consequence."

"Sir Percy Scott for several years has condemned the capital ship, giving the submarine the vacated place. Admiral Fiske, then Admiral Sims and General Mitchell declared for the airplane carrier against the dreadnaught and battle cruiser. The action of the Conference, if these expert strategists are correct, then has only anticipated by a few years what nations would have decided of their own single volition when the truth had been forced upon them. So the limitation of capital ship tonnage becomes of doubtful importance to the world when one considers the possibility of a mad race to build submarines, aircraft, cruisers, scouts and destroyers. What once were considered the auxiliary weapons become of capital importance when the great leviathans are removed from the sea. One Frankenstein is killed and as terrible and expensive a monster is reared in its place."

It will then be evident that though they have gone through the motions of peace there is no assurance in the naval pact against war, or even against less

war in the future.\* No limit has been placed upon the disreputable imperial profession. The Biblical command "Thou shalt not kill" will remain in all Christian countries a mere fool, empty creed for the imperialists, "the gentlemanly highwaymen". Land armies with their swollen expenditures are left wholly untouched. Submarines are not abolished. And while pious resolutions have been adopted prohibiting the use of poison gas, it is safe to assume that there will be no poison gas attacks until the next big war comes along.†

\* "The present series of wars," says H. L. Mencken, an acute observer of world conditions, "it seems likely, will continue for twenty or thirty years, and perhaps longer. That the first clash was inconclusive was shown brilliantly by the preposterous nature of the peace finally reached—a peace so artificial and dishonest that the signing of it was almost equivalent to a new declaration of war. At least three new contests in the grand manner are plainly in sight—one between Germany and France to rectify the unnatural tyranny of a weak and incompetent nation over a strong and enterprising nation, one between Japan and the United States for the mastery of the Pacific, and one between England and the United States for the control of the sea. To these must be added various minor struggles, and perhaps one or two of almost major character: the effort of Russia to regain her old unity and power, the effort of the Turks to put down the slave rebellion (of Greeks, Armenians, Arabs, etc.) which now menaces them, the effort of the Latin American races to throw off the galling Yankee yoke, and the joint effort of Russia and Germany (perhaps with England and Italy aiding) to get rid of such international nuisances as the insane Polish republic, the petty states of the Baltic, and perhaps also most of the Balkan states. I pass over the probability of a new mutiny in India, of the rising of China against the Japanese, and of a general struggle for a new alignment of boundaries in South America. All of these wars, great and small, are probable; most of them are humanly certain. They will be fought ferociously, and with the aid of destructive engines of the utmost efficiency."

† England, afraid of gas attacks against London and other centres of congestion and production on the island, stipulated to outlaw gas and chemical warfare. How is this promise being kept now? Nearly three months have passed since the Washington party was over; but *Chicago Daily Tribune* remarks that there is yet no "let up in research and preparedness in chemical warfare" in England, that it is "pressing active investigation of gas weapons" and that the English, though "promising not to use gas, will be experts in the offensive and defensive of chemical war." Which proves to all, except yokels fresh from the cabbagefield, how rigidly the stipulated gas prohibition will be enforced when England gets into another little unpleasantness like that of 1914.

#### A SPECIMEN INDIAN GENTLEMAN.

Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri proclaimed himself as "the Indian representative" at the Arms Conference. His egotism must have received a stiff jolt when H. G. Wells, the tiresome English phrase merchant, referred to him in one of his articles to *New York World* in these amiable terms: "Mr. Srinivasa Shastri is obviously a British nominee; he is not so much a representative as a specimen Indian gentleman."

There is no record of Mr. Sastri making any speech at the Conference. He was "seen but not heard." He did, however, give a few talks in a number of places outside the Conference hall. In these, as was to be expected, he played the regular spouting geyser of British imperialism; but so far as my information goes, he did not "get by". As a professional hater of non-co-operation, he assailed Mahatma Gandhi. Whatever his personal opinions might be, it seemed to many Americans that Sastri owed it to the dignity of his country to refrain from knifing in the back Mr. Gandhi, his own countryman, before foreign audiences. No sensible American politician would ever think of attacking his fellow-American in India, for instance. As "one of the best minds," "the Indian representative," however, considered himself above the ordinary decencies of political life.

Sastri was completely under the *hookum*, the thumb of the English delegation. Charles Merz, in his article on "Personalities at the Arms Conference" in the current issue of *The Yale Review*, tells us that the Indian representative, so-called, gave an interview for publication to a group of fifty newspaper correspondents at Washington. Some of them saw in the interview a "story", as it was supposed to be critical of certain aspects of English rule in India. Then along came Lord Riddell, watchdog of the English delegation, and the interview was peremptorily suppressed. Not a word of what Sastri said appeared in any newspaper!

Attempts were made by American Friends of Freedom for India Society to

bring the Indian question to the notice of the Conference without a success. What then has India gained from Washington? Nothing but what the *Springfield Republican* terms as the "negative safeguard of non-interference by Japan." The Four-Power alliance, which is virtually a mutual insurance treaty, does not apply to the Indian situation. Japan is no longer required to defend English rule in India. Britannia must paddle her own canoe in the uncertain and troubled waters of India, alone. Will this make her down 'hearted'?

#### CHINA AT THE CONFAB.

In a message to the United States Senate last February, President Harding observed that, when the Washington Conference was called, "there existed with regard to the Far East causes of misunderstanding and sources of controversy which constituted a serious potential danger." "The difficulties," he remarked, "centred principally about China when the developments of the past quarter of a century had produced a situation in which international rivalries, jealousies, distrust and antagonism were fostered." Those of us who have been recently in China and studied the Chinese problems on the ground know that the picture given by Mr. Harding was not a bit overdrawn; but how has the Chinese question been adjusted? How has China fared at the Conference? Let us see.

The Province of Shantung, which was awarded to Japan by the "sacredly unalterable" Treaty of Versailles, will be returned to the rightful owner, China, in about five years. This will undo in part the crimes of Versailles, of which Balfour and Lloyd George were the joint authors. China must pay Japan fifty-three million gold marks. And until the amount is paid in full, the Chinese government must employ a Japanese to the position of a Traffic Manager, and another Japanese as Associate Chief Accountant of the Shantung railway.

Slight concessions have also been

granted to China in the matter of tariff regulation. Formerly the Chinese had the full tariff autonomy; but since 1843 this right, which is a fundamental attribute of a sovereign state, has been persistently denied to them. By a series of unjust treaties, China has been forced to restrict her tariff on imports to five per cent *ad valorem*. Even this five per cent rule could not be actually enforced. By some intrigues or other, the powers have successfully evaded the five per cent rule. And all that the Chinese government was ever able to collect was three and a half per cent. The new ruling of the Conference is that China should be allowed to levy "an effective five per cent, a surtax of two and a half per cent on general goods and of five per cent on luxuries." These increases are utterly inadequate. Moreover, there is not the slightest hint of giving tariff autonomy to China. The Washington near-statesmen are, however, quite satisfied in their own minds that China will never be able to see it through. At any rate, the face-saving procedure on behalf of China was immensely facilitated by the signatory governments of the Nine-Power treaty when they pledged "to respect the sovereignty, independence, and the territorial and administrative integrity of China." Like a sleight-of-hand performer, the Conference with one hand guarantees the integrity of China, and with the other legalizes foreign encroachments and aggressions upon it. Is not that marvellous? Can anybody in his senses now doubt that China will be as nicely 'protected' in the future just as it always has been in the past?

The famous Twenty-one Demands, by which Japan secured in 1915 valuable concessions from China in South Manchuria, Eastern Inner Mongolia, and the province of Fokien, have not been cancelled. Japan pointed out that the English special privileges, leaseholds, and other economic plunders in Tibet, Hong-Kong, Kowloon, Yangtze Valley, and elsewhere are on a much larger scale than those of Nippon. And since the "virtuous" England would not quit hogging China, why

should Japan? \* For, after all, is not the whole Chinese question a division of economic spoils? "Japan's ally, but America's friend" was the clever slogan of the English delegation at the Conference. There was, however, no real evidence of genuine self-denial on the part of the aggressive nations. "What we saw at the Conference," writes Nathaniel Peffer, an American authority on the East, in a recent issue of *Century*, "was that in no single instance did Great Britain support any American proposal that conflicted vitally with Japan's interest or the old system of exploitation." Under the circumstances, the only thing that China got on the Twenty-one Demands was a protest registered in the minutes of the sixth plenary session of the Conference. That's all!

This is no place to detail the entire Chinese transactions at the arms parley. Briefly, China had to be satisfied with such measly crumbs of justice as fell from

\* The following table, made in 1917 before the collapse of Russia, is quoted from *Foreign Affairs* (London), December, 1921. It shows the various foreign powers in control of China and the percentage Chinese territory under their spheres of influence.

England	27.8	per cent
Russia	42.3	" "
France	3.4	" "
Germany	1.3	" "
Japan	4.3	" "

The total area under foreign influence is 79 per cent.

the green table at Washington. Did the Chinese delegates fail to get tariff autonomy? Were they unsuccessful in getting rid of foreign troops, extra-territoriality, and alien wireless stations in China? Yes; they did. China will be robbed, robbed thoroughly, and right. That is nothing serious. China is quite used to it. Besides, China is a wobbly weakling among the nations. What right can it possibly have which the big haughty powers have to respect? It is to be hoped, however, that the Chinese patriots should now wake up and realize that "the only question," in the words of the *New York Freeman*, "that ever really interested this Conference for one moment was the apportionment of the loot."

The limitation of armament party has come and gone; but the world peace—well, the less said about it the better. The great problems, which will doubtless provide more cannon fodder for future wars, have been left unsolved. Asia is a spoils-ground, and remains a battle-field of the predatory nations. In the meantime, will the uninitiated ponder over the good old rule, the simple little plan of the super-imperialists. from Beaconsfield up and down,

"That they should take, who have the power,  
And they should keep who can."

## EMPLOYMENT OF INDIAN TROOPS OUT OF INDIA

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**H**ALF of the Central Revenues of India are spent on Military Services. It is generally recognised that unless a substantial and permanent reduction is made under this head, retrenchment will not be real. In England the Geddes Committee recommended a reduction of

21 million £. in the Navy Estimates, of 20 million £. in the Army Estimates and of 5½ million £. in the Air Force Estimates; in other words a total reduction of 46½ million £. in the expenditure on the Fighting Forces of England was proposed. Out of this, the English Government has

accepted in this year's budget a reduction of 26¼ million £. (16 m. £. in Navy; 10 m. £. in Army and 2¼ m. £. in Air Force.)

The main question in this connection is whether the strength of the Army maintained in India can be reduced without endangering the safety of India. A complete and satisfactory answer to this question requires expert knowledge, which is still the monopoly of the military advisers of the Government of India. The following discussion on the Employment of Indian Troops out of India will, it is hoped, enlighten the layman in understanding at least a part of the question

of the strength of the Indian Army and its tremendous cost.

In the following table a list of the more important expeditions in which Indian troops were employed at the bidding of the Imperial Government for non-Indian purposes and outside the frontiers of India, has been given. The way in which the cost of the troops was apportioned between England and India on each occasion has been shown. In some cases the actual or estimated cost to either country has been given. The detailed discussion which follows is confined to expeditions after 1860.

List of the more important expeditions which Indian Troops were employed outside the frontiers of India, showing the way in which the cost was apportioned on each occasion.

Date.	Expedition.	Ordinary Charges Paid by India.	Ordinary Charges Paid by England.	Extraordinary Charges Paid by India.	Extraordinary Charges Paid by England.
1838-42	1st Afghan.	All	...	...	All
1839-40	1st China.	All	...	...	All
1856-57	2nd China.	...	All	...	All
1856	Persia.	All	...	Half	Half
1859	3rd China.	...	All	...	All
1867-68	Abyssinia.	All	...	...	All
1875	Perak.	All	...	...	Half (colonial govt.)
1878	Malta.	...	All	...	All
1878-81	2nd Afghan.	All	...	All but 5 m. £.	5 m. £.
1882	Egypt.	All	...	All but ½ m. £.	½ m. £.
1885-86	Soudan.	All	...	...	All
1885-91	Burma.	All	...	All	...
1896	Mombasa.	...	All	...	All
1896	Suakin.	All	...	...	All
1898 to 1914	South Africa, China, Persia, etc.	Some charges in case of Persia.	All	Some charges in case of Persia.	All
1914 to 1920	The World War and after.	All	...	...	All

The actual or estimated cost to India in some of the expeditions was as under:—

Perak	41,000 £.
2nd Afghan	12,516,000 £.
Egypt	1,250,000 £.
Burma	4,705,000 £.
Suakin	231,000 £.
The World War	137,70,00,000 Rs.

The table has been compiled from Welby Commission, vol. 2, p. 305; Parliamentary Paper 13 of 1900; and Annual Financial Statements.

1867-68—Abyssinian Expedition:—The decision to charge the ordinary cost of the Abyssinian expedition was challenged in Parliament.\*

Mr. Fawcett said,

"Heavy taxation was infinitely preferable to this country incurring the reproach of having cast the slightest injustice on the unrepresented millions who lived in our dependencies."

Lord Salisbury said,

"Having regard to the future, I do not like India to be looked upon as an English barrack in the Oriental seas from which we may draw any number of troops without paying for them. It is bad for England, because it is always bad for us not to have that check upon the temptation to engage in little wars which can only be controlled by the necessity of paying for them."

The Secretary of State in his letter to the War Office of 9-8-1872, referred to this question.\* After enumerating the occasions on which India was called upon to

\* Parliamentary Paper, C. 8131 of 1896.

\* Welby Commission, vol. 2, p. 293.

supply troops for Imperial purposes, he said,

"It is certain that all these wars were dictated entirely by the Imperial Government and that the interests of British commerce, the grievances of British merchants, or the honour of the British Crown, were the determining considerations in them all."

Referring to the argument that India had her own share of interest in these wars, he replied that,

"Community of interests within certain interests may fairly be alleged; but it must not be alleged only when it tells in favour of the Imperial Exchequer, and repudiated when it tells in favour of the Indian taxpayer."

He pointed out that in all cases, when reinforcements were sent from England to India, the whole pay of the troops so sent was charged to India, from the moment of their departure from the shores of England; whereas whenever India was called upon to provide troops for foreign expeditions she was charged with their ordinary pay during their absence.

1875 :—Perak Expedition :—At the time of this expedition, the Government of India protested that if the precedent of the Abyssinian war was followed, a principle would be established, which would be inequitable to Indian revenues. The ordinary cost of the expedition was, however, thrown on India, though the Secretary of State agreed that it would not be regarded as a precedent for any future case.

1878-81 :—2nd Afghan War :—This war was considered to have been undertaken solely in the interests of India. It was objected\* that the war was the outcome of the Imperial Policy adopted by H. M.'s Government, that it was aggressive, and not required for the defence of India. The Government of India, however, asserted that it "was undertaken for the protection of India from the menaces of foreign aggression."† It was to remove the imaginary possi-

bility of new conditions on the North West Frontier, which might disturb the foundations of English power in India, that this war was fought. The Finance Member held that "great as is the interest of England in preventing such consequences, the questions at issue were primarily and essentially Indian questions." The actual expenditure of the war went beyond all estimates, and the Government in England at last felt the force of the arguments against throwing the whole burden on India. A subsidy of 5 million £. was given from the Imperial Exchequer. India had to provide for 12·5 million £.

1882 :—Egyptian Expedition :—At the time of sending troops for the Egyptian expedition, the Government of India again protested against the charges that were proposed to be levied on India. Their chief arguments were :—(a) That the interests of India were not involved to such an extent in the maintenance of the established rights, either of the Sultan, or of the Khedive, or of the people of Egypt, or of the foreign bondholders, as to justify, so far as those interests only were concerned, a resort to arms, and, in consequence, the expenditure of large sums of money to be borne by the Indian taxpayer.

(b) That though India had some interest in the transit through the Suez Canal, the interest of England was greater. Both countries were equally interested in the trade dependent on the Canal, but almost all the ships, under the British flag, passing through the Canal, were owned by H. M.'s British subjects. Again, though India had greater interest in the Suez Canal than Australia and other Eastern possessions, India should not be asked to pay for armed intervention in Egypt, unless the Australian and other colonies paid their proportionate share.

(c) That the proposal was likely to exercise an injurious effect upon the political connection between England and India. The taxpaying community of England was among the wealthiest, whilst that of India was among the poorest in the world; and it was pointed out

\* Lord Salisbury declared that the Afghan War formed "an indivisible part of a great Imperial question." Cf. Welby Commission Report, p. 187; and also Fawcett—Indian Finance, p. 111.

† Financial Statement, 1880.



that it could not be in consonance with justice or sound Imperial policy that the wealthy and dominant race should relieve itself of charges at the expense of the poor and subject race, if the smallest doubt could be thrown on the equity of such a proceeding.

(d) That a nation, which through its representatives could decide whether peace or war was desirable, is, in so far as the question of taxation consequent on the war is concerned, in a very different position from one which has never in the slightest degree been consulted upon the advisability of war, but which is required to pay the cost of the war by order of a distant authority.

(e) That the finances of India were exposed to special difficulties.

This protest, however, failed to convince the Government in England. They gave a contribution of half a million, and India was asked to provide for the whole of the remaining cost of the expedition, both ordinary and extraordinary, which amounted to 1¼ million £.

1885-86:—Soudan Expedition:—With reference to this expedition, the Government of India again recorded a strong protest. They urged that the operations in the Soudan had no connection with any Indian interests, that they were altogether outside the sphere of their responsibilities, that the pretensions and aims of the leaders of the rising in Africa were a matter of indifference to the Government of India, and that the question of the safety of the Suez Canal was not involved as in 1882. But before their despatch had reached England, the Parliament had passed a resolution that India should bear the ordinary charges of the expedition. Referring to the discussion on this matter, the Secretary to the Treasury wrote, "as my Lords understand the proposed arrangement, there is no desire on the part of the Indian Government to save money by means of the expedition." The Government of India, in answer to this, cited the case of the Mutiny, and repeated the words of Lord Lawrence:

"All the troops and all the material which

were sent from England to aid in putting down the Mutiny in 1857 and 1858 were paid out of Indian revenues. It was never urged that, because the measure afforded a temporary relief to the British Exchequer, a portion of the ordinary cost of these troops should be paid by England."

1885-91:—Burmese Wars:—Large additions were made to the strength of the Indian Army after 1885, on account of the fear of a Russian invasion. This increased military power made it possible for the Government of India to pursue an aggressive policy towards Burma, which resulted in protracted campaigns extending over several years, ending in the conquest and annexation of that country. The expenditure due to the wars in Burma amounted to 4·7 million £. The cost of the civil administration of Burma, also, became a heavy burden on Indian revenues for many years. The people of Burma were brought under British subjection, at the cost of the Indian taxpayer.

1896:—Mombasa Expedition:—On this occasion the Foreign Office and the Treasury tried to throw some burden on India, but the Secretary of State remained firm, and pointed out "the absence of reciprocity in such arrangements". All the charges were, on this occasion, as in the case of the expedition to Malta in 1878, defrayed from the English Treasury.

1896:—Suakin Expedition:—But in the same year, another expedition was sent to Suakin, the ordinary charges of which were proposed to be levied on India.\* The Government of India again protested in vain:

"In order to strengthen Suakin, and to set free Egyptian troops for employment on the Nile, we have been asked to provide a garrison composed of troops from the Native Army in India. We cannot perceive any Indian interests, however remote, which are involved in carrying out the policy above described; it cannot be alleged that the safety of the Suez Canal is involved; and the taxpayers of India, who have to bear the cost of the ordinary charges of the

\* Sir James Peilie and Field Marshal Sir Donald Stewart, members of the Council of India, recorded a minute of dissent against the decision of the Secretary of State to charge India with the ordinary cost of the expedition. Cf. Parliamentary Paper, 236 of 1896.

Indian troops proceeding to Suakin, will hardly comprehend the reasons for taxing them for troops which are not serving in India, in order to maintain order on the Egyptian frontier, to reconquer part of an Egyptian province, or to assist the Italian forces."

They concluded—

"In these circumstances, we feel it our duty, in the interests of the country of which the administration is entrusted to us, to protest once more in the strongest terms against a policy which burdens Indian revenues with expenditure connected with services in which India has no interest; which is unjust to India, because it applies, to the payment of Indian troops lent to England, a different principle from that which England imposes when English troops are lent to India; and which is inexpedient, because it exposes our Government to attacks to which there is no adequate answer."

In replying to this, the Secretary of State in his despatch of 30-6-1896 laid down three propositions which he thought should govern the relations between the two Governments:

(1) That on all occasions, when the temporary loan of a military force is urgently required either by Great Britain or by India, such assistance will be promptly given, so far as the ability, resources, and the situation of either country at the time may permit. (2) That if the object for which such assistance is required is one in which the Government supplying the troops has no special interest beyond that which must be common to all members of the Empire, the whole cost of the force, so long as it is required, including both ordinary and extraordinary charges, must be borne by the country that needs the assistance. (3) That if the circumstances are such that the Government supplying the troops has a distinct and special interest\* in the matter at stake, then, although the interest may be less strong than that of the Government requiring assistance, the Government supplying the troops should be content to bear, in one form or other, a portion of the burden which the operations involve.

The Welby Commission agreed to these propositions, but they said that the real difficulty was to discover the means by which the interests of the two Governments might be most accurately and authoritatively ascertained. As a solution

\* Sir Donald Stewart and Sir James Peilie, suggested the substitution of "direct and substantial interest" in the third proposition, in place of "distinct and special interest." The Welby Commission (Report, para 300) preferred the amendment.

of this difficulty they recommended that the geographical scene of the operations should be the basis for the allocation of cost between the two Governments, and they laid down certain geographical limits within which India might be considered to have a direct and substantial interest. They desired that the propositions laid down by them should be entered in an official document to which the two Governments should be parties. The propositions were\* :—

1. That India has not a direct and substantial interest in the employment of forces in Europe; in Africa west of the Cape of Good Hope; in Asia east of China.

2. That India has a direct and substantial interest in keeping open the Suez Canal, and in the maintenance of order and established government in Egypt so far as the security of the Suez Canal is affected thereby. This interest might extend to the coasts of the Red Sea only so far as to maintain the inviolability of that shore, but not to the Soudan, or further extensions of Egypt up the valley of the Nile or its affluents.

3. That India may have a modified interest in questions affecting the East Coast of Africa as far as Zanzibar, and the African islands in the Indian Ocean, except Madagascar.

4. That India has no direct or substantial interest in the African coast south of Zanzibar.

5. That India has a direct and substantial interest in questions affecting Persia, and the coast and islands of Arabia and of the Persian Gulf.

6. That India has a direct and substantial interest in questions affecting Afghanistan and that part of Central Asia which is adjacent to the borders of India or Afghanistan.

7. That India has sole interest in punitive expeditions on her borders.

8. That India has a direct and substantial interest in questions affecting Siam.

9. That India has a modified interest in questions affecting China and the Malay peninsula.

10. That India has no direct or substantial interest in Japan or countries or islands east and south of China.

11. That special cases may arise giving to India a direct and substantial interest in questions connected with Europe or other territories in which the minute declares her to have, as a general rule, no interest.

12. That in every case where the two Governments are not agreed, no contribution should be made by India until the sanction of Parliament has been obtained.

\* Cf. Welby Commission Report, paras 300 and 307; and also Minority Report, para 96 onwards.

These recommendations were accepted. The practice against the injustice of which the Government of India had so repeatedly and strongly protested received the approval of a Royal Commission, and was embodied in an official document to which the Treasury and the India Office became parties.\* A direct and substantial interest of India could now be shown in many remote places with ease. Where this would be difficult India would still have a modified interest. That India had no interest in Europe and other territories had to be accepted, but provision was made for special cases. In case of disagreement between the two Governments, Parliament was to decide. It is well known that the sanction of Parliament in such matters is a mere formality of which the Cabinet need be in no fear. If the Government in England decided to charge India with the cost of a certain expedition against the wishes of the Government of India, the sanction of the Parliament would follow automatically. Besides, it is to the interest of members of Parliament to lessen the burdens of those whom they represent.

1898-1914 :—Expeditions to South Africa, China and Persia :—During this period we frequently hear of the despatch of Indian troops for service in South Africa, China or Persia and other places. These expeditions with the exception of that connected with the South African War, were on a small scale and the expenditure, in most cases was small, though the aggregate must be large. As a general rule, in accordance with the above arrangement, both the ordinary and extraordinary charges were met either by England or by the Colony concerned, which resulted in a temporary saving to the Indian Treasury. A considerable part of the expenditure due to operations in the Persian Gulf was taken from India.

1914-20 :—The World War and After :—During the last war, large numbers of Indian troops served in the Allied cause in all the different frontiers. It would be

interesting to get from Government a return showing the exact number of Indian troops despatched to each different scene of action along with the cost. According to resolutions passed in the Imperial Legislative Council and the Parliament, the ordinary cost of these troops was borne by India. The effect of this procedure was as explained by the Finance Member that,

"Although we sent a large number of our best troops out of the country at a time when mere consideration of local safety might well have dictated their remaining here, we pay for them just as if they were still employed in India and at our beck and call."

In 1917, a Special War Contribution of 150 crores of Rs. was given by India to H. M.'s Government. This was provided out of loans ; the resources of the Government of India were increased by 9 crores of Rs. a year to meet the consequent interest and sinking fund charges. In September, 1918, the Imperial Council passed a resolution to the effect that an additional War Contribution, then estimated at 67·5 crores of Rs. be given by India in view of the prolongation of the war. This expenditure was to be met from revenue and spread over two or three years. Soon after this, however, two events occurred :—(1) the Armistice was signed, and (2) the Government of India entered into hostilities firstly with the Amir of Afghanistan and then with the frontier tribes. In view of the heavy expenditure which India had to provide for the Frontier Wars ( 39 crores in all ), the above resolution was revised in March 1920, with the effect that the additional War Contribution contemplated in September 1918, was reduced to 21·6 crores.

It is difficult to form an estimate of the charges which India met on account of the War. We shall, however, hazard an estimate on the following basis. From 1914 to 1920, (taking into consideration the period of demobilisation), the Military expenditure of India has increased directly or indirectly on account of the War, including the payment of "Ordinary Charges" for the troops sent abroad. In

\* Parliamentary Paper, 169 of 1902.

1913, the total expenditure on "Military Services" amounted to about 32 crores of Rs. If no part of the cost of the troops that were sent out of India was paid by her, the military expenditure during the subsequent years would have been less than this amount. Not stressing this point, however, let us suppose that the military expenditure of India would have remained the same as in 1913, if the war had not affected us. The total excess of the military expenditure during 1914 to 1920 over that in 1913 amounts to 176.6 crores of Rs. From this if we deduct the expenditure due to the Afghan War and other Frontier Operations—(38.9 crores) we are left with 137.7 crores. This includes the additional War Contribution of September 1918, which ultimately amounted to 21.6 crores. Of course, this figure of 137.7 crores does not include the recurring liabilities of 9 crores on account of the First War Contribution of 150 crores, which was given by means of loans.

If we take it as approximately correct that "the extraordinary charges" of the Indian troops sent abroad during the War must have amounted to 150 crores of Rs., we may say that in reality India bore both the ordinary and, by means of the War Contribution of 1917 (150 crores), also the extraordinary expenditure of her

troops, lent for Imperial Service, partly out of revenue and partly out of loans.

The conclusions at which we arrive from the foregoing review are :—

1. That H. M.'s Government often calls upon India for military aid in non-Indian wars and expeditions.

2. That if large numbers of troops could be sent out of India so frequently, without any danger to the safety of India, the Government does maintain a larger army than is required strictly for Indian purposes.

3. That as a general rule, with the exception of the last war, the revenues of India have been charged with the expenses of these expeditions against the wishes and protests of the Government of India themselves.

4. That in view of the experiences of the last war, and also of the large additions to British territory in Asia, it is likely that India may be called upon to maintain an army larger than required for her own purposes, to be used for non-Indian expeditions as in the past. The fact that the Military Budget of India absorbs half of the Central Revenues, and that it is not subject to the vote of the Legislative Assembly, supports the foregoing apprehension. The fears raised by the Report of the Bsher Committee were of a similar nature.

## THE HINDU RELIGIOUS YEAR\*

THIS is one of the books of the series, known as the Religious Life of India, edited by Drs J. N. Farquhar and N. Macnicol. The title of the book does not clearly express the subject treated. It is almost a complete Hindu calendar dealing with fasts, festivals and worship arranged according to months and dates, solar and lunar. It is not merely a catalogue, but a storehouse also of legends briefly told which have grown round each festival and the practices followed in its observance.

We cannot too highly praise the diligence and industry of the author in collecting the materials of the

volume. The calendar is easily obtained from our almanacs : but the legends, whether Vedic or Puranic, popular or local, connected with the fasts and festivals and the rites performed, require assiduous labour, which, considering the fact that the author is a foreigner, must have been very great. The descriptions are brief but clear, and have no taint of that Christian arrogance with which we are too familiar. The customs prevailing in Maharashtra have received fuller treatment and are probably more accurate in details than those of Bengal and Northern India. The author does not appear to have been able to collect information from the Madras Presidency.

In the first chapter the author introduces us to the Hindu method of reckoning time, and in the second

\* By M. M. Underhill, B. Litt., Nasik, Association Press (Y. M. C. A.), Calcutta. 194 Pages.

to auspicious and inauspicious seasons. The account is lucid. The eighth and the last chapter is an interesting list, with notes, of the principal religious fairs of Maharashtra. "In chapters iii to vi the existing feasts have been related in each case to what I [the author] believe to be their origins, whether Sun worship with resultant seasonal feasts, Moon worship with resultant monthly feasts, Planet worship, the worship of Siva and Vishnu, or the worship of Animistic deities." This classification appears to us faulty, especially in the inclusion of particular feasts under the four classes. We may accept the Samkranti days as related to Sun worship, though in Bengal the people do not worship the sun but after bath make gifts of barley meal and earthen pots filled with water. We do not understand how the New Year's day by the lunar calendar which is the first day of the light half of Chaitra can be regarded as a solar festival. The only worship of the Sun is found in the Itu-puja by girls in Bengal and Bihar, on the supposition that the name, Itu, is a corruption of Mitra. We would however, derive the word from Itu, the season. Again, when the author comes to the Seasonal festivals which he thinks are "regulated by the sun, but in which objects other than the sun are worshipped," we are stranded on a land of controversy. The Holi, the Dipavali and the Yugadi days are certainly celebrated to mark certain astronomical events like the Samkranti days; but to say that Ganesa, Durgā, Lakshmi and Sarasvatī pujas are festivals regulated by the sun, requires explanation. We wonder why Kālī and Jagaddhātṛī puja has been relegated to the class of festivals arising from Animistic sources, while Durgā puja has been thought to be a solar festival, or why Lakshmi has been removed from her place once acknowledged to a new one with Kālī and Jagaddhātṛī. Ambuvāchi, marking the bursting of the monsoon, has certainly a better claim to be regarded as a seasonal festival than Kojagari and Yamadvitiyā. The author tells us that Kojagari is a harvest festival, and that "from this day the new grain of the recent harvest may be eaten." That harvest festival is Navanna is known to us; but we did not know that Kojagari was anywhere the Navanna day, when no harvest of any importance is ready.

From the list of festivals given by the author it seems the Hindus of Maharashtra have more than we have on this side of the country. We are told that Mercury, Venus, Jupiter, and Saturn are worshipped on their days in the month of Śrāvana. Yet, Mars, as wicked as Saturn, is not propitiated, and his days are devoted to the worship of Gauri. We are further told that "the Pole Star is an object of worship at weddings, by the bride and bridegroom." On this side of India the stars Vasistha and Arundhati (wife of Vasistha in the Purans) are cited at weddings as an example of conjugal happiness. It will be seen from these cases that unless a comparative study is made of the practices observed in different parts of the country, it is not safe to generalize.

It is pretty easy to put together the Vishnu and Siva festivals. We pass them over to consider some of the festivals which, the author believes, have arisen from Animistic sources. He writes:—"A good deal of the worship in modern India, is traceable to very ancient pre-Aryan sources, or where not actually traceable, the reasons for believing it originated in Nature or Animistic worship are sufficiently strong

for considering it a survival of Animism." As a general proposition the statement may be accepted; but we wish the author had given his reasons for believing that Visvakarmā puja, Vyasa puja, or Bhishmashtami originated in Animistic worship. We fail to understand how reverence shown to Visvakarmā by artisans, to Vyasa by Pundits, and to Bhishma on his death anniversary has anything to do with Animism. Allegorical representations of natural phenomena like the Ambuvāchi can hardly be confused with animistic worship unless every celebration is thought to be a survival of Animism. Śraddha is undoubtedly ancestor worship, and whatever the root idea might have been, it is now, we believe, reverence to the ancestors. The author speaks of cow and ox worship, monkey worship, snake worship, worship of plants such as Vata, Asvattha and Tulasi, and of Śalagrāma, and the sacred thread of the Brahmins. The Hindus, however, do not regard all worships of equal value, and the author may be presumed to know the meaning of the words, dharma, vrata, pārvana, puja, śraddha, kritya, nimitta, &c. It is rather late in the day to insinuate that all are of the same order, or that the Hindus worship the objects, natural or artificial, as possessed of soul. We are sorry to observe that nowhere in the volume do we remember to have noticed the word, God, and a perusal is likely to leave an impression in the minds of outsiders that the Hindus are a God-less people. We are convinced that a history of religious life of a people written by a non-believer of the religion whose culture and mode of life are different is bound to be a record of what he conceives to be true. We have no faith in the historical research of religion unless it is undertaken by one who professes the same religion and feels it. Only the worshipper can say what his feelings are; and, we suppose it is these which count. A historian can record events, but every historian cannot interpret them.

The number of Hindu festivals is very large, about two hundred and fifty, and if we take into account the duration of some, the number of days assigned to the observance will be well nigh three hundred. All the festivals are of course not compulsory. But there are none which do not begin with fast and abstinence and end with bestowal of gifts. Those of us who are born and brought up in Hindu families seldom realize how their life is a series of fasts and festivities, austere abstinence and rejoicing from beginning to end of each year. The Hindu life is thus a religious life, a life of joy and harmony with the Unseen. We wish we could observe all the festivals; for it is better to have even faith cure than no cure at all.

The large number is due to the long age of Hinduism and the large extent of the country over which it is spread. It has grown and is growing, for its doctrine is not finality. It is therefore the most catholic and tolerant of all religions. If it is difficult to define 'religion', it is more difficult to define 'Hindu religion'. It is more a type of culture than religion in the ordinary sense. It has therefore been able to embrace within its fold a variety of beliefs and practices. It respects reverential attitude of mind, earnest devotion, and upright conduct and does not care to enquire what the tenets may be. Many a people have thus been Hinduized, who have on their part added something to the old stock. Buddhism

has given a lot, and the Siva and Sakti Tantra has reshaped many a belief and practice of old. Even Mahomedanism has contributed within recent times a new conception in Satya Pir or Satya Nārāyana. It seems impossible to trace the origin and evolution of the existing festivals, and it is not always safe to argue from a rite to the idea which underlies it. Many can be easily explained, but a large number baffles analysis. No clue, for instance, is obtained as to the reason of certain tithis being special to particular festivals. We do not know, for instance, why the 4th was selected for Ganesa, the 5th for Śrīrāvati, the 6th for Śhaṣṭhi, the 8th for Durgā, the 11th for Hārī, or the 14th\* (the dark half) for Siva worship. These relations do not appear to be due to chance.

We appreciate the difficulties under which the author labours, and do not feel surprised at his inability to enter into the spirit of the festivals he describes. Let us take Durgā puja, and see what light he throws on it. We need not notice the accounts, which show that there are variations in worship in the different parts of the country. In one point they agree that the Vijayā celebration is the final part of Durgā Pūjā. Indeed as we shall presently show that it is for Victory that Durgā is worshipped. At the outset the author remarks that "Durgā has become identified with the pre-Aryan Kālī of Bengal since Puranic times." We need not question this assertion but pass on to his remarks on the Victory-feast. He writes:—"The celebrations on the tenth day are so mixed, in modern times, with those of the Rama Victory festival, that it is almost impossible to disentangle them. It is doubtful whether any further ceremony than the final dismissal of the spirit of the goddess belongs properly to the Durgā festival." In connection with Vijayā dasami the author notes that "both legends, Rama's victory over Ravana, and the Pāṇḍavas taking their arms from their hiding place in the Saṇi tree, therefore, point to this as a day on which to celebrate victory, and to make military displays." The four or five separate observances followed on this day and described by the author, leave no room for doubt as to the object of the festival. But how can victory be attained without invoking the aid of Power symbolised in the ten-armed Durgā killing a demon? Indeed Durgā is worshipped in order that by Her grace the devotee may kill Ravana, not the Ravana of the Rāmāyana, but the demon who is not dead and does not cease to torment us. Whether Rama or King Surathā introduced the worship are questions beside the purpose. The plain meaning is that a Hindu is human and does not always roam in realms of spirit in search of salvation. He covets victory or success in life. Durgā Pūjā is the puja of Bengal where the Sakti cult is the basis of the faith of the majority of the Hindus. Outside Bengal the Vijayā day is known as Dasarā, which is Dasarātra, the tenth night, with the final syllable dropped, as the previous night is known as Nava-rātra the ninth-night, the days being counted as nights. This name Dasarātra also shows that it is a continuation of the previous days of worship.

\* The author invariably counts this as the 13th. Why?

Dasarā has no connection with Dasaharā, which, curiously enough, has been corrupted into Dasar in Bengal. The author has reminded his readers that Dasaharā and Dasarā are quite distinct and should not be confused. But we regret to observe that he has missed the significance of the festival. It is not a worship of the Ganges and cannot be said to have Animistic origin as he has supposed. It is true a bath in the Ganga on this day destroys the ten sins which the bather may have committed. But it is not the river which destroys, though personified as woman and addressed as mother. The meaning of the bath is revealed to us when we think of the object and the mantra which must be uttered before bath. The object is the same as the sacramental confession in the Roman Catholic Church. But the avowal of one's own sins is not made to a person, however high and exalted his position may be, but to a river before which there is no temptation to conceal any sin however grievous it may be. Yet the river is sacred, so sacred indeed that nothing but truth can be uttered if one be in contact with its water. An oath with the water in touch is the most solemn declaration to a Hindu. The witness is the Ganga, the earthly representative of the heavenly Ganga who has sprung from the feet of Vishnu, the all-pervading one. In the confession of the Roman Catholic it is believed that forgiveness is really obtained. But a Hindu believes that he must reap the fruit of his action, good or bad. The object of his confession is to relieve the mind of the burden of sins and to make him penitent. There is no space to describe the ten sins which include three kinds committed through the body, four through speech, and three through mind. After enumerating the sins the bather utters the last part of the mantra which is as follows:—"O mother, thou hast sprung from the feet of Vishnu, may the ten kinds of sins cease (to torment me, *prasamaṃ yantu*). So the sinner is before his mother, confessing his sins and appealing to her for comfort by taking them away.

There is yet another question to answer. Why was this day, Jyāishṭha sukla tenth, chosen for the confession? Because on that date the sun in his northward course arrives at the Milky Way, the Suraganga. The legend is that on that day she descended from the heavens to the earth. The day is thus popularly the birth anniversary of Ganga. There are reasons to believe into which we cannot enter here that the sun was taken to represent Vishnu. People saw in the approach of the sun to the Milky Way birth and descent of Ganga.

If the classification of the author be accepted, Dasaharā, just like Ambuvāchi, is a solar festival. This is corroborated by the author's remark that "the festival is exceptional, in that if it occurs in a year with an Adhika Jyeshṭha month, it is to be held in the Adhika, not in the normal, Jyeshṭha month." The fact is, the festival must be held when the sun is in the Ardra Nakshatra, the presiding deity of which is Rudra or Siva who received on his head the descending Ganga. It may be noted that the star Ardra (Alpha Orionis) is situated just on the western edge of the Milky Way.

As we have already remarked, it seems to us impossible to generalize and trace origins of all the festivals. Some are of local importance, such as the village deities (Grāma Devī), some are of recent origin; but there still remains a large number acknowledged

in every part of the country. Without a comparative study of the rites and practices observed in connection with each, it is futile to attempt a classification. The

book before us may be taken as a contribution to their study.

JOGESCHANDRA RAY.

## BUDDHAGHOSA

### *Early Life and Conversion.*

BY BIMALA CHARAN LAW, M.A., B.L., F.R. Hist. S.

THE name of Buddhaghosa is familiar to every student of Buddhism and of the Buddhist literature. But there are very few who are acquainted with the details of his life. It is indeed very strange that in the annals of the western world there are many master-minds, but of their life history very little is known. One cannot but reflect with a deep sigh that the personal history of Shakespeare, the greatest poet and dramatist in the history of the Western literature should be entirely forgotten although his works survive as the richest gems of the human imagination. Buddhaghosa was one of those many Indian celebrities who have left for us no other records of their career than their teachings and works to be appraised for what they are worth. It is, however, a source of satisfaction to think that this is precisely the fate which the great sons of India welcomed from the depths of their heart. There is no other country in the world where great men have so deliberately tried to conceal their self and sink personal considerations in the interest of the higher aspirations of the human soul. It is comforting to think that what they have concealed from us is but the details of their daily life, their worries and anxieties, and what they have given us is the most valuable record of their inner life and experiences. One, however, while reading through their works, feels a burning desire to know something about the persons themselves, to live over again with them the life they actually lived, the things they actually saw, and, above all, to carve out for oneself the path that leads to fame and glory by following in their footsteps, to prepare oneself by their examples to fight the great battle of life and to confront once more the deeper problems of human life. These

are the feelings that come irresistibly but, alas, how can we satisfy their cravings! So far as Buddhaghosa is concerned we have his commentaries and a few later traditions and nothing else; to make a close and careful study of his commentaries is a Herculean task: the traditions preserved are so meagre and so much coloured by the after-thoughts of the later ages of credulity that it seems at first sight to be an impossible task to obtain any reliable information from them, and yet in the last resort these later traditions and myths are the only materials on which an account of his life is to be based. It was Mr. Gray who first collected in the *Buddhaghosupatti*<sup>1</sup> all the references to Buddhaghosa's life from the *Mahāvamsa* and similar other works. But the account given in this work is legendary.

After the death of Thera Mahinda, a Thera named Buddhaghosa appeared.<sup>2</sup> There was a village named Ghosa not far from the great Bo-tree; this village was called Ghosagāma as it was inhabited by a large number of cowherds. A certain king<sup>3</sup> ruled at that time and he had a Brahmin 'purohita' named Kesī who was the foremost among the preceptors of his time. Kesī had a wife named Kesini.<sup>4</sup> At that time it was found very difficult to understand the teachings of the Lord as they were written in Sinhalese. A certain Thera, who possessed supernatural powers and was free from sins, thought thus: "Who is that great Thera who will be able to render the teachings of the Lord into Māgadhī from Sinhalese?"

Thinking thus he saw with his divine eye that there lived a celestial being in the Tāvātimsa heaven who would be competent to perform the task. The Thera appeared before Sakka who asked him as to the cause of his

coming. He informed Sakka about his mission. Sakka asked him to wait a little. The chief of the gods then approached the celestial being named Ghosa and enquired, "Do you wish to go to the human world?" The celestial being replied, "I desire to go to a still higher celestial world and not to the human world where there is much suffering; if the teaching of the Lord is difficult for human beings to understand, I am ready to go there." Thus he consented and his consent was made known to the Thera who was a friend of the Brahmin Kesi. Kesi was told by him: "During seven days from this day, don't plunge yourself in worldly enjoyments; a son will be born to you who will be very wise and virtuous." Saying this the Thera left him. Exactly on the seventh day,<sup>5</sup> the celestial being, after death, was reborn in the womb of Kesiñi. After ten months he came out of her womb. As soon as he was born, slaves (hired servants) and Brahmins uttered sweet words, 'Eat, drink': The boy was named Ghosa on account of this shouting.<sup>6</sup> When the boy was seven years old, he learnt the Vedas and within seven years he acquired mastery over the three Vedas. One day the Brahmin boy, Ghosa, ate peas sitting on the shoulder of Visnu. Seeing him thus seated, the other Brahmins grew angry and said, "Who are you eating peas sitting on the shoulder of our teacher, Visnu? You do not know your own weight, how will you know the three Vedas?" Ghosa replied, "Visnu is a māsa, who is called Visnu? Of these two whom do I know as Visnu?" The Brahmins could not answer, they only looked at one another. They were struck dumb. The Brahmins informed Kesi all about it. Kesi asked his son, "Have you behaved like this?" Ghosa replied in the affirmative. Kesi consoled the Brahmins thus, "Don't be angry, he is young." The Brahmins went away, thus consoled.<sup>7</sup>

Kesi used to instruct the king in the Vedas. One day he, accompanied by his son, went to instruct the king in the Vedas. While instructing him he came on a passage in which some knotty points were involved. Unfortunately he could not make out the meaning of those knotty points and had to go home with the permission of the king. Ghosa being aware of it, wrote the meaning of those knotty points in the book while he returned home. The Brahmin Kesi became very much satisfied when he saw the purport and meaning of the knotty points written

down in the book. Kesi enquired as to who had actually written out the meaning. He was informed by the members of his family that his son was the writer. Kesi asked his son, "Dear, is this writing yours?" The boy replied in the affirmative. Kesi informed the king of it and the king became greatly delighted, embraced the young Ghosa, kissed his forehead and said, "You are my son, I am your father." Ghosa was rewarded with an excellent village by the king.<sup>8</sup>

Ghosa learnt the Vedas and he got by heart six thousand padas daily. One day a great Thera, who was a friend of Kesi, went to his father's house to take his food. Ghosa's seat was given to him and the Thera being indifferent as to whose seat it was, sat on it. Ghosa became angry seeing the Thera seated on his seat and he abused the Thera thus, "This shaved-headed Samana is shameless, he does not know his measure, why my father has invited him, he does not know the Veda or any other cult." Ghosa thought thus, "I shall ask him about the Veda as soon as he finishes the meal." He asked the Thera thus, "Do you know the Veda or any other cult?" Mahāthera being greatly pleased said, "Oh! Ghosa, I know your Vedas or any other cult." Ghosa said, "If you know the Vedas, please recite." The Mahāthera recited the three Vedas fully bringing about the significance of the knotty points. Ghosa was charmed by his recitation and said thus, "I want to know your cult, please recite." The Mahāthera then recited the contents of Abhidhamma with a special reference to kusala dhamma, akusala dhamma and abyākata dhamma. He also explained these difficult problems of Buddhist philosophy as they are explained in the Atthasālini, a commentary on the Dhammasangani. Altogether twenty-one kinds of kusala dhamma, twelve kinds of akusala dhamma, thirty-six kinds of vipāka (consequence) and twenty kinds of kiriyācittam were mentioned by the Mahāthera. While explaining Saddhamma (true law), Ghosa listened to the contents of the Abhidhamma and was simply charmed and said, "What is your cult?" Ghosa asked whether a householder could learn it and he was told that it could be learnt by a monk. Ghosa said, "The cult of the Buddha is invaluable, it pleases me, one becomes free from all suffering, having acquired it." Ghosa then informed his parents of his intended renunciation and he was repeatedly forbidden. He said to his



parents thus, "I shall take ordination from the Mahāthera, learn the cult of the Buddha and then I shall come back home being disrobed." This time his parents consented and took him to the Mahāthera and spoke to him thus, "This is your grandson who is desirous of receiving ordination from you, give him ordination."

Ghosa was ordained and he was given *Tacakammatthāna*.<sup>9</sup> Ghosa asked, "What is *Tacakammatthāna*?" The reply was, "Meditate upon kesa, loma, nakha, danta, taco." All Buddhas realised the fruition of saintship depending on *Tacakammatthāna*. Ghosa listened to it and thought of *Tacakammatthāna*; being established in three refuges, he practised ten precepts, having acquired a firm faith in the teaching of the Lord. He said to the Thera thus, "Oh, Sir! the teaching of the Lord puts an end to suffering, my Vedas are worthless and they are fit to be given up by the Buddhas."<sup>10</sup> Thus he obtained ordination from the hand of the Mahāthera whose name is not mentioned in the second chapter of *Buddhaghosuppatti* where the details of his conversion have been noted. According to the *Saddhamma Sangaho*,<sup>11</sup> it was Revata who gave him ordination after having embraced Buddhism. It is stated there that a young Brahmin wandered through villages, countries, towns and capital cities of Jambudīpa and defeated everybody, by answering questions put to him. At last, he came to a monastery; there many hundreds of Bhikkhus dwelt; of these Bhikkhus, Thera Revata was the foremost who was free from sin, who acquired analytical knowledge and who used to defeat other disputants. The young Brahmin was one day reciting the mantras and the Thera listened to the recitation and said, "Who is this braying like an ass?" The Brahmin replied, "Oh, monk! how will you know the meaning involved in the braying of an ass?" The Thera said, "Yes, I know." The Brahmin asked the Thera all the knotty points involved in the three Vedas, *Itihāsas*, etc., and the Thera answered them correctly. At last the Thera said to the Brahmin, "Oh, Brahmin, you have asked me many questions. I shall ask you only one question, please answer it." The Brahmin replied, "You ask me any question and I am ready to answer." The Thera put a question to him from the *Cittayamaka*, i.e., the Chapter on Citta. The Brahmin was unable to answer it. Then the Brahmin asked

for ordination from him for the sake of mantra. The Thera ordained him. The Thera accepted the Brahmin as a novice and afterwards gave him ordination.<sup>12</sup> The *Mahāvamsa* records a similar account.

Here is another interesting incident of his life. One day Ghosa, who was in a solitary place, thought, "Is my knowledge greater or the knowledge of the preceptor so far as the teaching of the Lord is concerned?"<sup>13</sup> The preceptor by thought-reading knew such thoughts arose in the mind of Ghosa and he said to him thus, "If you think thus it is unworthy of you." Ghosa begged his pardon and he repented saying, "It is my sin, pardon me." The preceptor replied, "I will pardon you if you go to Ceylon and render the teaching of the Lord into Māgadhi language from the language of Ceylon."<sup>14</sup> Ghosa said, "If you desire, I also desire to go to the island of Lankā. Let me stay here till I remove the false belief of my father." Kesi saw his own son and thought thus, "My son will now be a householder." He then asked Ghosa whether he would be a householder now. Ghosa remained silent.<sup>15</sup> At first Ghosa's father was a *Micchādittthika*, i.e., one who cherishes false belief and it was Ghosa who made him give up the false belief and to become a follower of the Buddha. It is interesting to mention here as to how Ghosa succeeded in this task. Ghosa went to his own dwelling place and caused two inner rooms to be built making a roof of brick and plastering it with mud and covering it with planks, and one of the two rooms he fitted up with bolts both inside and outside, he kept fire, pot, rice, milk, water, curd, ghee, etc., and he shut the door of the room by a mechanism causing his father to enter the room. Kesi said, "Dear, I am your father, why are you behaving like this?" Ghosa replied, "It is true that you are my father, as you are a heretic and have no faith in the teachings of the Lord, I have inflicted such punishment upon you." Father replied, "I do not cherish any false belief, open the door." Ghosa said, "If you don't do so, you speak of the good quality of the Lord in the words, 'Iti pi so Bhagavā, etc.'" He filled his father's mind with the fear of hell saying, "If you do not give up false belief, you will fall into hell after death." Kesi spent three days there, and on the fourth day, he recollected the quality of the Lord told by his son and uttered, "Iti pi so Bhagavā, etc." Kesi

acquired a spotless faith in the three refuges. He admitted that the Buddha was his *Satthā* (teacher). He was established in the fruition of *Sotāpatti*. Buddhaghosa opened the door of the room, bathed his father with scented water and asked his father's pardon. Kesi praised the Lord in verses. Ghosa became greatly delighted in listening to the word of his father. Thus Kesi had to give up the false belief which he cherished so long through the exertions of his son Ghosa.<sup>16</sup>

#### APPENDIX.

It is interesting to note that the incidents connected with the birth, early life and conversion of Buddhaghosa fully resemble those connected with the birth, early life and conversion of Nāgasena. Before his birth, Nāgasena was a god living in heaven and consented to come down to the earth, at the request of the Arhats, only to uphold the teachings of the Buddha. Buddhaghosa according to *Buddhaghosuppatti*, was also a god living in heaven and came down to the earth at the request of Sakka to translate the Sinhalese scriptures into Māgadhi. Both Buddhaghosa and Nāgasena showed wonderful signs of intelligence in their boyhood and both mastered the Vedas within a very short time. Both of them were converted at a very early age by Theras who used to visit their houses. After conversion, the incidents in the lives of both these celebrities are similar. After ordination, Buddhaghosa thought one day that his teacher must be a fool in as much as he instructed him first in *Abhidhamma* to the exclusion of other teachings of the Buddha. His teacher who was an Arhat immediately came to know what was passing in the mind of Nāgasena and rebuked him for thinking in that way. Nāgasena apologised, but his teacher said, "I will not forgive you until you go and defeat King Milinda who troubles the monks by asking questions from the heretic's point of view." According to *Buddhaghosuppatti*, Buddhaghosa one day reflected, "Am I or my preceptor more advanced in Buddha's words?" His teacher knowing his mind said, "Buddhaghosa, your thoughts please me not. If you reflect thus you will see that they are not becoming of a priest; beg my pardon." Thereupon Buddhaghosa apologised, but his teacher said, "I shall pardon you if you go to Ceylon and render Buddha's scriptures into Māgadhi."

The story of the conversion of Buddhaghosa also tallies with the story of the conversion of Moggalliputta Tissa (*Mahāvamsa* Chap. 5). There is one incident particularly interesting. Once Tissa was out while the Thera, who used to come daily to his father's house, came. The men in the house not finding any other seat offered him the seat of Tissa. When Tissa came back and saw the Thera sitting on his own seat, he became angry and spoke to him in an unfriendly way. Thereupon the Thera asked him, "Young man, dost thou know the manta?" Tissa asked the Thera the same question. The Thera replied, "Yes, I know." Then Tissa asked Thera to explain some knotty points from the Vedas. The Thera expounded them and in the end asked Tissa a question from the *Cittayamaka*. Tissa was bewildered and asked the Thera, "What manta is that?" On the Thera's saying that it was *Buddhamanta*, Tissa said, "Impart it to me." The Thera said, "I impart it only to one who wears our robe." According to *Buddhaghosuppatti*, one day a Brāhmana in the house of Kesi, Buddhaghosa's father, offered Buddhaghosa's seat to the Thera who was Kesi's friend. This made Buddhaghosa angry and when the Thera finished his meal, he asked him, "Bald-headed sir, do you know the Vedas or are you acquainted with any other mantra?" The Thera replied, "I know not only the Vedas but also another mantra," and then he rehearsed the three Vedas. Buddhaghosa then requested him to repeat his manta. Thereupon the Thera recited before him portions of the *Abhidhammapitaka*. Then knowing from the Thera that it was *Buddhamanta* and with a desire to have a knowledge of that, he shaved his head with the permission of his parents and became a monk.

The account in the *Mahāvamsa* differs from that in the *Buddhaghosuppatti* in one respect, namely, that Moggalliputta was asked questions from the *Cittayamaka* while Buddhaghosa was given *Abhidhamma* passages in relation to kusala, akusala and avyākata dhamma. *Saddhamma-sangaho*, which closely follows *Mahāvamsa*, says that Buddhaghosa too was asked questions from *Cittayamaka* (J. P. T. S., 1890, p. 52).

The stories in the *Milinda Panho*, the *Mahāvamsa* and the *Buddhaghosuppatti* are so alike that one cannot resist the temptation of saying that the author of *Buddhagho-*

suppatti, who must have been familiar with the Milinda Panho and the Mahāvamsa which are considerably earlier than him, borrowed the incidents from those works and grafted them on to his own.

1. Buddhaghosuppatti or The Historical Romance of the rise and career of Buddhaghosa—edited by J. Gray (1892).

2. According to the Burmese tradition, Buddhaghosa was born in Northern India in the 5th century A. D., in the country of Magadha (Buddhism as a Religion by H. Hackmann, p. 68).

3. King Sangrāma who ruled in Magadha at the beginning of the 5th century A. D. Kesi was his spiritual adviser. (Jagajyoti Asar, 1315 B. S., p. 11.)

4. It is recorded in the Sāsana-vamsa that Buddhaghosa was a native of Ghosagama near the Bodhi

terrace. The Brahmin Kesi was his father and Kesiya his mother (p. 29).

5. Cf. S. V., p. 29.

6. Buddhaghosuppatti, p. 39. S. V., p. 29.

7. Buddhaghosuppatti (ed. by J. Gray), pp. 37-40.

8. Buddhaghosuppatti (ed. by J. Gray), pp. 40-41.

9. Kammatthāna means analytical meditation or contemplation. Buddhaghosa in his Visuddhimagga has enumerated 40 Kammatthānas. Tacakammatthāna means meditation of kesa, loma, nakha, danta and taca.

10. Buddhaghosuppatti, pp. 42-45.

11. Pp. 51-52, J. P. T. S., 1890.

12. Saddhamma-Samgaho, J. P. T. S., 1890, pp. 51-52.

13. Cf. S. V., p. 29.

14. Cf. S. V., p. 29.

15. Buddhaghosuppatti, p. 46.

16. Buddhaghosuppatti, pp. 47-48. Cf. Sāsana-vamsa, p. 29.

## GENIUS AND TALENT

I HAVE always thought Carlyle's definition of genius—"the capacity to take infinite pains"—an unhappy effort on the part of that man of genius. Any plodding man can take infinite pains. I think the thing was much better put in the saying of a man that I have heard quoted. His wife had attempted a definition of genius, especially as it differs from talent. "I think it could be put better, my dear," he said. "I do not pretend to be able to say exactly what genius is, and what talent, but the difference may be illustrated by saying such a thing as this: 'I have a genius for losing my scissors: you have a talent for finding them.'"

What he meant was that there is something incalculable about genius, as there was something incalculable in the way he lost his scissors. You could never tell beforehand when, where, or how he might do it. Let him take every conceivable precaution against losing them, as appoint a particular place for them; never do anything after using them until he had put them back in that place; promise his sharp-sighted children a penny a week each, as long as they did not get lost, and so on. They would get lost as they always had done—in every conceivable, or rather inconceivable way.

There would be nothing incalculable in her finding them. It would be only an exercise of observation and intelligence. What

things did he use his scissors over, and which of those things was likely to have been the last? The intelligent answer to those questions would reveal their whereabouts. She might take the infinite pains of talent in the search, but would show nothing incalculable. It was not a thing that gave scope for genius.

Genius is the capacity to do easily, and in a sense inevitably, things that mere talent could not do; no, not if it should try till Doomsday. Let it take pains as many as there are grains of sand, still it will not do the thing. Suppose that all the literary men of talent that had been since the world began had been set to work upon the essay, about the year 1800, to see if in any of their hands it would become as different from the old well-known thing as a sweet briar is in summer from the bush in winter. It would all have been fruitless toil. But let Charles Lamb walk in, and say with a stutter "Listen, gentlemen, to my *Dissertation upon Roast Pig*."

They would see that the thing had been done.

It will be done again perhaps some day. But when, by whom, and how, all the talent in the world could not foretell; for it will be the result of something genius whose rising up is incalculable.

J. A. CHAPMAN.

## MACAULAY AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

**P**REFIXED to the draft of the Indian Penal Code by the Indian Law Commission of 1832, viz., Macaulay, Macleod, Anderson and others—of whom, it is well-known, Macaulay had by far the chiefest hand in the drafting of their Report—are the following 'Notes':

"The physical difference which exists between the European and the native of India renders it impossible to subject them to the same system of prison-discipline. It is most desirable, indeed that in the treatment of offenders convicted of the same crime and sentenced to the same punishment there should be no apparent inequality. But it is still more desirable that there should be no real inequality, and there must be real inequality unless there be apparent inequality. It would be cruel to subject an European for a long period to a severe prison-discipline, in a country in which existence is almost constant misery to an European who has not many indulgences at his command. If not cruel it would be impolitic. It is unnecessary to point out to His Lordship in Council how desirable it is that our national character should stand high in the estimation of the inhabitants of India, and how much that character would be lowered by the frequent exhibition of Englishmen of the worst description, placed in the most degrading situations, stigmatised by the Courts of Justice, and engaged in the ignominious labour of a gaul."

"As there are strong reasons for not punishing Europeans with imprisonment of the same description with which we propose to punish natives, so there are reasons equally strong for not suffering Europeans who have been convicted of serious crimes to remain in this country..... It is natural and inevitable that in the minds of a people accustomed to be governed by Englishmen, the idea of an Englishman should be associated with the idea of Government. Every Englishman participates in the power of Government though he holds no office. His vices reflect the vices of the Government though the Government gives him no countenance." (P. 3, par. 3.)

It would be difficult to find words adequately to describe at once the brutal frankness with which the doctrine of systematic racial discrimination is avowed, the barefaced hypocrisy with which it is expounded, and the unabashed sophistry with which it is advocated,—and all this by persons who were proud to call themselves Christians.

One argument of these Christian law-givers to benighted India runs thus: There is so much fundamental difference between

the physical natures of the two races (the rulers and the ruled) that equality of treatment would be real inequality, and inequality real equality! Granted. Let, therefore, for the sake of the unequal treatment which unequal nature warrants, nay, even necessitates, the harder treatment be the Europeans' lot and the less severe the natives'—if only for this reason that the native, as he is supposed to be less civilized, may be presumed to be naturally more prone to crime due to his ignorant, excitable and unreflective nature. Yes, let the original 'inequality' of nature be maintained by discriminating in favour of the native and against the European. But no. To discriminate in favour of the 'natives' and against the ruling ones would be to lower the latter in the eyes of the impressionable 'natives'. Perfectly horrible! Unspeakable degradation of the rulers!

But with all their consuming anxiety for the bolstering up of a system of political domination of one race over another—or rather one skin over another, for be it noted that it is the European (and not merely the Englishman or the Britisher) in whose favour discriminating treatment is pleaded for,—our Anglo-Indian Moseses are too blind to be thorough-going or are perhaps too merciful to be logical. For what prevented Macaulay and Co., setting up the principle that 'a white-skin in India from the West (*minus* Turkey) can do no wrong,' and accordingly exempting all such white-skins from any punishment whatsoever and thus abolishing at a stroke the very idea of crime in India on the part of the white-skin from Europe? Nothing but the merciful instincts of our rulers saved us from such a situation!

One very great mistake into which the authors of the Minority Report on the Punjab enquiry instituted by Government let themselves fall (perhaps only thoughtlessly) was the use of the expression 'un-British' to characterise the dark deeds and humiliations heaped upon Indians—'natives' of the Punjab—by their British rulers. The truth is now more and more brought home to us that

when those accounted the greatest and best amongst the British like Macaulay and the rest are guilty of the advocacy of a system of exploitation backed up by race-arrogance and elaborate make-believe, it is nothing short of snobbery to dismiss atrocities on Indians as un-British, as if 'British' implied everything that is noble, humane, righteous and all that, and the Punjab and other atrocities only regrettable departures from the high traditions of the race in a fit or two of self-forgetfulness. But are the Punjab atrocities such? Is the more recent Mopla train tragedy such?

Are they no more than little departures from high ideals, British or other?

To be sure, no. But they are high crimes against Justice and Humanity—elementary human virtues. They are more—far more—than the massacre of Glencoe. Yet nobody dared dismiss the Glencoe episode as 'un-British.' Can we dismiss Oliver Cromwell—that 'Great Englishman' and Scourge of the Irish, responsible for the Drogheda massacre—as an un-British specimen of British rulership?

S. D. NADKARNI.

### THE MORAL PULL

**M**ANY of us have bodies that are tired nearly all the time, and yet we are hardly aware of it. They are tired, not only because we have done rather too much work, and had too little play, but because we have passed through a great deal of emotion, much of it of a painful kind. There can be no emotional output of that kind, if of any kind, without a tension of the involuntary muscles, which control the passage of the blood through the arteries, and what is apt to happen is that the tension is so long continued that the muscles lose their elasticity. The man whose muscles are in this state of permanent tension, though he may sleep, as he thinks, soundly at night, *never rests as deeply* as the body requires, and so remains permanently tired.

Why he does not feel tired, or not as tired as he is, is because he has a *moral balance* to draw on to get him through things. Every one is familiar with the use of this asset in great crises. A rock-climber, who has fallen, may hang on at the edge of the precipice a minute or two longer than his physical forces alone would have made possible, and the extra minutes may save his life. He does it by sheer determination not to fall. It is not only in great crises, however, that the asset is used: it is used hourly. It is not only a man's muscles that take him to the end of his day's work, but such things as the sense of duty, the desire

to get on, the spirit of emulation, pride in never being beaten, interest in work, and so on. All these together constitute the moral pull.

When Saturday afternoon comes, the moral forces are disbanded, *and they are not called into play again until the scene of action is actually reached on Monday morning.* The man rests, and, if he was as tired at the close of work on Saturday afternoon, though he did not know it, as I have supposed, he may feel towards Sunday evening *more tired than he felt twenty-four hours before.* The explanation is that his body, with all the moral forces called off, *is free at last to tell him how tired it really is.* That, of course, is also the explanation of the "Monday morning feeling."

It is not an advantage to any man to be permanently tired, and to the man who is never tired, but has always a physical margin, it would be of advantage to have a bigger margin, though there should be nothing to spend it on but his golf. It would improve it. Therefore the same advice is good for all. It is to *rest deeper.* Once the body has been drilled to it a little, it is found that almost everything can be done more restfully. One can sit at table, sit in trains, stand, and even walk more restfully, as well as lounge more restfully in an armchair, or settle oneself to sleep so.

J. A. CHAPMAN.

## GLEANINGS

### A Life-Saving Water-cycle Folds Into Small Space.

A water-cycle has been invented which can be used for life-saving purposes or as a pleasure craft for bathers. It is forced through the water by a gear-driven propeller which is operated by bicycle pedals, the machine being steered by a rudder and handlebar. A "lazyback" is supplied when the cycle is to



The Life-Saving Watercycle.

be used as a pleasure craft. The different parts of the machine are adjustable to suit persons of different build, and when dismantled, can be folded and packed in an ordinary suitcase. The complete machine weighs only 20 lb, and when used by a life-saver should develop a much greater speed than the fastest swimmer.

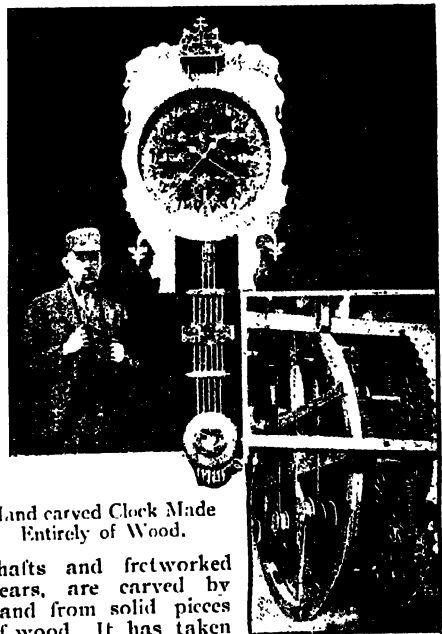
### New Means Of Controlling Erratic River Currents.

A means has been devised for controlling the treacherous currents of rivers. The method applied consists in driving a number of concrete piles, about 35 ft. apart, into the river bed and anchoring to the top of each six 1-in. to 1/4-in. cables, about 100 ft. long. The other ends of these cables are spread out fanlike, and are connected to the stump ends of hundreds of cut trees, the interlacing boughs of which fill up any part of the river from bed to surface. The sand held in suspension by the running water is gradually deposited among the tree branches, forming in time a solid sand bar, and making possible the diversion of the stream in any direction desired. It is believed that this new method

of controlling a river current will be of incalculable value in reclamation work, and in protecting river banks.

### Clock Made Entirely Of Wood.

A remarkable clock has just been completed by an ironworker of Peoria, Ill., U. S. A., in which all of the parts, even the

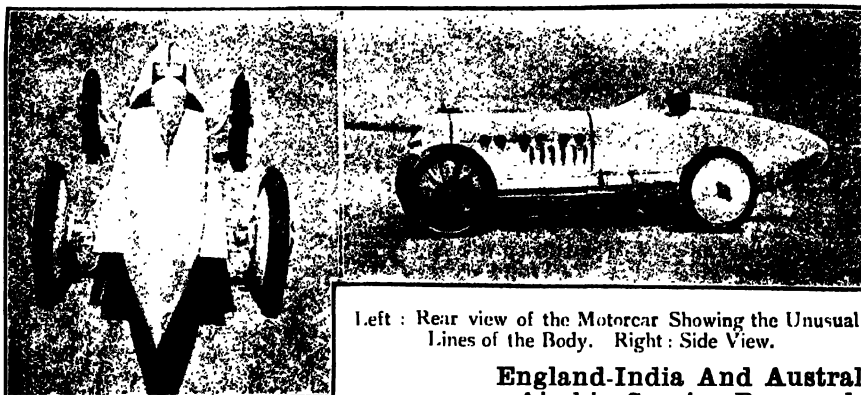


Hand carved Clock Made  
Entirely of Wood.

shafts and fretworked gears, are carved by hand from solid pieces of wood. It has taken three years to make the clock, which not only tells time but also gives the day and month, weather prospects, and other information.

### Three-Mile-A-Minute Mark Reached By Racing Car.

In a recent race over the Daytona beach course, Florida, the speed mark of three miles a minute was reached by Sig Hlaugdahl driving a specially designed racing car. The official time for the measured mile, recorded



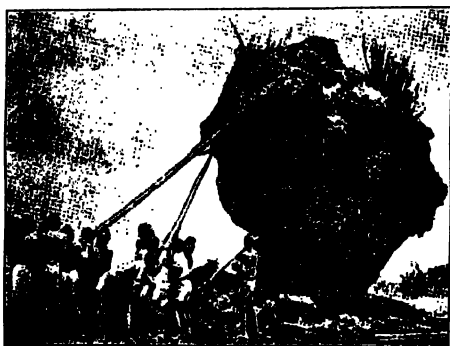
Left : Rear view of the Motorcar Showing the Unusual Lines of the Body. Right : Side View.

### England-India And Australia Airship Service Proposed.

electrically, was 19.97 seconds, which corresponds to a speed of 180.27 miles per hour. The previous record made on this same course was 24 miles per hour less than the new mark. The car used by Haugdahl was powered by a 250-hp. aluminum hydroplane motor, weighing only 610 lb. The body of the car is only 20 in. wide and is streamlined. Even the axles and all exposed bolts and nuts have received the same careful treatment.

### Skyscraper Ant-hills.

Ant-hills, all over South Africa, but particularly in Rhodesia, are of proportions unknown in America, reaching sometimes a height of 25 ft. or more, and, in spite of the steepness of their sides, covering a very large



Removing a Mammoth Ant-hill.

ground area. They are made of clay, sunbaked to the hardness of bricks, and are the outcome of many years' labor on the part of the industrious ants.

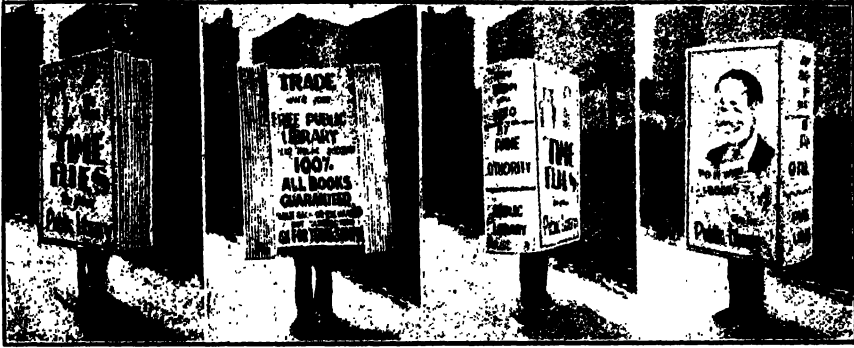
Plans are now being considered for the formation of a company to establish an airship service between England, India, and Australia. It is proposed to have a biweekly service to India, with a weekly extension to Australia, the service to be increased as necessity demands. The aim of the company would be a mail and passenger schedule of 5½ days to Bombay, while the present trip takes 17 days. The time to Australia would be 11½ days against four to five weeks now required for the trip.

### "Talking Pictures" Made With Aid Of Radio.

"Talking pictures" have been demonstrated as a practical possibility by Chicago men who adopted the synchronization of radio and the motion-picture machine as the basis for their experiments. An ordinary picture is first enacted, then duplicates of this film are made and distributed to numerous theaters. The actors and actresses now repair to a radio-broadcasting station, where the original picture is thrown on a screen before them. As the story unfolds on the screen, the assembled cast again speak their parts, simultaneously with the action of the film. The projection machine in the station controls the starting and the operating speed of the machines in the theaters, so that, as the voices are broadcast, the different audiences are entertained with a synchronous blending of both action and sound, all of which makes the picture seem almost lifelike.

### "Walking Books" Advertise Free Public Library.

The librarian of Stockton, California, recently hit upon a clever idea for increasing the po-

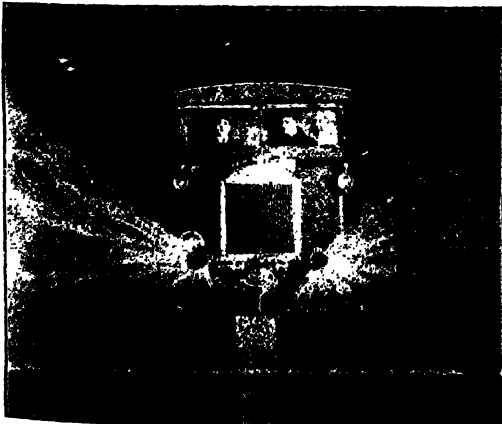


"Walking Book" Advertisements Touring City Streets.

popularity of the public library. A display sign, 4 by 2 ft. by 15 in., was made in the form of a book and was carried about town by a boy who walked inside the sign. Messages to the public, describing features of the library, were printed on the sides, back, and inside "pages" of the book, which bore imprinted on it the name "Anne Othority" as its author.

### London's Mighty Midnight Motor Street Washer.

For many years, every night as the clock strikes twelve, every street, in the West End of London, England, has been flooded and coured with water. Formerly this was done with hose and sprinklers. Now it is being done with a motor street washer that has sprinklers mounted on the front of the power-

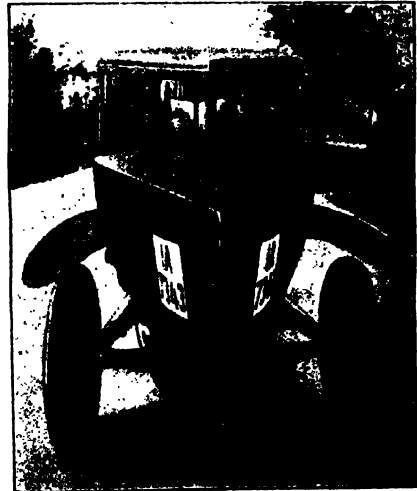


London's Mighty Midnight Motor Street Washer.

ful car, which throw the water in great streams to a distance of from 25 to 50 ft. The machine can be used also as a first-aid fire engine, as it will throw a jet of 175 gal. at 100 lb. pressure. The illustration—a night view—shows the machine operating as a street washer.

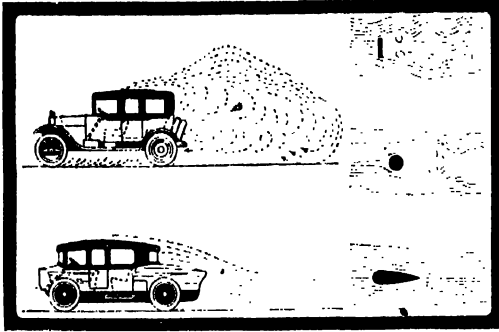
### Automobile Shaped like a Raindrop.

A car caused a sensation at a recent auto show at Berlin, Germany. The principal aim of the designer was to construct a car with streamlines that would offer the least possible resistance to the air, and for that reason a



Rear View of the Automobile Shaped like a Raindrop.





Reaction of the Air to the Ordinary Car, and to the Car Shaped like a Raindrop. The Former, in Upper View, Causes Eddies like the Disk of a Ball at Right, while the Latter Disturbs the Air No More than the Raindrop at the Right.

falling raindrop was taken as an ideal model. Everything in the construction of the car was made subsidiary to this. The body, in both the open and limousine types, follows strictly the raindrop pattern. The motor normally develops only 10 hp.—all that is required to drive the car as a result of its slight air resistance. The centre of gravity of the car is very low, and it rides quite steadily with a chauffeur and two passengers, even at such a high speed as 75 miles an hour, recently attained on a race track.

### Beacon Light Visible for 200 Miles.

As the longer air routes become more popular, as they surely will, there will be more and more necessity of night flying, and the companies are anticipating this by the erection of lighthouses at intervals along the line. Lights of limited intensity and with a visual range of from 20 to 40 miles have been in use on the London-Paris air route, but these will be dwarfed by the light that is now being installed on the top of Mt. Afrique, near Dijon, France. This will be of one billion candlepower and will be visible, it is claimed, at a distance of nearly 200 miles under favorable conditions, and will be one of the guideposts on the international air-way between France, Italy, and Algeria.

### Vegetable Leather.

According to a recent announcement, the Japanese are producing, from the inner bark of the mitsumata plant, a good grade of vegetable leather which is said to be almost as tough as the so-called French kid.

### Stains On Leather Removed By Solution Of Rubber.

For the removal of grease spots of any kind from any leather article, the best method has been found to be to coat the leather with a thick solution of rubber in which the solvent evaporates rapidly. When almost dry, this coating peels off, quickly and removes the grease stains with it. In exceptional cases it may be necessary to repeat the operation several times.

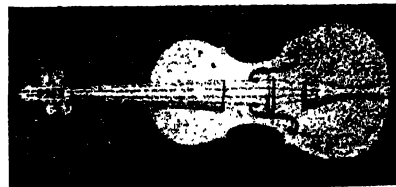
The solution recommended is composed of unvulcanized Para or Ceylon rubber in proportion of one part to ten, by weight, of carbon bisulphide.

### Discovery of New Attractive Nonmagnetic Force.

A statement has recently been made that a German scientist has discovered a new attractive force which is nonmagnetic, and yet which causes attraction between, not only iron, but also all other metals and even minerals. It is believed that it will find immediate application in wireless telegraphy and telephony, as the energy requirement is from 300 to 500 times less than that of ordinary electromagnets for the same purpose. It is also claimed that this discovery will make possible a speed of 2,000 letters per minute in telegraphic writing.

### Violin Made of Matches, Toothpicks, and Glue.

A patient worker has made a violin entirely out of matches and tooth-picks glued together and fashioned to the proper thickness. In spite



A Violin Composed of 13,000 Matches and Toothpicks.

of the unusual material used in its construction, the violin has a soft mellow tone, said by experts to be of good quality and volume.

### Elophants Act as Experts for Testing Floors.

Wishing to determine the strength of his garage floor, a Canton, Ohio, man employed the



Five Elephants, Grouped as Closely as Possible, are Means for Testing the Strength of a Garage Floor.

services of five circus elephants to act as test load. They were led upon the floor and grouped as closely as possible, making a live load of more than 15 tons on the center of the floor—probably the first of this unusual description to be used for such a purpose.

### Paper's Strength.

A single sheet of paper, no heavier than the usual letter stock, was suspended in a frame carrying a sheet on which five young women

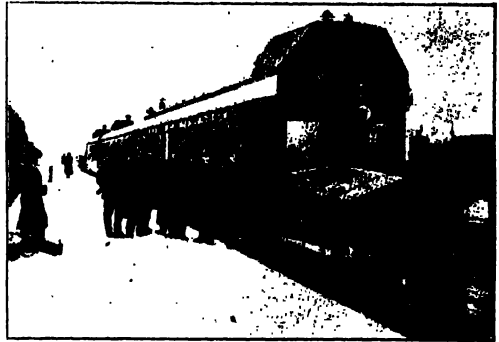


A Single Sheet of Paper Supporting a Weight of 769 lb.

stood and sat. The total weight supported was 769 lb., which included the weight of the platform.

### Exceedingly High-Powered Russian Electric Train.

Recently a new type of electric railway car has been developed in Russia that is said to equal anything of its kind anywhere. Trains of these cars are now running from Moscow to Petrograd, a distance of 500 miles, without stoppage for recharging. The train is said to be equipped with electric motors of 3,000 hp.



High-powered Electric Train that Runs Between Moscow and Petrograd.

The Soviet government aided the inventor in the design and development of these high-powered cars, and all details of their construction are being kept secret.

### Novel Attempt To Utilize Energy Of Waves.

A new attempt to utilize the energy

generated by wave action is interesting because of its novelty. A track 75 ft. long, set at an angle of about 30° with the ocean surface, has been constructed at Ocean Beach, California. A weighted car runs on the track, but cannot leave it. The front of the car presents a broad surface at right angles to the track. A cable, attached to each end of the car, runs over a drum at the upper end of the track, and over a submerged pulley at the lower end. The waves striking the car, drive it up the track, and when the waves recede, the car returns by gravity. In this manner the car is given a reciprocating motion, which, transmitted through the drum, can be used to drive a pump or other machinery.

### Self-Government Practised By Department Store.

One of the large department stores of Boston has successfully tried a form of self-government patterned much on the order of the U. S. government. Employees elect members of the House by ballot. Department executives form the Senate. Four high executives form the cabinet, and the president of the company is the chief executive. Under this plan, the employees practically regulate their own working conditions, and the system has led to a valuable exchange of ideas, the founding of welfare organizations, and a substantial increase in the store's business.

## CORRESPONDENCE

### The Problem of the Leper.

To  
The Editor,  
The "Modern Review" and The "Prabasi",

SIR,  
I beg to make through your paper an appeal which should commend itself to the generosity of your readers.

The problem of the leper in this country and the new hope which has arisen for him in the modern treatment of the disease has been frequently brought to our notice during recent years. There is probably no part of India where the problem is more acute than in the Bankura District. In recognition of this fact and with a view to combating the disease, a strong committee has been formed under the presidency of the District Magistrate, G. S. Dutt, Esq., I.C.S. The Committee proposes to work on two lines: First, by the spread of information concerning the disease which will teach the leper and his friends how to prevent the spread of infection and, second, by the establishment of treatment centres throughout the district. A pamphlet has been issued describing in popular language the disease and the means by which it may be transmitted and the precautions which should be taken to prevent the infection of new subjects. A series of lantern slides has been prepared and arrangements are being made to deliver lantern lectures in various centres. An appeal has been issued to all the medical men of the district asking them to introduce the modern treatment into their practices and to assist in the spread of information and offering to them a free supply of medicine for administration to poor patients and such advice and laboratory assistance as may be necessary. In addition we hope to establish special treatment centres for lepers in different parts of the district in charge of men specially trained for the purpose. The many advantages of segregation of lepers has been made prominent in the popular statement and in the appeal

to the doctors, but it must be recognised that the accommodation in the asylums is insufficient and that the great majority of lepers, particularly those in the early stages of the disease, are unwilling to enter such institutions. It is hoped that the work of the Committee will reach the large proportion of lepers which the asylums cannot at present hope to reach and prove a fruitful means of relieving suffering and assist greatly in stamping out the disease.

The financial resources of the district are small and therefore an earnest appeal is made to a wider public for the means to carry on this work. Contributions may be sent to the District Magistrate, Bankura, or to the undersigned.

Yours etc.,  
(DR.) CALEB DAVIES,  
Secretary and Treasurer,  
Bankura Anti-leprosy Campaign Committee,  
Sarenga, P. O.,  
District Bankura.

### Author of the book 'Gandhi and Tagore'.

DEAR SIR,

'Gandhi and Tagore', a study in comparison, which is reviewed in your July number is not from the pen of Aurobindo Ghosh as it is "believed to be". The writer who "has seen neither of the heroes of contemporary India" is Mr. N. K. Venkateswaran, B.A., L.T., of the Travancore Educational Service.

Yours faithfully,  
K. SANKARANARAYANA.

### Report of the Indian Sugar Committee on Date Sugar Industry.

SIR,

I was deputed by the Government of the Central Provinces as a witness for examination by the Indian Sugar Committee who, having concluded their labours, have recently published their report on the prospects of Indian sugar. The authorities in the Indore Central India Agency, and the Agriculture Department of the Central Provinces, considering me as a person for several years concerned in the development of date *gur* and sugar in these two Provinces, nominated me as a witness to depose on the possibilities of the date forests which stand untapped and utterly neglected and unutilised by Government and the people. Before I had known that I would be sent up as a witness, I had despatched all my reports, pamphlets, and figures bearing on the prospects of date *gur* and date sugar industry in these two extensive Provinces of India to the members of the Sugar Committee, and I was led to believe that the subject would deserve a better treatment than what it has now received. Being selected as a witness possessed of personal and practical experiences of several years derived from numerous date forests in C. P. and in C. I., I went up with a strong conviction to impress on the Sugar Committee the great importance of the further development and expansion of the date-palm *gur* and sugar project. In this connection, I informed the members of the Committee of my intention to float a joint stock company to take up large date tracts in Central India, and to institute extensive local training of date-tappers to work on the lines of the industry as it prevails in the Districts of East Bengal. The Committee began to cross examine me very severely on the point, because, obviously, my project of a company was intended to attract public attention and public money in pursuit of an industry about which the members of the Committee appeared to have drawn their inspiration from the unfinished labours and investigations of Mr. Annett of the Pusa Agricultural Department. My lengthy cross-examination was intended to belittle, nay more, to deprecate my efforts; and, it was openly said by one of the members of the Committee, that if he were I, he would drop the project of a joint stock company in order to save myself and others from further losses, troubles, and personal sacrifices.

I returned to Calcutta from Nagpur where I was examined by the Sugar Committee in July, 1920. I did not at all feel grateful or delighted to receive the pious advices of the selected Government experts on Indian sugar. They appeared to think that it was impossible to find skilled local labour to tap the date trees, and that it was hopeless to be able to settle in colonies the trained Bengal *Sheolies*, who alone, the Committee thought, were able to extract the date juice in sufficient quantities to make *Khejur gur* or raw date sugar, an article of widespread village industry. It is thus that we find only one brief chapter, XVI, in the bulky report now published, devoted to the consideration of other sources than cane producing sugar in India. Date, of course, is the principal among those other sources, and Jessore in Bengal is considered to be its only home. A little over five millions of date-palm trees yield about 50,000 tons of

*Khejur gur* in Jessore annually. A few Madras districts are said also to contribute some quantity. More or less *Khejur gur* is produced in some other districts of Bengal. And, in this way, a little over one-fifth of India's total sugar produce comes out of the *Khejur gur* made by the villagers who own date trees in their holdings. If we leave out of account a few scattered sugar factories directly dealing with the raw produce of cane, the whole output of cane sugar in India comes out of the cane *gur* or cane *rab* widely produced throughout the country by the cane growers in their isolated fields, just as they grow their other crops. This is recognized; and the Sugar Committee have suggested very valuable notes and summaries for the improvement and expansion of further cane growth in India. But with respect to *Khejur gur*, the coming sugar industry for this country in which the Central and the Central Indian Provinces will ere long play an important part, not less, if not more, than what it is in all the eastern districts of Bengal, the Indian Sugar Committee have miserably failed to appreciate the subject. If about five millions of planted date trees of poor and stunted growth in Bengal account for more than one-fifth of the country's sugar produce, do not thumb calculations show that several times that number of full-grown and vigorous date trees in Central India and in the Central Provinces go very far to solve the sugar problem for India? To this, the Committee's answer is in the negative, and it is comprehended within the nutshell of one short paragraph, para 270, pp. 255-56, of the Report.

Before we hear what Dr. Harold Mann of the Bombay Agricultural Department has to say on the results achieved by him from the date-tapping operations inaugurated by him in the Thana district of the Konkan, the Committee have declared that the date trees in that locality are about half a lac in number and that the Bombay date tappers are not so clever as the Bengalees, for they derive about one-third the quantity of available juice. Next as regards parts of Central India, though it is admitted that the number of date trees is very large, and they are extensively wide-spread, the art of date tree tapping, it is asserted, is unknown. Therefore, in the opinion of the Indian Sugar Committee, lacs of tons of available sugar which the date tracts in Central India can yield every year, must run to waste in the further growth and expansion of the date forests until the sickly, home-loving, and malaria-stricken Jessore tappers annually migrate from their villages in Bengal, and settle in increasing numbers and in colonies in the dominions of the Durbars in Central India. This is a remarkable compliment to the Jessore *Gachi* which he has never desired during the course of my personal experiences extending over twenty years! I have made the date tappers of Surat and of Wardha work side by side with their Bengali compeers,—the *gichis* or the *sheolies* of East Bengal. I have never known that quantitatively or qualitatively, in respect of their juice production, the former are less useful or less successful than the latter. Next, for times out of number, smart local labourers, attracted for the very love of the work to extract the sweet *neera* for a drink in the morning, elicit the whole-hearted admiration of their *Osteds* of Bengal and of Bombay during the course of their apprenticeship in the very first month of their new career over the body of the

date trees within the circles of our *Khejur gur* producing operatives. Will the members of the Sugar Committee, or any other outsiders who have not seen one date tree tapped for its *gur*, controvert these facts of our personal experiences and observations? If not, why condemn our project as a wild goose chase? Why consider the chances of production of a few lacs of tons of date sugar in the Deccan (Bombay, C. P. and C. I.) as remote or impracticable? Why not look upon the wide and extensive date tracts in these Provinces as self-grown and more valuable natural sugar plantations than cane where

you can have the *gur* and the sugar for the mere asking, as it were? Thus, I will close with a retort to the Indian Sugar Committee and say that if I were a member of their body in charge of their Report, I would have devoted half the number of pages of their voluminous Report to maps and charts of the date sugar tracts in these two Provinces and to facts and figures, to show how the economic condition of the rural populations in the date forest villages in these parts would have been immensely improved.

HARIDAS CHATTERJEE (M.A., B.L.)

### SEVENTH CENTENARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PADUA

**A** *RAPPROCHEMENT* between the Italian and the Indian Universities seemed to have been signalled by the graceful invitation sent from Padua to India on the occasion of the Seventh Centenary of the University of Padua which was celebrated between 14th and 17th of May, 1922. Invitation letters (in Sanskrit) were sent to all the important universities and Oriental assemblies of India. The Vice-chancellor of the Calcutta University, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, rose equal to the occasion. Realising the international significance of the invitation, he promptly delegated three distinguished *alumni* of the Calcutta University to represent their *alma mater* in the historic assemblage of Padua in which delegates from Universities and learned bodies from over forty countries took part. Three gentlemen—Dr. D. N. Mallik, Dr. Phanindranath Ghose, University Professor of applied physics and Dr. Sunitikumar Chatterjee, University Professor of Indian Linguistics—who were staying respectively in London, Berlin and Paris, represented Calcutta and India in this unique gathering of scholars from all over the world.

The function was primarily of a ceremonial nature; but from the point of view of India it is noteworthy that the equal status of India in the republic of letters has been freely and formally recognised by one of the oldest Universities of Europe. The principal ceremony in which the king of Italy was present, took place on the 15th of May. There were a number of *speakers* selected from among the delegates to read addresses of congratulation to Padua. The speakers represented the various countries which were formed into several groups, namely:—

1. Asia (India and China), 2. The Latin nations (France, Belgium, Spain, Portugal, Roumania and the states of South America) as well as Ireland and Greece, 3. The nations of Northern and Eastern Europe (Holland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Esthonia,

Leltonia, Lithuania, Hungary), 4. The English-speaking nations of the British Empire (England with Scotland and Wales, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, South Africa), 5. Germany, 6. The United States of America, 7. The Slav nations (Russia, Poland, Tcheco-Slovakia, Yugo-slavia, Bulgaria), and 8. The Universities of Italy.

Each speaker was to speak in his own language and this was quite in keeping with the international character of the meeting. The order of speakers was determined by lottery and as Asia came first and India was privileged to represent Asia, this part of the programme was opened with an address from one of our Calcutta delegates. An address suitable to the occasion had been prepared in which Padua was congratulated on her long record and in which it was emphasised that the modern Indian Universities symbolised India's age-old quest for knowledge, in a new form, while they aspire to bring home to the rising generation of India modern sciences and up-to-date methods of pedagogy, they are equally zealous to conserve the ancient learning of India which, in the days of her illustrious Universities of Taksila, Nalanda and Varanasi, attracted students from practically the whole of Asia. The address ended with the wellknown prayers from the Upanisads: *Saha nav avatu* etc., and the wish was expressed that such a meeting of the members of the various universities of the East and of the West, like brother pilgrims to the same shrine of knowledge, might be productive of fruitful results in the domain of Science that knows no frontier, and lay the foundation of true internationalism.

It was thought that an address on behalf of India should be either in Sanskrit or in Hindusthani (Hindi); and as the letters of invitation from Padua to the Indian Universities were in Sanskrit, an adaptation of the speech was made in Sanskrit by Professor Parasuram Lakshman Vaidya of the Fergusson College, Poona, an

eminent Sanskritist (who is also an M. A. in Pali of the Calcutta University), and who is now studying Buddhist philosophy with Prof. Dela Valée Poussin. This address was written out in the form of a Manuscript in Devanagari characters and Professor Chatterjee read it before the assembly on behalf of the Indian Universities, first among the foreign delegates. There were speeches in Latin, Italian, French, English and German: and the intonation of Sanskrit in that assembly did create an impression.

There was a very great interest in India among the scholars from different universities and specially among students, the more intellectual among whom were profound admirers of Rabindranath Tagore whose name only is the best pass-port for Indians into the heart of the student community of the continent! The presence of three Indian professors in such an intellectual gathering was noticed with pleasure by all and we only wish that other Indian Universities also were represented and by Indian professors. Drs. Mallik, Ghose and Chatterjee had occasions to come in touch with the students and others and converse with them about the intellectual awakening of India and the work done by the various educational agencies of Modern India. Most of the students showed great enthusiasm and the three Indian Professors had to give autographs by the score in Devanagari and Roman. The welcome accorded was most cordial. Professors, pupils and the common people of Padua, proud of their university, entered fully into the spirit of the celebration. The Rector of the University Dr. Lucatelli and the Secretary of the Centenary Committee. Prof. Ballini (occupying the chair of Sanskrit in Padua University) were the very

spirits of courtesy and hospitality. Prof. Ballini is an enthusiastic student of Indology and a true friend of India who appreciates all that is best in Indian culture. Some of the members of the different delegations were honoured with *doctorates* by the Padua University and Dr. P. N. Ghose has been conferred this distinction as a delegate from India.

Very few Indians know what a fascination India exercises on the imagination of Italian savants! From the time of the great Gorresio, who brought out in the fifties of the last century the magnificent edition of the *Ramayana* with an Italian translation, to Dr. Tessitori in whose untimely death modern Indian linguistics had lost a splendid worker—Indology has an uninterrupted succession of votaries in Italia—the India of Europe. Outside Germany it is difficult to find so many chairs of Sanskrit as we find in Italian Universities. Prof. Ballini of Padua, Prof. Balloni of Pisa, Prof. Suali of Florence along with Dr. Vallauri and Dr. Tucci are some of the enthusiastic workers in the field of Indology trained under the inspiring personality of Dr. Carlo Formichi occupying the chair of Sanskrit in the University of Rome—whose single-hearted devotion to the cause of Indian studies as well as the solid contributions to the science of Indology have won for him this year (1922) the crowning recognition of the highest Prize of the Roman Academy for Philology conferred on this *Sanskrit* Professor of Rome. So it is only proper for our Indian Universities and oriental assemblies to establish a relation of closer friendship and co-operation with their fellow-workers and colleagues of Italy.

KALIDAS NAG.

## FISCAL ENQUIRY

### THE QUESTION OF FOREIGN CAPITAL.

**S**IGNS have, of late, been visible in some of the Western countries, indicating the rise of a movement against the investment of foreign capital to a considerable extent. The Report of the Company Law Amendment Committee, presented to the British Parliament in 1918, gives expression, though in a feeble manner, to the dangers of an increasing flow of foreign capital into the United Kingdom. Many of those who made written replies to the

questions of the Committee, or who gave evidence before it, expressed opinions, we are told, in favour of disclosure of nationality by all shareholders, and, in some cases, of limitation of the proportion which aliens might hold of the share capital of a Company. While in the case of certain industries the Committee recommends that no restrictions at all be imposed, it nevertheless advocates in such cases the enforcement of disclosure of alien

ownership if that policy seems to the Legislature to be right. In the case of others it thinks that though it is neither expedient nor essential for national safety that aliens should be totally excluded from ownership, it is necessary to ensure that not more than 20 per cent of the share capital should be held by aliens and that those shares should carry no more than 20 per cent of the voting power.

The Committee appointed by the Board of Trade to investigate the general question of trade relations after the war, which reported in 1916, had also gone into the question of foreign capital. Although the Committee reported against an imposition of restrictions upon aliens becoming shareholders in British Corporations, it did not hesitate to express itself in favour of "definite information as to the nationality of the shareholders in every British Company." "We think, therefore," the Report stated, "that it would not be well to use the two-edged weapon of restriction, specially in view of the fact that after the War it will be unwise to discourage foreign capital from coming freely into the country. But, we think it desirable, that the Government should be provided with definite information as to the nationality of the shareholders in every British company. We therefore recommend that every limited company should henceforth be required to include in its annual returns to Somerset House a statement of the amount of its stock or shares held by, or on behalf of, aliens, together with a statement of their nationality."

France is another country in which measures have been proposed for discouraging the flow of foreign capital. I have come across the terms of the draft of a Bill by a Deputy in France in the year 1913, discountenancing foreign investment. The measure contemplated discontinuance of the word "French" in the following cases: "1. When the enterprise or company has one or more foreign administrative officers, when it is a branch establishment of

a foreign enterprise or corporation, when more than ten per cent of its personnel consists of foreign employees, or when it is not carried on exclusively according to French laws: 2. When the goods are not produced in France or in French colonies by exclusively French enterprises." It was proposed that persons violating the law, in case they were foreigners, should be expelled on repetition of the offence. I desire further to refer to an extract from the *Morning Post* of December 30, 1912, to illustrate the feeling of antipathy against foreign companies in France. The paragraph runs thus:—

"Mr. Briand, Minister of Justice, has ordered an enquiry to be opened into the methods adopted by foreign companies which organise financial issues of France. This enquiry is the natural consequence of the promise given by M. Briand during the debate on the Rochette affair that he would take measures to protect the savings of France, and to prevent these savings being drained away into foreign countries without good security. It appears that the law of 1907 providing that a declaration must be officially registered, and an announcement inserted in the supplement of the *Journal Officiel*, whenever stocks or shares are offered for sale in France, is frequently violated. To save the expenses entailed by these formalities, certain financiers, instead of offering shares for sale in France, have merely informed their clients, through offices in Paris, that these shares are offered for sale in some foreign town or other. It is announced that these proceedings are to be taken against an English firm, which is alleged to have sent circulars concerning a foreign stock to French investors. As the principals of the firm are domiciled out of France, action can only be taken against their representatives in Paris."

The English agents referred to above were, we are told, subsequently convicted. France and England are not the only countries in which there has been a feeling of aversion among the people against the investment of foreign capital. This feeling, it appears, exists in an intensified form in many other countries. Josef Grunzel, in his work on *Economic Protectionism*, refers to a movement in Germany against the investment of foreign capital. A measure was, we are told, introduced in 1912, in the German Reichstag "to set a limit to the denationalising commercial policy" of the

powerful American trust, the Standard Oil Company. Further, the action that Germany had taken sometime prior to this in the matter of potassium salts, which are considered to be of very great value in agriculture and in which Germany has a monopoly, was with the object of discouraging the flow of foreign capital into the country. The law introduced in 1910 to deal with the situation provided for the compulsory combinations of producers of potassium salts. This was preceded by a report which indicated that "the fear lest the control of the industry should pass into foreign hands was a part of the incentive to this regulative action." "As a result of the marked fall in the value of the potassium plants," the report said, "foreign countries dependant upon this source of potassium would not have let pass the opportunity of acquiring numerous potassium works at low prices, and hence of securing an undesirable amount of influence in determining the policy of the German potassium industry."

The growing strength of the movement for the nationalisation of industries may be taken to be an indication of the increasing intensity of feeling against foreign capital. In Switzerland, for instance, although at several votings by Referendum, rejection was secured of proposals for the assumption of new powers by the Government, yet in the case of the acquisition of the railways the instinct yielded to the prospect of economic advantage. Lord Bryce, in his work, *Modern Democracies*, said :

"A further reason was that the holding by Germans of a large proportion of the shares in the Gothard Railway, an undertaking of vast international importance, had made it politically desirable for the Swiss Government to obtain full control of that line; and to do this it seemed necessary to acquire the other lines also."

The trend of this movement in Portugal is indicated in the following extract from the *Fairplay*, the leading shipping weekly of England (I am obliged to a Bombay friend for this):

"According to advices from Lisbon, a Bill has

been introduced in the Chamber appointing a Commission to liquidate the *Transportas Maritimos*, and to transfer the steamers to a private company, the capital of which will be exclusively Portuguese. The new company must, it is stated, employ only Portuguese subjects, and the steamers are to be employed in the trade with the Portuguese Colonies."

In Mexico the movement has resulted in the nationalisation of its railways by "the method of merging the different private companies into a large corporation (*Lineas Nacionales de Mexico*), in which the Federal Government secured for itself a sufficient number of shares to be able to dictate the railroad policy in the interest of the country." (Grunzel.) It appears from a statement made by the *Times* Trade Supplement in a recent issue that the provisions of the Australian Navigation Act have resulted recently in the exclusion of British liners from the interstate passenger traffic of the Commonwealth. This is significant indeed!

It may be asked if in independent and economically advanced countries like England and France, Germany and Switzerland, restrictive measures against foreign investment are considered necessary and advocated for safeguarding their economic interests, how much more should India, industrially backward and politically non-autonomous as she is, stand in need of protection against unrestricted foreign exploitation? The evidence placed before the Indian Fiscal Commission has shown in an unmistakable manner what the feelings of well-informed Indians are in the matter. England, as is well known, is as keen at the present moment as ever to invest her surplus capital in India, and a considerable amount of British capital actually flows into the country every year. There are already indications that this flow will be further stimulated if the present fiscal system is replaced by protective tariffs. Indians demand a change in the present fiscal policy because they are convinced that under a well-considered system of protection, her industries are bound to expand and flourish in an adequate manner. But they are equally convinced that the use of foreign capital to any considerable extent cannot but



hamper and delay the realisation of this goal, first, by stimulating further imports and discouraging production in the country and, secondly, by exercising a baneful influence in the political sphere.

I have already shown in an article on the subject published in a preceding issue of this journal, how foreign capital is largely attracted to undeveloped countries like India and to others which follow a policy of protection, how there has already sprung into existence a distinct movement in favour of employing foreign capital with the object of setting up extensive plants for manufacturing various commodities for which India affords a suitable field, and how if this process is to go on unchecked, the increased amounts that the consumer will have to pay under a system of protection for the commodities used by him, will mostly go to enrich not the people of the country for whose benefit alone such a policy is advocated and justified but the foreign exploiter whose activities have rendered the people of India so utterly helpless in the sphere of industry and commerce.

Josef Grunzel, who discusses the question of foreign capital at some length in his work already referred to, goes to the root of this matter when he points out that it is only in the earlier stages of capitalistic production in a country that foreign entrepreneurs' capital will be welcome. He says,

"As soon as the spirit of enterprise becomes active in the country itself, attempts will not be wanting to replace such capital by foreign loan capital, which leaves in the possession of the debtor country the excess of its earning above interest, thus operating to enrich the latter more rapidly and at the same time eliminating the unavoidable personal influence of the foreign capitalist on the domestic economic policy. The most insistent opposition to the foreign entrepreneurs will be found in the case of those enterprises to which is entrusted the safeguarding of any special economic interest of the community in the field of national defence, of trade, industry, or commercial policy."

Indeed, India has long outgrown the stage of industrial development when an unlimited and uncontrolled investment of foreign capital might have been advan-

tageous to her. The persistent demand on the part of far-sighted Indians for the adoption of measures restricting the continuous and continued flow of foreign capital does not, therefore, come a day too soon.

I proposed to indicate how the use of foreign capital to a considerable extent in a country like India is likely to prejudice, in other ways besides those mentioned above, the interests of the country and hamper the development of industries, and this specially under a system of protection. Indians demand a change in the present fiscal policy because they feel that under a system of protection alone can she, under the present circumstances, expect her manufactures to develop in such a way as to be able to compete equally with foreign commodities in her own market. If this object is to be attained, the goods required by her but supplied by foreign countries, should more and more be produced in the country itself. Protection to an Indian industry and discouragement of a similar foreign industry are, therefore, parallel expressions. But let us see how the object aimed at by those who advocate protection is sought to be defeated by an unrestricted flow of foreign capital into the country.

As is well-known, a considerable amount of foreign capital continually flows into the country. But, one may here pause and enquire, how is this capital carried to India? There are still many people who seem to believe that this capital is transmitted to India either in specie or in credit paper. The eminent Liberal writer and statesman, the Rt. Hon. J. M. Robertson, mentions the case of a member of Parliament of literary distinction who was once asked in the House of Commons how he supposed was a loan by investors in the United Kingdom to a foreign country effected. The member answered without any hesitation that this would be done by the transmission of credit paper! In his work on Free Trade, Mr. Robertson explains in a clear and lucid manner how capital is actually exported from one country to another. He writes:

"Now, the exact form in which a public loan is made from this country will be determined at the moment by all the special circumstances, financial and commercial. If it will be profitable at the time for the British exporters to send, and for the importers in the borrowing country, the transaction will in part take that form. It might, again, take the form of sending of foreign or colonial produce which was in store here for re-export. If, however, the purpose of the loan, as often happens, is the construction of a new State railway in the borrowing country, the bulk of the loan will be likely to go, so far as we are concerned, in the shape of rails, locomotives and rolling stock. Some might even go in gold, if the borrowing Government is improving its currency: we are latterly great dealers in gold as a commodity, the produce of the South African mines. But a loan of, say, fifty millions will never go wholly in gold. It will go mainly in British produce, mostly manufactures. The making of these goods will not only employ labour here but will secure a profit to the capital employed in making them; and that profit will, in ordinary course, provide for the upkeep and, if necessary, the extension of the plant of that industry.

"Thus, broadly speaking, there cannot be export of capital *without* giving employment and profit to British labour and capital. Beyond the small movements of bullion, which, as we have seen, regularly go in time of peace to balance the money exchange between different States, capital simply *cannot* be exported *save in the form of commodities*. If the borrowing State were simply to receive a British cheque for £50,000,000 from the Bank of England, or Bank notes to that amount (which is *not* the way in which things are done), it would have to proceed to buy with that paper the special goods it required, and also further goods, the sale of which in its own or neighbouring countries would bring in the spare money it needed."

It will thus be seen that while India requires less of foreign goods in order that she may be able to manufacture more goods and thereby satisfy her own requirements, the use of foreign capital discourages such manufacture by compelling her to purchase goods largely from abroad.

A most practical and effective method by which the Government can encourage the development of industries in India is by securing the purchase of supplies required for the railways, the army and the public services so far as possible in this country. It is essential that this should be done if industries are to grow adequately and properly in India. Owing

chiefly, however, to the dominance and intervention of British capitalists, who exercise an amount of influence and control over Indian affairs out of all proportion to the quantity of capital invested by them in this country, the Government of India have not so far been able to accomplish anything substantial in this direction. The enquiries conducted by the Indian Industrial Commission, together with the information placed at their disposal convinced them that the manufacturing capacity of the country had been far from sufficiently utilised by Government departments in the past, and they formulated proposals which might have the effect of stimulating industrial development to a certain extent at least.

"Those of our members," said the report, "who had the opportunity, when working with the Indian, Munitions Board, of sanctioning the indents on the Stores Department of the India Office, found numerous instances in which articles were ordered from England, which could have been supplied by Indian manufacturers equally well both in respect of price and quality, if the latter could have relied on an established Government practice of local purchase." "It appears to us that, in the interests of Indian industries, a radical change should be made in the methods of purchasing in India Government and Railway stores. The existing system has been handed down from a time when India was almost entirely dependent upon Europe for manufactured goods: but it is unsuited to modern conditions and has had a deterrent effect on attempts to develop new industries in India."

The authors of the Report on Indian constitutional reforms were very outspoken in this matter. They, in fact, admitted that "the maintenance of a Stores Department at the India Office is looked on as an encouragement to the Government to patronise British at the expense of local manufactures."

Subsequently in 1919 the Government of India appointed the Stores Purchase Committee to consider and report, in view of the necessity of encouraging Indian industries, while at the same time securing economy and efficiency, what measures are required to enable the Departments of the Government of

India and of Local Governments to obtain their requirements as far as possible in India: . This Committee recommended that in addition to providing for the full utilisation of existing industries in India, the Government must further give them practical encouragement, especially in the initial stages of their enterprise, and must assure them of a reasonable measure of protection against outside competition.

A review of the stores purchase policy of the Government of India from the year 1862 onwards led the Stores Purchase Committee to the conclusion that the Government of India had not generally succeeded in the efforts made by them in respect of the encouragement of local industries and of the local purchase of imported stores and that this failure had been contributed to largely by the influence of the Stores Department of the India Office. This Committee, which had a preponderating element of Europeans and officials on it, did not hesitate to condemn in clear and emphatic terms the attitude of the India Stores Department, whose advice had so far been the dominating factor in the matter. "We cannot but observe," they declared, that the attitude of that department has been, in the main, one of opposition to any measure which would lead to either purchase or manufacture in India and thus result in the gradual transfer of the supply of stores from the British to the Indian field." No condemnation of the policy hitherto pursued by the Government in the matter could be more scathing than this.

We have seen how in spite of all protests against the stores policy of the Government of India and notwithstanding repeated efforts for introducing radical changes in the policy, the Government have failed to fulfil their responsibilities in the matter. This has been so as I have said above, owing to the very powerful, almost irresistible, influence of British capitalists, seconded by the British officials in India. Indeed, the history of the stores purchase policy of the Government of India affords a striking illustration of the effects of an indiscriminate employment

of foreign capital, resulting in exploitation and outside intervention. The question has two aspects, economic as well as political. Both these aspects are so closely inter-related that it is difficult to differentiate one from the other. When, for instance, a loan is floated in England for pushing on, say, development of railways, what invariably happens is that this investment of English capital practically means the import into India of foreign railway materials. This, in other words, means that you substitute foreign goods for Indian goods or discourage the production of Indian goods by encouraging the import of foreign goods. In cases in which no loan is raised but still foreign goods are imported in spite of the fact that indigenous goods are either available or can be manufactured at less or equal cost in India, it is the political factor of the question that finds play, though underneath the surface is discernible the desire of financiers or capitalists to push their private profitable interests.

An unrestricted and uncontrolled flow of foreign capital prejudices the development of industry in India in another way. Competition, in the sense of an efficient rivalry between individuals or nations, is a condition of progress in almost every sphere of life. But this competition, if it is to be of the right sort, should, above everything else, avoid all attempts to restrict it in the interests of any particular classes or communities. It is of no less importance that competition should, besides, be both fair and equal. This is finely illustrated from the world of sport by W. Jethro Brown in his work, *The Underlying Principles of Modern Legislation*. Mr. Brown writes :

"The rules of football prohibit punching: the Marquis of Queensberry rules forbid kicking: and, according to the orthodox conception of the game of lacrosse, the lacrosse stick is not to be directed against the skull of the adversary. In all sports there are rules of the game, which define the forms in which rivalry between opponents may find expression. Such rules, in so far as they are good rules, do not enfeeble rivalry; they only regulate its

character in accordance with a particular conception of the game. Certain muscular activities, proper in the sphere, may be brutal in another. Football is not a prize-fight: high kicking, however creditable on the music-hall stage, is out of place in the prize-ring; and cutting off the adversary's ear or splitting his cranium, admirable as it may be in swordsmanship, is no part of the game of lacrosse. The application of all this to political society is obvious. The true function of social regulation is not to eliminate competition, but to direct it along certain lines with the object of retaining its power as a stimulus to effort while removing or diminishing its undesirable consequences."

One of the reasons why an unrestricted flow of foreign capital is opposed by Indians is that it has introduced unequal and unfair competition. This has placed Indians in the matter of their industries in an utterly helpless and unfavourable position, as compared to Britishers. A competition between an industrially advanced country like England and a weak and undeveloped country like India can never be a competition between equals. As Professor Alfred Marshall says, in a truly open market competition is often constructive and not ungenerous. "But," he adds, "when a giant business is striving to attain a monopoly, or to repel rivals from ground which it wishes to make its own, it is under strong temptation to use ferocious and unscrupulous methods to compass their undoing." Something like this is happening in India at the present moment. If there is a change in the present tariff policy and as a result of this the flow of foreign capital is further stimulated, the present conditions will be further aggravated. In view of the particular relation in which England stands to India, it is certainly the duty of the former to safeguard the interests of the latter. In all international trade policies the British Dominions are able to take full care of their own interests; but India is not in an equally strong position; and rightly, therefore, Professor Marshall thinks that Britain is morally bound to attach to each of her interests at least as great weight as if it were her own.

The pace of industrial advance of a country depends to a considerable extent on the organising ability, technical and scientific knowledge, and practical skill possessed by the people engaged in trade and commerce. When capital is poured by a progressive people into a backward country, to be devoted to industrial and commercial enterprises, it generally happens that the experts and organisers are supplied by the former. This places the country that uses foreign capital at a very serious disadvantage, because in the matter of organising and technical experts it finds itself at the mercy of the country supplying capital. Take for instance the railways, the jute industry and the banking industry in India. These are all dominated by British capitalists. They afford a striking illustration of the effects of foreign capital, demonstrating how unfairly Indians have so far been treated in the matter of the training and appointment of technical experts. This is so because of the very close jealousy displayed by British capitalists and their agents in regard to Indians. In one of his recent works, in which he discusses the chief problems which arise from the contact between different governments and peoples, C. Delisle Burns casually refers to this matter. He acknowledges that when capital is exported, the importing country becomes dependent on the citizens of the lending nation not only for cash and commodities, but also for the intellectual and imaginative ability necessary for organisation. In support of this thesis he mentions the case of Italy which at the beginning of the recent war found herself in a difficult financial position, not only because some great banks there had been formed with German capital, but also because the banking and some of the trade organisations were largely dependent upon the ability and experience of German residents in Italy. (*International Politics* by C. Delisle Burns.)

The most outstanding argument against the unrestricted flow of foreign capital into India, however, is the attitude of rude and aggressive domination that the resident British mercantile community

in India have so far been found to assume in respect of the people of the country and the opposition that they have generally offered to the introduction of progressive measures having for their object the good of the country. It is imperative that the ascendancy of this powerful class should be set down to its proper limits. That the political influence of foreign capital on a backward or weak country has often been detrimental to its interests is a proposition that requires no elaborate demonstration at this time of day, at least in India. Mr. C. K. Hobson discusses this aspect of the question with some amount of thoroughness in his work, the *Export of Capital*. I make no apology to quote at length some of his observations. He says :

"Capital has been employed in numerous instances to drain countries of their resources, to weaken them economically, and to degrade them morally. The danger is specially great when highly organised communities are brought into contact with primitive peoples of lower education and intelligence. Uncivilised and half-civilised peoples have been ruined for the temporary benefit of countries with a more perfect material development."

"Cases of misapplication of capital have been excessively common. They are not confined to commercial ventures....., which actively oppress helpless nations in the territories where they operate. The desirability of particular investments cannot be proved by the fact that the investors found their outlay financially remunerative to themselves nor does it necessarily follow that a financially unsuccessful investment is unproductive of good to the world at large. The self-interest of individual investors is but an unreliable guide to the interests of nations and of the human race. Were the two interests identical, history would have been dif-

ferent from what it has been. San Thome, the Congo, and Putumayo would not have been a blot upon European civilisation, while many a war might have been checked at its inception."

Mr. Hobson points out how the Governments of weak and backward countries often fall an easy prey to the wills of financiers when they are faced with difficulties, internal or external, and refers to examples, showing how foreign capital has been used for purposes of exploitation in the worst sense of the word. As he says, when the borrowing country is weak, lenders consider that their interests are best served by encroaching upon the political independence of the borrowing country.

I have attempted to show that economically as also politically an unrestricted flow of foreign capital cannot be conducive to the good of a country situated as India is. I have drawn only the dark side of the picture. But, I do not forget that foreign capital has in many cases conferred great benefits on countries using it. It is because under certain circumstances such capital is a beneficial commodity that some of the Indians who have given their thoughts to the question have, rather than demanding total prohibition, urged that steps be taken on the one hand to check the unrestricted flow of foreign capital and on the other to ensure that Indians should enjoy adequate powers of control. It is for the legislature to decide in what way these objects are to be achieved.

SUDHIR KUMAR LAHIRI.

## PICTURE

[*Translated from Rabindranath Tagore's "Balākā"*]

BY K. C. SEN, I. C. S.

Art thou a picture mere, on canvas limn'd ?  
 —That starry cluster, distance-dimm'd  
     That throngs its nest  
       Of heaven's breast ;  
     That tireless travellers' band  
 A-journeying through the darkness, lamps in hand,—  
     The sun and moon and stars that speed  
       Through wheeling year by year :  
 Art thou not real like those, indeed ?  
     Art thou, alas, a picture mere ?

'Mid restless change why art thou fix'd in rest ?  
     Be thou the traveller's comrade blest,  
     O thou who hast lost thy way !  
       Why night and day  
 Dost thou, in midst of all, remain so far from all,  
     Immured in quietude's inmost hall ?  
       This dust doth raise  
     Its grey-hued skirt, and plays  
       With winds in wanton mirth.  
     In summer months it drapes the Earth,  
 Of splendour shorn in widow's weeds austere.  
     In spring-time of the year  
     It paints and decks her youth :  
       Thus dust, too, lives in truth.  
       These leaves of grass  
 That lie at the Universe's feet, alas,  
 Are real, too,—they change from green to sere.  
     Thou changest not,—thou art a picture mere,  
     A picture mere !

Once didst thou walk beside us on our way.  
     Thy breast did heave and sway,  
     Thy life in every limb of thine  
       In melody and grace  
       Did trace  
     Its own new rhythm and rhyméd line,  
     Attuned to the music of the spheres.  
 Since then have passed by many months and years.  
     And in my life, my world,  
     That round about thee whirled,

How real wert thou, in sooth,  
 O goddess of my youth !  
 For thou didst paint, with beauty's brush,  
 All earth and sky, in joy's deep flush.  
 Yea, in that dawn on Earth,  
 In thee all Nature's voice had birth.

We walked together hand in hand ;  
 But thou didst step aside, and stand  
 Behind the shadow of the night.  
 Since then, with all my might,  
 Onward I've walked, and on,  
 Through grief and joy, alone.  
 Daylight and night, the heaven's ebb and flow,  
 Pass on and go ;  
 The flowers I greet  
 Beside the road, move on with silent feet,  
 In splendour's hues array'd.  
 In a thousand streams Life's river sweeps unstay'd  
 With Death as anklets sweet  
 On its dancing feet.  
 Afar and farther still

I rove  
 Stirred by a nameless thrill :  
 For I have given the roadside all my love.  
 Where thou didst step aside,  
 Thou standest still.  
 And thou dost hide  
 Behind the dust, behind the leaves of grass,  
 Behind the sun and moon and stars, alas,  
 Thou, who wert so dear,  
 To-day a picture mere !

What senseless fancies cloud the poet's brow ?  
 A picture thou ?  
 Ah no, thou art no picture mere.  
 The painter's lines have not confined thee, dear,  
 Nor silence stopt thy breath.  
 Ah no, for if the joy that's thou had met its death,  
 This river  
 Would lose its liquid quiver,  
 This cloud that gleams  
 Would fold for e'er its golden beams.  
 If from this world the dark enchantment of thy hair  
 Did pass and fade,  
 The wind-fann'd murmurous shade  
 Of the blossom'd woodlands there  
 Would dreamlands' be.  
 Have I, indeed, forgotten thee ?  
 Ah, no, thou hast thy seat  
 In Life's own source, and heart's red beat ;  
 So art remember'd not.

So we remember not the flowers that dot  
 The paths we walk with listless hearts distraught.  
 So we remember not the stars.  
     Yet they,  
     Across the viewless bars,  
 Add fragrance to the breath of night and day,—  
     Unseen, unsought,  
 They fill oblivion's void with tunes unheard.  
 Forgetting's not the same as remembering not ;  
     So thou hast stirr'd  
 And sway'd my blood, unknown,  
     From oblivion's throne.  
 Thou livest not before mine eye,  
     For in its pupil dost thou lie.

And that is why  
 Thou livest in the woodlands green, and in the azure sky.  
     In thee  
     My world hath found its inmost melody.  
     None know they hear thy accents ring  
     In all the songs I sing.  
 Thou art the poet that sits within the poet's heart ;  
     No picture, no, no picture mere thou art !  
 Thou camest, long ago, array'd in morning's light,  
     And I have lost thee in the night.  
     Since then,  
 In midnight gloom, unknown of men,  
     Thou hast been coming back to me, my dear :  
     No picture thou, thou art no picture mere.

## BHARATAVARSHA

A PLAY IN ONE ACT.

BY MRS. NORAH RICHARDS.

*Persons of the Play*

DR. PURANA  
 DR. STEAM  
 DR. WHISTLE  
 DR. WHITEHALL  
 DR. DELHI  
 DR. SHORTIS  
 DR. MONTAGU FORD  
 A SICK MAN  
 His WIFE  
 BHARATA, *their son*.  
 A BOY.  
 A SERVANT.

} *Physicians.*SCENE—*The courtyard of any house in India.*

*The SICK MAN, his WIFE, BHARATA and Dr. PURANA are discovered, Dr. PURANA is seated in the centre facing the SICK MAN who is lying on a charpai to the right,\* reclining against a big pillow. The WIFE of the SICK MAN is seated on a pirhi below the charpai, she occasionally fans the patient. BHARATA is sitting below and a little to the left of PURANA.*

\* Right and left are to be understood as from the point of view of the audience.



PURANA. Thy sickness is non-existent, for thy body is unreal. Let thy mind dwell only on thoughts of the soul. Lend not thine ear to those whose delight is in material things, for verily objects perceived of the senses are a delusion; they are of no more substance than the gleam of a polished shell. Material manifestation is as the reflection in a mirror, unreal as the alluring vision of fertile land in a desert, the despair of thirsting travellers who wearily march towards it.

SICK MAN. But O Wise One, the pains of my body are a drag upon my spirit. Daily I grow more weak, more helpless. Soon shall I be unable to rise from my couch. Thus wearily pass my days.

PURANA. It is well. Such weariness gives strength to the soul. The harmless uneventful existence that is thine, frees the mind for contemplation. Remember the earth is a place of suffering, and the extent of thine own suffering is but the result of thine own past. There is no escaping from the harvest of the seed sown in previous lives. The only freedom from pain is freedom from the wheel of birth and death; to be attained by renunciation of the lower self, the renunciation of the joys of life—of the great illusion, *māyā*.

BHARATA. O Wise One, in all humility I ask: is it possible to separate the creator from his creation? Is not the child imbued with the life of its parent? And does not the beauty and well-being of the child greatly please its progenitor?

PURANA. My son, thy question betrays ignorance—the ignorance of a youthful mind, untrained. Know thou, the Creator first created the soul: the inextinguishable life-force which endures through limitless ages. Then for the soul's evolution He created *māyā*—that which does not endure, yet though unreal as the image in the mirror, deludes the sojourners of the earth. Knowest thou not that *Māyā-vati* of celestial origin, was created for the sole purpose of beguiling men: that she was the embodiment of the goddess of love and desire, than which no delusion is greater?

BHARATA. Yes, *Māyā-vati* shall be our symbol. But she is real; since it is by contact with her that we men may realize ourselves. Her destiny is to distract us, yet is she to be pitied not scorned, for that which is her fault is also her virtue:

and shall not we who have grown strong by resisting her power, care for her and make her sojourn upon earth pleasant and good? What hope for mortals if *māyā* is *māyā*? A poor man is starving by the road side. Shall I say he is *māyā*, and passing on rob him of comfort and myself of a generous deed? My father is sick. Shall we not endeavour to cure him of his sickness, and give him the vital energy to resist the alluring powers of *Māyā-vati* and thus become valiant and noble?

PURANA. My son, thou speakest without understanding. Knowest thou not that in still waters only, is reflected the light of the heavens? The man who tosses upon the surface of the waters of life knows naught of its depths. In him can be no reflection of the sun by day, nor of the moon and stars by night. Better a sick body and contemplative mind, than a strong body and a mind given over to preoccupation with the affairs of this delusive life. Listen, my son, to the written word which to gods is a delight, but to demons, and to men given over to the enjoyments of *māyā*—a misery.

"If thy soul smiles while bathing in the sunlight of thy life,

If thy soul sings within her chrysalis of flesh and matter,

If thy soul weeps within her castle of delusion,

If thy soul struggles to break the silver thread that binds her to the Master: know, O disciple, thy soul is of the earth."

SICK MAN. "If thy soul weeps—thy soul is of the earth!"

WIFE. Hari-Rama! Hari-Rama!

PURANA. "Give up thy life if thou wouldst live—The Wise Ones tarry not in the pleasure-grounds of the senses—The Wise Ones heed not the sweet-tongued voices of illusion."

WIFE. Hari-Rāma! Hari-Rāma!

SICK MAN (*moving uneasily*). I would sleep. Pray you remove the pillow.

WIFE (*rises*). Hari-Rāma! Hari-Rāma!

PURANA (*rises and goes to the patient, standing by his bedside*). What is thy pain?

SICK MAN. The result of my past misdeeds.

PURANA. What is the earth?

SICK MAN. A place of suffering.

PURANA. What is physical life?

SICK MAN. *Mayā*.

PURANA. Is it to be desired or clung to?

SICK MAN. It is of no account.

PURANA. It is well with him. Remove the pillow and let him sleep. (*WIFE removes the Pillow.*) I will retire and meditate. Do not rouse him. May peace and calm flood his being and may he no more cling to unrealities. (*Retires to righthand upper corner of courtyard where he remains absorbed in contemplation.*)

BHARATA (*rises and goes to bedside*). My father grows weaker day by day.

WIFE (*who is seated on the pirhi*). It is well with him. Did you not hear the physician say it was well with him? We are ignorant and must put our trust in those who are wise. Hari-Rama! This life is *maya*! (*Sounds without*)

BHARATA. Hark! (*Goes to entrance of courtyard and looks out*) Mother, strangers approach.

*Enter a BOY.*

BOY. Brother, two foreigners have arrived. They send greetings. Their ox-chariot has broken down and while it is being put right, they graciously ask if they may seek shelter and rest in your dwelling.

WIFE (*rising*). Our greetings. This house is theirs. Bid them enter.

*Exit BOY.*

BHARATA. Mother, come and receive them.

WIFE. I come, my son. (*Goes towards entrance.*)

*Enter Dr. WHISTLE and Dr. STEAM.*

STEAM. How do you do? (*Puts out his hand to shake.*) It is very kind of you to allow us to come in.

BHARATA (*confused, places his hands palm to palm and bows in greeting*). You are very welcome.

WHISTLE (*who is carrying a black bag, does not attempt to put out his hand, but bows profoundly*). How do you do?

STEAM (*bowing to WIFE*). Madam, I greet you.

WIFE (*folds her hands in greeting and pulls her drapery forward over her face*). This house is yours. Be pleased to sit (*indicating carpet on the floor*). My son, have pillows brought.

WHISTLE (*bowing profoundly*). Madam. (*WIFE goes towards pirhi*). Steam, where are we to sit? I see no chairs.

STEAM. Very awkward, very awkward. We had better ask.

WHISTLE. And I say, Steam. What about our *sola* topics? (*Their topics are rather oldfashioned with flowing muslin pugaries*). Are we indoors or out of doors?

STEAM. Really, Whistle, I do not know. It seems that we have entered the house and yet the sky is overhead. Fortunately the evening sun is weak. We will consider that we are indoors.

WHISTLE. But I say, Steam. I do not see a hat rack.

STEAM (*looking around*). Very awkward, very awkward.

*Re-enter BHARATA, followed by a SERVANT.*

BHARATA (*to SERVANT, who is carrying pillows*). Place them there. (*Crossing to WIFE*) Mother, have fruit brought.

*Exit WIFE, followed by SERVANT.*

STEAM (*hesitating*). Sir, on which chair shall we sit?

BHARATA. Chair? Forgive me, I do not understand.

WHISTLE. Er,—er—when you sit in India,—er—on what do you sit?

BHARATA (*smiling*). Ah yes, I understand. In your country it is different. We sit on the floor.

WHISTLE. On the floor! Dear me, how interesting! Come along Steam. Come and sit on the floor.

BHARATA. Be pleased to sit on the carpet.

Whistle. But, but—I think it will be necessary for us to take off our shoes? That is your custom I believe?

BHARATA. Yes, that is our custom; but do not think of it. I pray you be seated.

(*STEAM and WHISTLE sit on the carpet.*)

*Enter SERVANT with fruit.*

STEAM. Oh, but really this is very kind of you. I am afraid you are putting yourselves to a lot of trouble for us. (*Helping themselves to fruit. The SERVANT places the pillows close to them.*) \*

BHARATA. Have your excellencies been long in our country?

WHISTLE. We have just arrived. Three days ago we landed, and ever since then we have been travelling in an ox-chariot. A very different method of travelling to that which prevails in our country.

BHARATA. You do not travel in ox-chariots? Then perhaps you ride from city to city on camels?

STEAM. Well, no—not exactly. We travel in trains—trains, you know, pulled by a steam engine.

BHARATA. What sort of an animal is a steam engine? Is it a kind of elephant?

STEAM. My young friend, I will explain. A steam engine is not a living animal of flesh and blood that goes quite by itself. Oh no, it's an animal of iron, made by men's hands. It has no legs, but it has wheels. It is fed with coal and with water. The coal is tossed into a furnace, the furnace boils the water, the water makes steam, and the force of the steam drives the wheels round, and it pulls ever so many carriages full of people, and goes so fast that there is not a single animal in India that could possibly keep up with it!

BHARATA. It must be a devil!

STEAM. No, my young friend. It is an invention of the gods!

BHARATA. What other wonders are in your country?

STEAM. Go on Whistle. Your turn.

WHISTLE. Oh—telegraphs, post-offices, manufacturies, electricity—

BHARATA. But I do not understand. What are these? Are they all fire-eating animals made of iron?

WHISTLE. My dear young man, these are all blessings to mankind and the signs of progress. Now if you wanted to send a message, an urgent one, to somebody in a distant city, I dare say you would put a man on the fleetest animal you possessed and wait perhaps a month for the reply. If you were in England and wanted to send a message to a very distant city, you would just stroll into a post-office, write the message on a piece of paper, hand it in to the clerk, pay a few pence, and within two hours you receive the reply: Progress my friend, progress!

BHARATA. What is progress?

WHISTLE. Oh—er—er—getting along fast. Why, bless my soul, what a long time it would take to travel from one end of India to the other in an ox-chariot! If you had trains now!

STEAM. And post offices.

WHISTLE. And electricity.

BHARATA. It would be a fine *tāmās*!

STEAM. Now, tell us something about your country.

BHARATA. There is nothing to tell. One day is just like the next, except when it is a festival day and we put on our richest clothes and go in thousands to rejoice at the *mela*; or when there is a marriage. It must

seem to you that we are very quiet and dull after your wonders. We have no progress animals.

SICK MAN (*moving uneasily*). Bharata, my son.

BHARATA (*rising*). Yes, father.

SICK MAN. Give me the pillow. (*Sitting up*) Who are these strangers?

BHARATA. Father, I do not know their names.

STEAM (*rising and bowing*). Sir, Steam is my name.

WHISTLE. And mine is Whistle—at your service.

SICK MAN. There is little you can do for me.

BHARATA. My father, as you see, is sick.

STEAM. Sick? Dear me, how very interesting! We are physicians, you know. May we try and cure him?

BHARATA. Could you?

STEAM. Most probably.

SICK MAN. I do not want to be cured. Life is *maya*, and of no account. I have killed the desire of life. I look alike on pleasure and pain, on gain and loss, on victory and defeat.

STEAM. Is any physician attending him?

BHARATA. Yes, Dr. Purāna. He is there meditating.

STEAM. But would he mind our taking up the case?

BHARATA. The truth is, he is not trying to cure my father's sickness, and it grieves me to see him grow weaker day by day.

STEAM. Well, since he is sick and evidently in need of attendance, may we take up the case?

BHARATA. I should be very glad.

WHISTLE. But Steam, I think it would be only right to hear what Dr. Purāna has to say. Let us speak to him.

BHARATA. No no, he is meditating, he must not be disturbed. Even before you came I felt dissatisfied with my father's condition, and now I am more than ever certain that all is not well with him, though Dr. Purāna and my mother are quite content.

STEAM. Have we your permission to take the case in hand? Are you the eldest son?

BHARATA. I am the only son. Yes, Sir, you have my permission.

STEAM. Very good, then I will question him. Whistle, stand by. (*To SICK MAN*) Well, my dear sir, and how long has this sickness troubled you?

SICK MAN. For many years, but now it troubles me no more. I am content, and have but one wish—to be left in peace. I have killed the desire of life. Life is *maya* and of no account.

STEAM. Yes, yes, I understand. But tell me now, was there not a time when you longed to be well? To be strong to rise from your bed, and to go about among your own people and see that all was prospering? To administer justice and to maintain order? Tell me now, in those days did you not feel that this life you call *maya* was justified of its existence?—When you yourself justified your own existence by living the full life of a man?

SICK MAN. But that was so long ago. I have forgotten what I felt in those days, and now I have grown powerless to be of use to any living man. "Sages do not grieve for the living nor the dead. Never did I not exist, nor you, nor these rulers of men, nor will any of us hereafter cease to be."

STEAM. Quite so, quite so. (*Holding the SICK MAN'S wrist for a while and looking intently at him. He turns to WHISTLE and leads him away from the couch. BHARATA follows.*) A most interesting case, most interesting. Sir, I have come to the conclusion that your father is by no means sick in the ordinary sense of the word. He is merely suffering from the after effects of *Disintegratis Politico*, a sort of *Inertia Politico*, which has destroyed any incentive towards material improvement and progress. In this case, Sir, we as physicians, must assume greater responsibilities than if your father were of our country and lay sick in our land. Here he has more to contend against. The blazing sun, drought, deluge, plague, famine. The Caste system, too, affects him, for though in many ways it has undoubtedly worked for the good of his race, still it tends to perpetual lines of demarcation perpetuating customs and usages opposed to progress. Whistle, my bag. (*WHISTLE fetches bag.*) I have here a physic that will put new and vigorous life into him. It is *Liquid Extract of Coal*. I had a theory that I should come across this sickness, and I prepared myself. (*Taking from bag a bottle of physic and a glass phial.*) Whistle, hold this. (*Pours out a dose.*) Follow me. (*Goes to bedside.*)

BHARATA. Father, the new physician has brought you some physic.

SICK MAN. I do not need it. Take it away.

STEAM. Come, come, Sir. Just one draught, and I promise that if you do not like it I shall not ask you to take a second.

SICK MAN. Take it away, and leave me in peace.

BHARATA. But father, the physician is reasonable. If you do not like the first draught, you shall not have a second.

STEAM. Come, Sir, if you want to be left in peace, drink this and we will leave you.

SICK MAN. Very well; if you will then leave me, I will drink it.

STEAM. Splendid! (*Administers the dose.*) Now I'll be off.

SICK MAN (*moving his head briskly and looking intently at the physicians*). Who are you? Where do you come from?

STEAM. We are Steam and Whistle, and we come from England in the West.

BHARATA. And, Oh father, they have iron animals in their country, that eat fire and do the work of camels and elephants; and a letter that takes a month to deliver here, is delivered and answered in two hours there!

SICK MAN. Not possible, my son; unless it's devil's work.

STEAM. Your son is about right, Sir, and it's not devil's work either.

SICK MAN. Then stay and tell me about it.

STEAM. But I think you forget. The condition of your drinking the dose was that we left you in peace. Now let me see—yes—at least two doses of physic daily. That will do for the present.

SICK MAN (*eagerly*). When am I to have the second dose?

STEAM. There must be not less than an interval of five hours.

SICK MAN. Pour out the second dose and leave it by my side.

STEAM. I will pour out the second dose gladly, but your son must administer it to you at the proper time, not before. (*Takes WHISTLE and BHARATA aside.*) You see? The physic is having a salutary effect. It is very gratifying. Have no anxiety, we will see the case through, and I think I can safely say that we will get him on his legs again.

WHISTLE. And I say, Steam; let's call in Whitehall and Delhi for consultation. They ought to be passing soon.

STEAM. Why, yes, capital idea ! Sir, two very eminent physicians are on the road with us. They should be passing soon. With your permission, we will go out, intercept them and bring them in for consultation. Is it your wish ?

BHARATA. By all means. (*The Physicians move off.*)

SICK MAN. The dose ! Do not forget the second dose !

STEAM. Dear, dear ; of course not. Whistle, my bag. (*Pours out a dose and gives it to BHARATA.*) Remember, it must not be given for five hours.

BHARATA (*taking Phial*). I will remember.

*Exit STEAM and WHISTLE.*

SICK MAN. Come here, my son. What did you say about those fire-eating animals ? Tell me more of their wonders.

BHARATA. Every one there rides a progress animal : that means an animal that goes very fast. They spoke of other things, but I have forgotten their names.

SICK MAN. My son, give me the other dose of physic.

BHARATA. But father, it is not yet time.

SICK MAN. Never mind, give it I say !

BHARATA. No father, I cannot—

SICK MAN (*attempting to rise and raising his voice in anger*). Give me the physic, I say !

*Enter WIFE.*

WIFE. Why, what is happening ?

BHARATA (*struggling with SICK MAN*). Quiet father, quiet ! The time is not yet ! (*SICK MAN struggles to get up.*) Quiet father, quiet !

WIFE. Haie haie ! What has happened ? He was not to be roused ! He will die ! He will die !

BHARATA. Quiet mother, quiet ! He is going to be cured.

SICK MAN (*struggling*). The dose ! The dose ! I say !

*Re-enter STEAM and WHISTLE, followed by Dr. WHITEHALL, and Dr. DELHI, the latter carries a black bag.*

STEAM. Bless my soul ! Bless my soul ! What's all this ?

WHISTLE. Your physic seems to have been a bit too effective, Steam.

STEAM. H'm so it appears. (*Going to beside.*) Now, my good sir, what is the matter ?

SICK MAN. I want to get up.

STEAM. Not so fast, not so fast. Remember you are a sick man.

SICK MAN. But I am cured ! Your medicine was like wine ! I want to get up !

STEAM. Come, come, Sir. That is not possible—not yet. I tell you cannot be cured so soon.

SICK MAN. And I tell you that I will not stay on my bed any longer (*struggling to get up*).

STEAM. Here Whistle,—give me a hand.

WHISTLE (*lays his hand on the SICK MAN'S shoulder to keep him down*). Come, come, lie quiet.

STEAM (*to WHITEHALL and DELHI*). This is the patient. He is becoming troublesome. A very rapid change. What do you think of him ?

DELHI. H'm—I should change the treatment. He needs exercise, a little Constitutional Exercise. Just a little at first.

STEAM. What do you think, Whistle ?

WHISTLE. I fear that a change of treatment just now would complicate the case.

STEAM. It might even endanger the patient's life.

WHITEHALL. You have asked me, and I am firmly of opinion that the patient should have exercise. Otherwise he cannot become healthy and strong. Just a little at first.

STEAM. But he will be very difficult to manage. Do you not think it would be advisable to administer a little morphia, while we re-consider the treatment ?

WHITEHALL. No, certainly not. No sedatives or narcotics. He must be kept awake and fully conscious at this stage. But I will compromise. Allow me. (*Crosses to patient.*) My dear Sir, I fully appreciate your desire for action, but believe me, at this stage of your malady it would be inadvisable. So for the present I will merely give you a concoction of Hope and a pill of Promise. You must go slowly, you know. Slowly but surely. Delhi, my bag if you please. (*Takes from it a bottle and a phial, pours out a dose.*) This Sir, is a Concoction of Hope. Drink it up. (*The patient struggles but eventually drinks.*) Now—open your mouth. Here is a Pill of Promise.

SICK MAN. No, no, I mean to get up. I am well, I say, I can no longer stay here. I want exercise ! Constitutional Exercise !

STEAM. Come, come, sir. What is the good of Hope without promises ! Swallow

this pill and the Constitutional Exercises are bound to follow.

SICK MAN. You promise?

STEAM. Why, yes. That is what the pill means. It is a Pill of Promise. Now—swallow.

SICK MAN (*opens his mouth and swallows*). But when may I begin? I am ready now. I have taken the pill and I will begin the exercises now. (*With a vigorous effort he gets off his couch and standing, totters forward.*)

STEAM. Come sir, this will never do. It will take long to cure you at this rate. Slow but sure. (*SICK MAN allows himself to be raised and led back to his couch. STEAM crosses to WHITEHALL.*) Do you not think that perhaps after all a little morphia—

WHITEHALL. No, decidedly not—no morphia. I am of opinion, however, that the moment has not yet come for the most advanced treatment, the symptoms not having fully shown themselves. Time must be gained for a little further consultation, that we may avoid making any possible mistake. I think therefore, that as a temporary measure—merely a temporary measure—a Morley sedative\* might meet the requirements of the case. What do you say, Delhi?

DELHI. I am of your opinion, Sir.

WHITEHALL. Good. Just hand me the bag. Here Steam: you administer it. One powder will be sufficient. (*Hands it to STEAM.*) To be dissolved in a little tepid water.

STEAM (*taking powder*). Very good. (*Crosses to patient.*) Now my friend, here's another dose.

SICK MAN (*inspects it*). No, it is not what I want. Give me the one that made me feel so strong.

STEAM. But this is twenty times better.

SICK MAN. What is it called?

STEAM. Morley Sedative: but some call it "mere moonshine". So it can't possibly do you any harm even if it doesn't do you much good. Come now, drink it up. (*SICK MAN drinks.*) Sir, your father will probably rest for awhile. Stay by him while we consult, and inform us when any change occurs. (*Joins WHITEHALL and DELHI, who are conversing down the courtyard to the left, followed by WHISTLE.*)

WHITEHALL. Delhi and I are of opinion

that the new treatment has complicated the case, and that the patient has now developed *Constitutionalitis*. The case is becoming serious and will need the utmost care, patience and sympathy. Dear, dear, if only Shortis would turn up; the case is ripe for him now. Steam, my dear fellow, just look out and see if he is in sight. Their chariot was not so far behind ours. (*STEAM goes towards courtyard entrance.*)

*Enter Dr. SHORTIS.*

SHORTIS. So, here you are, you fellows! Am I allowed to enter?

STEAM (*to BHARATA*). Sir, this is Dr. Shortis, specialist on *Constitutionalitis*.

BHARATA. You are very welcome.

(*The WIFE all this time is seated impassive on the pirhi, with her veil drawn forward.*)

DELHI. But where is Monty?

SHORTIS. Not far behind. He is interviewing the village *panchayat*.

WHITEHALL. You come in the very nick of time. Our friend here has developed *Constitutionalitis*.

SHORTIS. Splendid!

WHITEHALL. And we want your opinion. Kindly examine the patient.

SHORTIS. With pleasure. (*Crosses to the bedside and converses with BHARATA.*)

DELHI. Very fortunate, Shortis turning up at this moment.

WHITEHALL. Most fortunate. He is the very man. We must be cautious, however, and not be too easily swayed by his opinion. We must minutely weigh his words, for this is a very critical stage; in fact one might almost call it a crisis. Many a patient's life, and, indeed, many a country's future has been ruined by precipitate action. Delay and deliberation are of the essence of good gov—er—of—er—steady progress. Slow but sure. Slow but sure.

DELHI (*to WHITEHALL*). It is said that Rome, by centuries of experience reduced delay to a science: but you, Sir, if I may say so, beat Rome every time.

SHORTIS (*crossing to physicians and rubbing his hands cheerfully*). Quite right, quite right. He's got it rather badly. Treatment perfectly clear. Constitutional Exercise absolutely essential. No more sedatives or narcotics. No more rules and regulations for keeping him inactive and quiet. Force and repression at this stage would merely make him violent and dangerous. For his own well-being and for general safety he

\* Dramatic requirements have necessitated here a slight chronological inexactitude.

must be guided along the line of least resistance.

But my dear sir! Caution, caution! Exercise caution! In time, in time my good sir! Not yet, Oh, but I say! This is a bit too drastic! I don't believe in letting off steam just yet!

SHORTIS. My dear friends! One at a time!

WHITEHALL. We must exercise caution!

DELHI. Hear, hear!

WHISTLE. A bit too sudden!

STEAM. I think in the interests of general safety and peace, a little er—coercion might be useful.

WHITEHALL. I beg to differ from you, Steam. Let us not forget that after all, our ultimate goal is not peace nor even safety, as such, but—the health of the patient.

SHORTIS. Precisely. Gentlemen, the case is most complicated and difficult. You will require much patience. General convenience must be sacrificed for the patient's welfare. Weigh well the evidence of his own actual pain and sufferings, and act swiftly upon them for his speedy relief. Yes—where was I? H'm—no repression—line of least resistance—yes, and finally—daily injections of electorates.

ALL. Electorates! But this is preposterous! Midsummer madness! Rank folly! Holy Moses!

Enter Dr. MONTAGU FORD.

(ALL appealing to FORD.)

WHITEHALL. Come and give us your opinion, Ford!

DELHI. I say, Monty, what d'you think of this?

STEAM. Dr. Ford, listen to this! Electorates!

WHISTLE. Why, he's doing his best to paralyse the patient!

MONTAGU FORD. Gentlemen, gentlemen! A calm atmosphere, if you please! A calm atmosphere! Be seated, and we have a free and informal exchange of opinion.

STEAM. But there are no chairs.

MONTAGU FORD (looking around). Dear me, no. Never mind, we will stand. It will be necessary for me to question each of you separately to arrive at the true state of affairs. Whitehall, what is it all about?

WHITEHALL. Steam and Whistle called us in, Delhi and myself, to consult about

a case. The patient yonder is under the effects of a Morley Sedative. After much deliberation we prescribed for him, but the case is complicated. He has developed acute *constitutionalitis*, and Shortis, here, prescribes drastic remedies and daily injections of electorates. We are doubtful of the wisdom of such a course.

MONTAGU FORD. Thank you, Delhi, what has been your experience in the matter?

DELHI. I agreed with Whitehall that we should give the patient a Concoction of Hope and a Pill of Promise. This unduly excited him and so according to Whitehall's suggestion we agreed to give him the Morley Sedative. Since when we have had quiet for deliberation.

MONTAGU FORD. Yes. And you, Steam? How did you get mixed up in this affair? Tell me what you know of the patient.

STEAM. We sought shelter here, and were most courteously received by this young man and his gracious mother. In course of conversation we discovered that his father was ill. We undertook the case, and found him to be suffering from *Inertia Politico*. I gave him some of my new mixture, Liquid Coal you know, and it worked wonders. In fact it made him a bit too lively. We called in Whitehall and Delhi for consultation.

MONTAGU FORD. Thanks. And you, Whistle?

WHISTLE. Oh, I am always an echo of Steam. I did whatever he asked me: fetched his bag, held the glass and the patient; in fact made myself generally useful.

MONTAGU FORD. Excellent. And now Shortis. What was the cause of the commotion that I unwittingly interrupted?

SHORTIS. The patient having developed *Constitutionalitis*, these gentlemen asked me to prescribe. The case is clear and so is the remedy. I prescribed, but the proposed injections of electorates seem to cause some diversity of opinion. Yet it is the key to the problem before us.

MONTAGU FORD. H'm—I see. I would like to speak with the son of the patient. What is his name?

STEAM. Well really, I am sorry, but I do not know his name. Very awkward, I must ask. (Going to BHARATA) Sir, forgive me, but what is your name?

BHARATA. My name is Bharata, son of Bharatavarsha.

STEAM. Thank you. Would you kindly

come and answer any question that is put to you by Dr. Ford ?

BHARATA. Certainly, I shall be pleased.

STEAM. Dr. Ford, this young man is Bharata, son of Bharatavarsha. (*Goes to WHISTLE and gives him instructions to attend to the patient.*)

MONTAGU FORD. Bharata, son of Bharatavarsha : I shall be glad to know your opinion and aspirations in the matter.

BHARATA. O Mighty One, son of the Western Land of Wonders, where one iron-bodied fire-eating progress animal can do the work of a thousand camels or elephants, and do it much faster—my father has partaken of a draught of new wine. He is changed and restless. It is for you, who are a great physician, to judge if the change is for the better or the worse.

MONTAGU FORD. Bharata, my lad, what is your own opinion ? (*SICK MAN stirs.*)

BHARATA. O Mighty One, in disagreement with our venerable physician, Dr. Purana, I believe that the change is for the better, and I ask you to continue the treatment the other physicians from the Western Land of Wonders have commenced.

SICK MAN (*rousing himself*). The promise! The promise! Let me begin! (*WHISTLE tries to quieten him.*) But you promised and I am ready! (*Struggling to rise.*)

MONTAGU FORD (*crosses to SICK MAN*). Come now, what is your trouble ? Unburden your mind to me.

SICK MAN. Freedom ! Independence ! I want to stand alone, vigorous, a law unto myself ! I can no longer remain here. I must join the multitude marching on the high road to freedom. See ! There at my very doors ! They beckon me—I come ! I come, O my brothers ! (*Rises to sitting position with his feet on the ground.*) I come ! I come ! (*Rises and totters forward.* WIFE and BHARATA go to help him.)

MONTAGU FORD (*to WHISTLE*). Do not cross him. Humour him, support him, but gently persuade him to return to his couch. (*Crosses to physicians.* SICK MAN is gradually persuaded by WHISTLE to return to his couch but he refuses to lie down. He converses with WHISTLE and BHARATA sitting on the charpai. WIFE brings pirhi and joins them.) Well, my friends, the subtle springs of action which lie in his mental development have been aroused. He is now a mental case and requires a drastic

change of treatment. In the first place, there must be sympathy and mutual forbearance, without which there is no hope of his recovery. He will not die—I do not mean that, but he will be a constant weight and burden to himself unless we effect a complete cure.

WHITEHALL. Sympathy and forbearance shall be our watchwords. What further do you propose ?

MONTAGU FORD. I will write out a full scheme of treatment. I warn you, however, that it will not be easy to carry out, for I fear there is not a complete understanding between some of us and the patient : naturally so, for is East not East ?—and West West ?—though they have met. It remains now to cement that meeting by mutual self-restraint, courtesy and good will ; thus making the coming together perpetually productive of the very best for the two peoples represented by this case. Our difficulties will be great. Some of the exercises that I shall prescribe will not be easy to carry out ; for though Bharatavarsha is eager, he will have to gain experience before doing them efficiently. And—ah, yes—there is one element that I have inadvertently omitted in the basis of our new treatment—that element is mutual trust. Remember, this case is no longer on the physical plane and we shall have thoroughly to readjust our attitude towards the patient.

STEAM. But the patient must work with us. He must also trust us.

MONTAGU FORD. Quite so, quite so. The physicians must trust the patient and the patient must trust the physicians. Otherwise the trouble will become aggravated, causing endless pain and friction, and what is infinitely worse—mutual deterioration of character. Without mutual trust, mutual understanding will be an impossibility. And there must be no place for impossibility in the minds of physicians in their endeavours to heal. Gentlemen, we have undertaken the welfare of Bharatavarsha. We, as honourable men, are bound to it. There is no going back nor shirking the difficulties before us. He is now our responsibility. (*Dr. PURANA comes down to head of couch. He remains standing.*)

STEAM. But, sir, he was sick when we found him, and he had his own physician.

WHITEHALL. That is so. But remember



we changed the treatment and complicated the case. The result, however fraught with difficulty, is of our own doing. Our obligation to him is plain, for *intellectually* he is *our child*. His aspirations for constitutional health and freedom should be reckoned to his credit—and to ours. I, for one, profoundly believe that the time has come when the sheltered existence he has enjoyed cannot be prolonged without danger to his highest development. I believe also that placid pathetic contentment is not the soil on which such development can grow. I believe that in having deliberately disturbed his contentment, we have worked for his highest good.

SICK MAN (*suddenly rising and striking out violently*). Away! Away! I need no physicians, I will cure myself, I will be free to live in my own way! To die in my own way! Leave me! All of you!

WIFE (*who has risen, strikes her head and her breasts*). Haie! Haie!

MONTAGU FORD. You see? High delirium. It will pass, but for his peace of mind we should retire. We must face his fury and bear him goodwill through it all. Come Shortis, let us lead the way. (*To Bharata*) Sir, we shall be within call if needed.

*Exeunt MONTAGU FORD and SHORTIS.*

DELHI (*to WHITEHALL*). After you, Sir.

WHITEHALL. I shall remain.

DELHI. As you please.

*Exit DELHI.*

SICKMAN. Away! Away! Leave me!

WHITEHALL. Not yet, not yet. I shall remain for a while.

SICK MAN. Then cure me. Help me to stand alone. Put an end to my sickness. Give me freedom!

WHITEHALL (*supporting him*). Be patient, O Bhāratavarsha: be persevering, and freedom shall be yours.

PURANA (*remaining standing where he is*). O Bhāratavarsha, new light has come to me. Formerly I taught that physical life was *māyā*, a thing to be scorned, of no account.

SICK MAN (*feebly*). Ah yes,—I remember. Life is *māyā*:—of no account.

PURANA. But this young man—Bharata, your son—has enlightened me. A *chela* has taught his *guru*. The seed of his thought which fell on the ground of my mind, has burst and shot up towards the light.

SICK MAN (*looking vacantly at BHARATA and stretching his free arm towards him*).

My son. (BHARATA approaches and supports him.) Bharata, my son; The wise ones tarry not in the pleasure-grounds of the senses; they heed not the sweet tongued voices of illusion. *Miyā, māyā*, life is *māyā*!

PURANA. True—life is *Māyā*. But *māyā*—though in itself unreal—is yet our greatest reality: for is it not the bridge that spans the sundering torrent, linking human and divine? The self I formerly extolled was a higher self truly, but the self of an individual—a seeming separate existence.

That which I now extol is a universal self—the self of a people!

Henceforth, let no man scorn earthly life: for as the physical human body is the garment of the individual human soul; human life, life politic, is the garment of a composite soul—the soul of a people!

I take not back from my former teaching: but I say unto you—the universal self is the self to which the personal self must be subject for its highest development.

Henceforth, let no smallest detail of perfected physical life be beneath the saintliest man's endeavour.

I say unto you—your sages shall leave their hermitages: your prophets shall emerge from their deserts.

They shall govern your cities: they shall sit in your Councils of State.

The highest civic and national accomplishment shall be to them their highest spiritual good.

Your young men shall flock to Europe and to the borders of Hindustān: there, with indomitable will and courage shall they open the Gates of the West and guard the Gates of the East.

Thus, and only thus, O Bhāratavarsha, will your sickness end.

Thus, and only thus, will you gain Freedom.

SICK MAN. But life is unreal—life is *māyā*.

PURANA. *Māyā* is our greatest reality. The earth, our joyous play-ground!

SICK MAN. The earth is a place of suffering, and action thereon but ruffles the still waters of meditation.

PURANA (*approaching*). O Bhāratavarsha...

SICK MAN (*putting up his hand to silence him*). I do not understand. My son, lead me. The new light is blinding: I can no longer see.

(BHARATA leads him to the couch.)

PURANA. Sick—sick unto death !

SICK MAN. Not there, not there. Lay me on the ground. (BHARATA lays him on the ground and the WIFE makes of her lap a pillow for his head.) My son, who stands there ?

BHARATA. A Physician from the West.

SICK MAN (*stretching out his hand towards WHITEHALL, who approaches*). My hours are numbered. I need no physician now. This garment is outworn, but you have placed in my hands threads to weave a new one. My blessing ! (WHITEHALL *retires*.) My son, call your brothers.

BHARATA. My brothers went away.

SICK MAN. Call them. (*Tries to raise himself—BHARATA assists.*)

BHARATA. They fell on the battlefields of Europe.

SICK MAN. Ah yes—they fell—but the

soil that bears them is the sacred soil of India—the India that is to be.

BHARATA. They died !

SICK MAN. They live for ever !—Purana—call Purana.

BHARATA. Swami-ji—my father calls.

PURANA (*approaching*). Maharaj !

SICK MAN. The mists have lifted—and I can see.—*Mâyî* is in very truth a reality and the earth a joyous battle-ground.—I am leaving it—for my garment—is useless.—I shall make another.—(To BHARATA) Sit at his feet, for he is wise. (To PURANA) Teach him—that his country's customs—cannot endure—for ever.—They must change—with the—changing—times.—The old—ever—giveth place—to—the new.—Even as—the faded flower—to the seed—do I—give place—to him.—I shall—come—again.—Be faithful—I shall—return—reap harvest.—Be faithful.—(*He dies.*)

CURTAIN.

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## THE MENACE OF THE HYACINTH

BY SIR J. C. BOSE,

THE tragic and symbolic story of the man who cursed the lilies appears in a recent number of *Current Opinion*; struggling to force his boat against the floating islands of Hyacinth that choked the river, he curses the lily and denounces the Federal Government of the United States for their inability to cope with the spread of the dreaded hyacinth. Intending to swim across, he jumps into the river, but becomes entangled in the hyacinth web, and the inexorable grasp of meshes of silken roots tightens and overpowers him. The hyacinth web is closing round in many countries and the threatened peril is international.

The danger is even more ominous in Bengal. A few years ago the Hyacinth was spreading sporadically here and there; but through neglect the

invading host is now marching with incredible rapidity. Unless some immediate and effective steps are taken, the rich agricultural land of Eastern Bengal will be a thing of the past. Pessimists may urge that other countries with far greater resources have not yet succeeded in solving the problem. That is, however, no reason why we should not; but it would require the utmost efforts of the people and the Government to check the peril. One clear fact should always be kept in mind, that man after centuries of toil had reclaimed from the jungle, land for his agriculture. The jungle is now claiming its own and man has to maintain an incessant fight, aided by slowly accumulating knowledge, to keep what he has won. It would require the same persistence as in the past. The

general futility of the different methods that had hitherto been employed will be presently explained. But before doing this let us get a clear understanding of what constitutes a pest.

#### THE CONFLICT OF LIFE.

The unlimited spread of organic life is held in check through unfavourable conditions of the environment, and also by conflict with other types with which it has to compete. There is thus a constant struggle between man and beast, between animal and plant life; and as a result of this a balance is struck. Nature takes a long time to make this final adjustment. When a living form is introduced among new surroundings, it perishes if the new conditions are unfavourable; it spreads, on the other hand, with great rapidity when it has no effective enemy to contend against and hold it in check.

Living organisms become a pest when their multiplication remains unchecked. The introduction of the gorse and the rabbit in Australia has created a situation that threatens the agriculture of the country. The writer during his visit to America saw the destruction of the valuable pine forests of Maine, and the neighbouring territories by a pest; an enthusiast had brought with him from Europe a pair of moths in his collecting box; these escaped, and, being free from their natural enemies in their ancestral homes, have spread with incredible rapidity; the Department of Agriculture have not yet succeeded in devising any effective method to check it.

#### THE PROBLEM OF THE DESTRUCTION OF THE HYACINTH.

A difficult problem like that of the spread of the Hyacinth can never be solved by trying at haphazards the various futile methods hitherto employed. The first and the most important step is the acquirement of detailed and definite knowledge of the life-history of the plant; of this little is known; it does not appear that any one knows all the ways in which the Hyacinth is propagated, nor

the effective way of killing it. Investigators in their complete ignorance are going round and round in a vicious circle which leads nowhere. Science in popular imagination is akin to magic, a matter of incantations and of secret remedies; and a period of panic offers an unusual opportunity for exploiters to make sensational claims and take advantage of the prevailing ignorance. There is, however, a way out of the tangle. The difficulties which obscure an unknown subject arise from various factors imagined to be important but most of which are of no consequence. One has, therefore, to find out, one by one, things which do not matter and close the different avenues which lead one astray. There then remains only one path which leads to the goal. This is the only secret of all discoveries; and it is twenty years' persistent efforts that enabled me at last to track down the essential element which maintained the ascent of sap. The rest was comparatively easy. *The essential condition for success, then, is to keep the end clearly in view, and wipe out all false side issues.* But this narrowing down the quest to its very essential is the most difficult task, requiring the utmost ingenuity and persistence; without this, nothing is of any avail.

#### THE HYACINTH PLANT.

Let us first consider the plant itself; a photograph of a stretch of plant-growth in a large water-course near the Experimental Station at Sijberia on the Ganges is given in Figure 1. The weeds grow to a height of more than three feet, and the growth is so dense that one can walk over the floating mass. The leaves of different plants press against each other, the plants in the interior being thus completely sheltered. In Figure 2 is reproduced the photograph of a single plant; it will be seen that the mass of the roots submerged under water is as large as the shoot and the leaves above water. More than 150 roots have been counted in each plant. There is a horizontal runner under water, which is one of the means for vegetative propagation; but there are,



Fig. 1 A Stretch of Hyacinth near Sijbe on the Ganges.

as will be presently shown, even more effective means of propagation. The stalks of the leaves are often expanded like a bladder, and this gives the plant sufficient buoyancy to float in water.

#### THE PLAUSIBLE AND THE REAL.

It is the plausible, the evident, and the aggressive, which rivets our attention ; but nothing is more deceptive. The glistening leaves and the bank of flowers offer a visible challenge, and the routine man of science takes the obvious course of killing the obnoxious object out of sight. But out of sight is not always out of mischief. For there is a power hidden from sight of men that gives the plant its energy for struggle. It is the hidden roots which are incessantly working underground, absorbing food from the soil and storing it up in the plant. The rich outward panoply of exuberant manifestation of life may be laid low, but the latent life is held in a state of suspense in the root to be awakened once more.

On clearing the tanks of Hyacinth, it is found that there is a growth of new crop after a few months, though this is less rapid. *From this, it is clear that detached fragments of submerged roots are effective in the propagation*

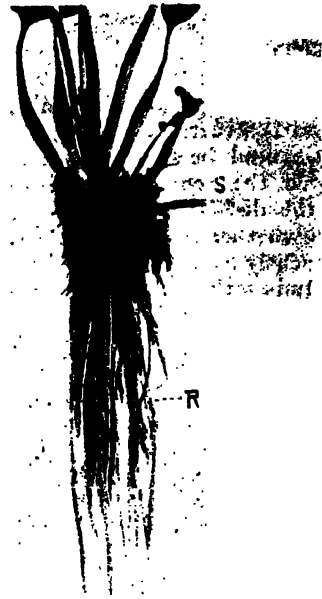


Fig. 2. Hyacinth with the mass of submerged roots R. S is the horizontal runner.

*of the pest. Hence no method will be satisfactory which does not ensure the destruction of the submerged roots.* It is necessary to bear this in mind, since this important fact has never been taken into account. A single root has been known to give rise to the spread of the Hyacinth through an area of 600 square yards in the course of a few months. A parallel instance of the spread of a weed by means of fragments of roots is well known to those who are interested in keeping good lawns in their garden. The much advertised weed-killers afford but a temporary relief ; it is the fragments of detached roots buried underground that give rise to a new crop, which can only be kept in check under constant vigilance.

#### POSSIBLE METHODS OF ERADICATION.

The possible methods of extermination of the pest may be classified as follows :

1. By introduction of fungal parasites

which may be effective in killing the plant.

2. The Method of Steam.

3. The Method of Spraying with Poisonous Solutions.

4. The Method of Mechanical Collection and Destruction.

Little need be said of the first method, in which the remedy may prove worse than the disease. For it is not at all certain whether the fungal pest would not subsequently attack valuable crops. In the West Indies they imported the mongoose from India to kill the snakes; they developed there a taste for chickens and a situation has been created as regards the preservation of the poultry from the depredations of the now unwelcome guest. For combating the spread of the pest of rats in England, injection of the rodents with virus has been seriously proposed by certain irresponsible bacteriologists; the sanity of others has, however, been the means of preventing a catastrophe.

#### THE METHOD OF "LIVE" STEAM.

America has made notable advance in science, typical instances of which are seen in the pioneer work of Franklin in electricity and Langley in aviation. Unfortunately there, as in other countries, true science is in danger of becoming obscured by widely advertised sensational science. The spectacular method of turning on the steam-hose has been employed in the United States and accounts of its efficacy have been exploited in the press. They implicitly followed this method in Burma, though it was very costly; the nozzle of the hose touched the plant and the leaves were actually split and discoloured by the steam; but the results expected did not occur; for in the course of a few days many new shoots appeared from the plant supposed to have been scalded to death! This failure did not, however, deter the intrepid authorities, who believed in drastic measures and, therefore, wanted larger expenditure to be incurred in securing High Pressure Steam Generators. Now, it never occurred to the experts who set the

fashion so slavishly imitated in this country, to enquire into the object of the application of steam, which was evidently meant to scald the plant to death. Now, what is the fatal temperature for the plant?

#### DETERMINATION OF THE DEATH-POINT.

It has hitherto been impossible to discriminate between two plants one of which was shamming and the other actually dead. This has been rendered possible by the electric investigation carried out at the Institute; moreover, the invention of the Death Recorder enables the plant itself to signal the exact moment of transition between life and death. The Hyacinth plant placed in a bath is suitably attached to the Recorder and the temperature gradually raised. It is thus found that a violent spasm corresponding with the death-throe of the plant occurs at a temperature of  $60^{\circ}\text{C}$  or  $140^{\circ}\text{F}$  (Fig. 3), which is  $72^{\circ}\text{F}$  lower than the

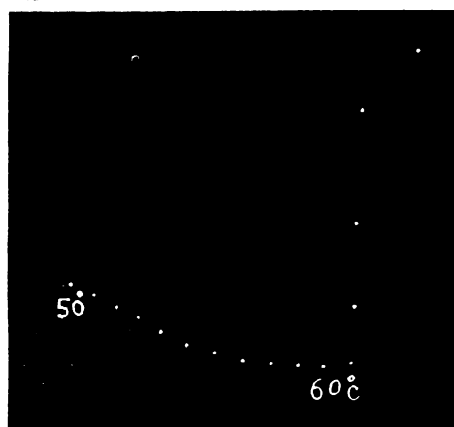


Fig. 3. Death Spasm of Hyacinth at  $60^{\circ}\text{C}$  seen in the up curve.

temperature of ordinary steam ( $212^{\circ}\text{F}$ ). There is thus absolutely no sense in the demand for employment of costly generators, since a dead portion of a plant cannot be killed any further even by the employment of high pressure steam.

This is but a parable of the enormous

waste of public money in the exploitation of the sensational science which goes on from one extravagance to another in the false hope of something being discovered by chance.

The reason of the appearance of new shoots from the scalded plant is that steam could not reach the portion of the plant submerged in water; hence the observed renewal of growth.

#### THE METHOD OF SPRAYING POISONOUS SOLUTIONS

A very large number of poisons are known to science for destroying plant growth. Any secrecy maintained in the composition of the poisonous solution would not thereby make it the more effective. The method of spraying has been extensively used in America, with results which will be presently described. We shall first consider the general question of the practicability of the method and its supposed efficacy. The Hyacinth is spread over enormous areas, often difficult of access; it would, therefore, entail the purchase of a very large number of spraying apparatus of a portable type. This would require skilled labour and the expenditure on these two items would be prohibitive. But even this heavy expenditure might have found some justification had the method been effective in the destruction of the pest; but it is not. For, on account of the very dense character of the growth, the sprayed poison would not reach the sheltered mass in the interior; and a single plant which escapes the poison would be enough to start an extensive new growth.

#### IS POISON CONDUCTED DOWNWARDS IN PLANTS?

We shall next turn to the scientific aspect of the method itself. Local death of the upper part of the plant by steam did not, as we saw, kill the submerged portion. The question now arises, whether poison

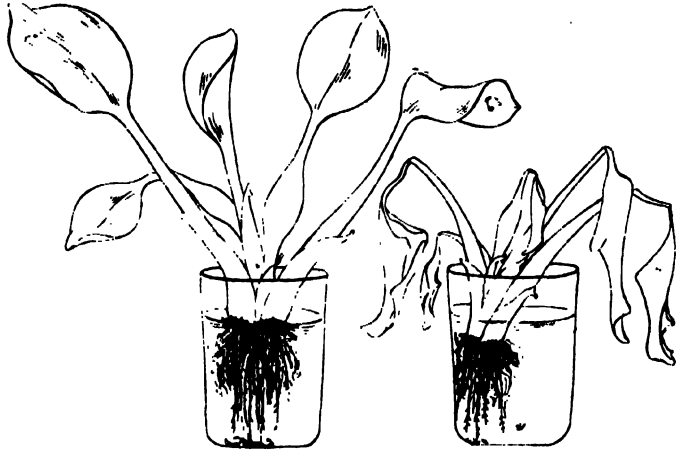


Fig. 4. Effect of poison applied to the root of the Hyacinth. The illustration to the left is the appearance of the plant before to the right after application of poison.

applied above by the spray would be effective in killing the roots submerged in water. This point should have been investigated at the very beginning; instead of this, it was imagined that the poison absorbed by the leaves would somehow be conducted to the roots below. An exhaustive inquiry on the subject has, for some time past, been carried out in my Institute, of which a short account is given below. My recent investigations on the physiological machinery concerned in the movement of sap have shown that a poisonous or any other solution is carried by the ascent of sap upwards, and not downwards, against the direction of the ascent. *Hence in order to cause the death of the plant, the poison should be supplied to the root and not to the shoot.* Ignorance of this fundamental fact has led to much perverted ingenuity and to advocacy of methods of destruction of the Hyacinth, which are foredoomed to failure.

#### THE MARCH OF DEATH.

Experiments carried out with Hyacinth have fully supported the theory described above. This will be understood from the following experiments. A vigorous Hyacinth plant seen to the left of Figure 4 was afterwards placed with the roots in a poisonous solution. It is a matter of indifference what poison is used, the



Figure 5. Chrysanthemum plant, before and after application of the poison at the lower end.

result is invariably the same. The roots absorb the poison, which rises with the ascent of sap and kills the plant from below upwards. And this upward march of death can be easily followed by the advancing death-discoloration which creeps upwards. In the course of about six hours the plant is killed throughout, when it collapses and becomes a huddled mass of dying and dead tissue. The appearance of the plant after poisoning is seen in the right hand illustration in Figure 4. That this is universally true is visually demonstrated in the reproduction of a photograph of the cut stem of the Chrysanthemum plant (Figure 5) before and after the application of the poison at its lower end.

#### EFFECT OF POISON-ING THE SHOOT.

What happens to the plant when the shoot alone is poisoned instead of the root? This is the actual condition pro-

duced by spraying, for the poison cannot directly reach the root floating in water. It can only do so by the conduction of the poison through the plant downwards, if such a conduction is at all possible. From theoretical considerations this has been shown to be a practical impossibility. The experiment in verification of this is carried out by placing a stalk with the leaf-blade in a close-fitting funnel, which is filled with a poisonous solution. The

results are in fullest accord with what was anticipated from scientific considerations. It is found that the effect of poison is purely local; the leaf-blade immersed in poison becomes discoloured and crumpled up by the direct action of the poison. There is, however, no transmitted effect, and no downward march of death. The leaf-stalk, immediately below, remains green and fully alive. An identical result was obtained with the Chrysanthemum plant. Figure 6 illustrates the inefficacy

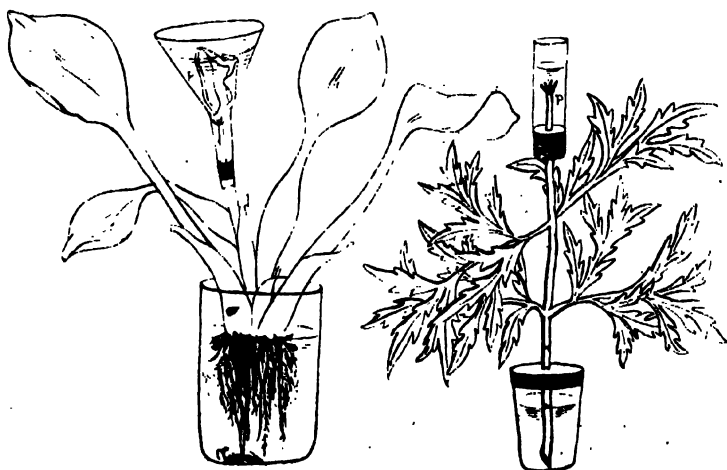


Fig. 6. Effect of poison P applied to the upper part of shoot: in Hyacinth and in Chrysanthemum. The lower part remains fully alive.

of poisoning the shoot in killing the whole plant; a scientific approach of the problem would have made one realise the absurdity of expecting any different result. The naive report of the Government Engineers in certain American States may have an unconscious element of humour, but is nevertheless a painful revelation. The Engineers declared that the use of the spray with poisonous solution did all that could be expected of it, but they had to confess that "it could not keep up with the growth of the menace."

The definite results of investigation described above clear up the obscurity that had surrounded the subject and thereby narrow down the problem to its essential element, namely, the destruction of the roots, without which the plant cannot be extirpated. It is hoped that the scientific results obtained will save the Governments of this and of other countries from a repetition of the blunder and enormous waste of public funds; the money thus saved would be better spent in taking the immediate steps necessary to keep the pest in check, and in the pursuit of exact methods of science towards its ultimate eradication.

#### THE METHOD OF MECHANICAL COLLECTION AND DESTRUCTION.

The practical step, which should be immediately taken is the collection of the Hyacinth and its destruction. The cost of labour for this purpose would not be as prohibitive as in other countries; it would be a certain and not a fictitious method for the destruction of the pest. The money expended on labour will be well spent in this country in affording relief to agriculturists who are most affected by the pest. A further and a necessary condition is collective action at definite times; otherwise the clearance of any place would be nullified by the infection from a neighbouring area. The cultivators have fully realised their peril and have demanded the enactment of legislation and for concerted action. All legislative measures entail some hardship; but precautions could be taken to guard

against their possible misuse. For the first few years it should serve more as an educative measure, and nothing could be more important than the training which makes people realise that it is by their collective action alone that national efficiency would be secured. The conjoint efforts of the people and the Government in fighting a common danger also augur well for the future.

#### FURTHER INVESTIGATIONS.

The investigations on the Hyacinth have fully taxed the time and resources of my Institute; this was rendered possible only by the postponement of other urgent and important work, to which we have now to return. The continuation of further work should be undertaken by a well selected and efficient staff. The most important investigations leading to fruitful results would be:

(1) An inquiry into the life history of the plant, and the different modes of its propagation. It may thus be possible to discover the most vulnerable point in its life cycle.

(2) There are certain possibilities for economic utilisation of the Hyacinth, so that the cost of its collection may, to a certain extent, be recovered. For this it would be necessary to test the qualification of the staff to be employed in regard to scientific knowledge and practical common sense.

This latter point is important, as fanciful claims have been made by an expert that paper could be manufactured out of Hyacinth; there is no doubt that any vegetable waste could be so employed to make a laboratory specimen, but the cost incurred would be very much greater than the value of the outturn. Not long ago some excitement was caused by the reported discovery by another expert in this country of certain vegetable substances which could be utilised as a valuable source of revenue; nothing has been heard of it since; the test for any similar claim would evidently lie in its proving to be a business proposition.

Finally, for ensuring efficiency the staff thus employed should submit periodic



reports accessible to the public, so that the work carried out could be subjected to scientific criticism.

The danger which confronts us is indeed great ; but it is only at such a crisis that the people are drawn together and become unified ; they then begin dimly to realise that it is not prosperity but adversity that evokes their latent manhood to confront, to resist and ultimately to win. They had

in the past conquered many an obstacle and built this beautiful homeland of golden corn and green verdure. They will realise that in this coming struggle against common danger, as also in all matters relating to national up-building, the necessary conditions for success are : less lethargy and more efficiency, less extravagance and more effective economy, less secrecy and better understanding.

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

[ Books in the following languages will be noticed : Assamese, Bengali, English, Gujarati, Hindi, Kanarese, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Punjabi, Sindhi, Tamil, Telugu, and Urdu. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text books and their annotations, pamphlets and leaflets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., will not be noticed. The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged, nor any queries relating thereto answered. The review of any book is not guaranteed. Books should be sent to our office, addressed to the Assamese Reviewer, the Hindi Reviewer, the Bengali Reviewer, etc., according to the language of the books. No criticism of book reviews and notices will be published. — Editor, M. R.]

### ENGLISH.

LABOUR PROBLEMS AND LABOUR ADMINISTRATION IN U. S. A., DURING THE WORLD WAR : *Parts I, II, being Nos. 3 and 4 of Vol. VIII of the University of Illinois Studies in Social Sciences* : By Gordon S. Watkins, Ph. D., Assistant Professor of Economics, University of Illinois, Urbana, U. S. A. Price \$ 1 each vol.

The systematic publication of studies in economic, political, and social sciences generally, often on topics of burning public interest, in serial form, by teachers and advanced students connected with these departments of studies, forms a highly commendable feature of many of the more progressive American Universities. Some of these Studies are the outcome of considerable original and painstaking research, and deserve to be better known and appreciated in this country, where the opinion is often wrongly held that all American research means compilation. To students of Economics desiring to make a comparative study of the economic, political, and social conditions of different countries, and to politicians seeking information regarding measures that are being adopted by other countries to solve many of those economic, political, and social problems which are now more or less common to the civilised world, these publications are almost indispensable. The Calcutta University could enhance its reputation and usefulness to a considerable extent by undertaking the publication of similar Studies by the most competent amongst its Professors and Lecturers.

The First Part of the Study under review is called the "Nature and Analysis of the Labour

Problem," and is divided into four chapters, viz., I. Economic Organisation and the Labour Problem ; II. Attitude of American Labour toward the War ; III. Labour Conditions in relation to Production ; and IV. Analysis of Recent Industrial Unrest. In the chapter on the "Attitude of American Labour toward the War," we are told that "the rank and file of the working class (in U. S. A.) did not accept the outbreak and continuation of the World War with any degree of equanimity or approval." Enemy propaganda and the dissemination within the ranks of the working classes of the socialistic and syndicalistic doctrine that all wars were capitalistic in origin and purpose and served only to bring "wealth and power to the ruling classes and suffering, death, and demoralisation to the workers," was partly responsible for such an attitude on the part of the American labourers. But the heterogeneous character of the American population and the undesirable conditions of work prevalent in many industries, together with the very unequal distribution of wealth which forms such a characteristic feature of American industrial life, were probably the main causes of this lack of patriotic enthusiasm which, at least in the early stages of the War, considerably affected the production of essential War Supplies. According to an estimate made by Prof. W. I. King, of America, 65 per cent of the population of U. S. A. own only about 5 per cent of the national wealth ; 33 per cent of the population own about 35 per cent of the national wealth ; and the remaining 2 per cent of the population own 60 per cent of the national wealth.

To counteract the anti-war philosophy and to

enlist the workers' co-operation the Government not only found it necessary to engage in an extensive propaganda to explain to them the fundamental issues of the War, but it had also to curtail the workers' freedom by declaring as unlawful all associations which aimed by physical force, violence, or injury to bring about any governmental, social, industrial, or economic change in U. S. A. during the War. But this was only done when strikes, sabotage, etc., became of almost daily occurrence and the labour situation assumed a very serious aspect. There was in the country about this time even a wide-spread agitation for labour conscription, advocated by many employers, politicians, and the press, but the fear of diminished industrial efficiency and of open rebellion among the working classes prevented the adoption of the proposal. The majority of American industrial workers, however, remained loyal to the Government in this national emergency, or the United States' participation in the War would have been made quite ineffectual. It is true that they opposed extreme proposals of the Government and occasionally participated in strikes, but in the main they were in agreement with the policy of the Government and did nothing to endanger the country's success in the War.

In Chapter IV, among the general causes responsible for recent industrial unrest in U. S. A., Dr Watkins mentions the following :—

1. The high cost of living and the failure of wages to keep pace with the rapidly rising level of wages.
2. Inequality in wage scales as between different occupations, different establishments, and different localities.
3. The demand for a shorter work-day.
4. Faulty distribution of labour supply and the absence of adequate machinery for securing a better distribution.
5. Distant or absentee ownership and control of industry.
6. Autocratic government of industry.
7. Inadequate machinery for settling labour difficulties.
8. The prevalence of profiteering.
9. The spread of internationalism.

In addition to these, he also mentions a number of specific causes, found in particular industrial establishments or localities, such as, inadequate housing and transportation facilities for workmen, lack of healthful and desirable social environment in industrial neighbourhoods, undesirable conditions of employment, demand for recognition of trade unions and the right of organisation, demand for a minimum wage scale, etc.

The above brief summary of the causes of industrial unrest in U. S. A., shows how universal are the causes that agitate the labour world to-day and what a mass of light can be thrown upon the problems of industrial unrest in India and their solution by the study of the causes of similar unrest abroad and of the measures undertaken to remove it. The author lays great emphasis on the fact, frequently forgotten by governments and employers, that industrial unrest in itself is only a symptom, and not a disease. "Behind this phenomenon of discordant industrial relations lie industrial conditions that are not in keeping with the dignity of labour and therefore are not voluntarily accepted by the vast army of

skilled and unskilled workers. Removal of these conditions is the primary step towards industrial peace." For those superficial observers who are in the habit of attributing the causes of present labour unrest to active foreign propaganda, he has similarly a word of warning. Enemy propaganda would be powerless to create disaffection in the minds of the workers if the causes for such disaffection were not present in the actual industrial conditions of the country.

Part II of the study, called "the Development of War Labour Administration", discusses the nature and constitution of the various Boards and Committees, executive, administrative, and judicial, created by the United States Government for dealing with the numerous labour problems that arose and called for immediate solution during the War. It contains three chapters, viz., I. Decentralised Labour Administration; II. Co-ordination in Labour Administration; and III. "Conclusion", which sums up the results of the study and enumerates the lessons to be learnt from the United States' labour administration during the War.

Before the War, there were only two national Government agencies for the adjustment of industrial grievances in U. S. A.,—the United States Board of Mediation and Conciliation, and the Division of Conciliation of the United States Department of Labour. These two agencies were found to be utterly inadequate to cope with the spread of industrial unrest following United States' entry into the War. So it was imperative that new agencies should be created to assist them in their work and such agencies were brought into existence in considerable numbers, from the various national and divisional committees of the Council of National Defence, whose duties included the somewhat haphazard adjustment of disputes between labour and capital, to various other committees controlling the important key industries and transport services of the country. In fact, Government control was adopted wherever it was believed that such control would make for diminished friction and increased efficiency. This in democratic America, as elsewhere, the policy of *laissez-faire* was abandoned in the face of a grave national crisis and we find constant interference by the Government in the industrial life of the people. "There was," as the author says in the Introduction, "not only wide-spread disregard of commonly accepted economic doctrines, but a wider abandonment of customary economic practices."

After nearly a year's experience of the War, the American people came to recognise that uniformity of methods, concentration of control, and co-ordination of administration in handling labour were quite as necessary to national productive effort as were similar policies in the field of the production of war materials. And, with the usual American despatch, the work of co-ordinating the hitherto largely decentralised labour administration was taken in hand and the result was the rapid emergence of a number of national agencies having for their object not only the supply and adjustment of labour in various industries but also the improvement of working conditions in industrial establishments generally, including safety, sanitation, housing, transportation, wages, hours of work, training of workers, and the settlement of labour disputes.

With the development of a centralised and co-ordinated labour administration founded upon the broad principles of social and economic justice, the details of whose work we have unfortunately no space to discuss here, the problem of labour unrest and other acute industrial difficulties were solved with unprecedented success.

Among the most important lessons to be learnt from the United States Government's labour administration during the War—lessons which have a permanent and more than local value—are, first, the clear demonstration of the possibility and practicability of harmonious relations and earnest co-operation between all parties to industry—capital, management, labour, and the Government—provided that both capitalists and labourers try to understand each others' difficulties and the former are prepared to recognise the rights and dignity to which the latter are entitled as human beings; secondly, the magnitude of the community's interest in the industrial system, particularly in the personal relation in industry and the conditions of employment; and thirdly, the demonstration of the fact that for the successful operation of industry and the maintenance of amicable relations between labour and capital, a national labour policy and a co-ordinated labour administration under a central authority are indispensable.

**THE LABOUR PROBLEM AND ITS COMPLETE SOLUTION:** By P. M. L. Varma, B. Sc., M. R. A. S. Published by the Gokul Publishing House, Budann, U. P. Price Rs. 3, 4 s. or 8 s.

In curious contrast with the above scientific study of the labour problem, stands this hodge-podge of economics and eugenics, of theology, mysticism, and communism, which Mr. Varma serves out as his "complete solution" of the labour problem. And, like most "complete solutions" of troublesome problems, it is no solution at all, though the author's over-weening self-conceit leads him to congratulate himself on "accomplishment and achievement in the regions unknown and unexplored before." He finds in the writings of economists and specialists on the subject little that is really relevant or of permanent value. To achieve his end he would check the free operation of many economic doctrines (including the law of demand and supply), abolish land-lordism, regulate the growth of population, limit the income of workers to an "average or Minimum-Comfort wage", of capitalists to "double the return of invested money in broken form", and so on.

The author seems to possess an acute mind and to have read widely on the subjects he deals with. His observations on the defects of the existing industrial order are sometimes quite illuminating. But his arguments, when he condescends to use them, are not free from the underlying fallacies of the socialist school and his generalisations are frequently based on imperfect or unwarrantable assumptions. In any case, he must get hold of a philosopher-king with unlimited powers to carry out and keep alive his scheme of socio-economic reform. Until such a ruler is found, or the psychology of man changes, it is bound to remain untried and we must continue to look forward to more practical solutions of the labour problem.

**AN INTRODUCTION TO CO-OPERATION IN INDIA :**

By C. F. Strickland, I. C. S., being Vol. I, of the Series "India of Today", published, under the General Editorship of the Central Bureau of Information, Government of India, by Messrs. Humphrey Milford. Price Rs. 2.

After discussing the need of concerted action on the part of the small producer if he is not to be fleeced by his numerous enemies or ousted in competition with his powerful rivals, the author goes on to describe the advantages of co-operation over other forms of associated action, such as Collectivism, Communism and Syndicalism. He then briefly describes the success attained by consumers' co-operation in England and by producers' co-operation in Italy and takes a rapid survey of the past growth of the co-operative movement in India and its present position. The rather one-sided character of this movement and the danger of a too rapid expansion of co-operative credit are pointed out and the last chapters outline what little progress has hitherto been made in this country in the field of non-credit co-operation. Those who cannot spare time for a detailed study of the rise and growth of this beneficent movement will find the booklet useful.

**COCHIN UNDER H. H. SIR RAMA VARMA ATHAM TIRUNAL, G. C. I. E., MAHARAJA OF COCHIN:** By C. D. Nayar. With a Foreword by Sir D. E. Wacha.

Judged by the progress made in recent years, Cochin certainly deserves to rank with the most advanced of modern Indian Native States. H. H. Sir Rama Varma, G. C. I. E., the present Maharajah, belongs to the best school of our native princes and in his strenuous work for the uplift of his subjects he has always been ably supported by the Maharani, Sreemathy Parakutty Amma—a gifted and cultured lady. Mr. Nayar's illustrated booklet is a well-deserved eulogium on the life and work of this royal pair.

ECONOMICUS.

**EMINENT ORIENTALISTS; INDIAN, EUROPEAN, AMERICAN.** First Edition. Madras. G. A. Natesan & Co. Rs. 2.

In this little volume we have been presented with critical sketches of the lives and achievements of a number of distinguished scholars who have done much to resuscitate India's lost history, and interpret her ancient culture. The book contains short biographies of no less than twenty-five savants, e. g., Jones, Wilkins, Colebrooke, Wilson, Turnour, Fergusson, R. I. Mitra, Telang, Bhau Daji, Indrajit, Bühler, M. Williams, Maxmüller, Fleet, Arnold, Griffith, Nivedita, Whitney, A. Borooah, Macdonell, Smith, Keith, Tilak, Deussen, Bhandarkar, and Sylvain Levi. There are, no doubt, some striking omissions. We miss the lives of scholars like Prinsep, Cunningham, Kuhlhorn, Luders, Roth, Weber, Muir, Lassen, Goldstucker, Rhys Davids, Fausboll, Grierson, Zimmer, Senart, Kern, Oldenberg, Hoernle, Jacobi, Dahlmann, Winternitz, Hopkins, Garbe, Barth, Burnouf, Bloomfield, Pargiter, Stein, Cowell, Rapson, Thomas, Saratchandra Das, Umes Chandra Batavyala, M. Chakravarti, K. Pillai and others. Nevertheless the book has removed a long-felt want and will, doubtless, be appreciated by the ever growing number of our young men who take

an increasing interest in the study of Indian antiquities.

In the hope that they might be of some little use to the publishers at the time of bringing out a second edition, we venture to enclose a few notes on matters that struck us as we read through the book.

Pp 34, 35. The author has confounded the Monghyr grant of Devapala with the Bhagalpur grant of Narayanapala and has attributed it to Vighrahapala. The copper plate grant issued from Monghyr in the 17th year on the 9th day of Vaisakhi belongs to the reign of Narayanapala, and not to that of Devapala or Vighrahapala who, by the way, was the fourth, and not the fifth, king of the Pala Dynasty. The plate was discovered at Bhagalpur and not "amidst some ruins at Monghyr." The copper plate discovered at Monghyr and translated by Wilkins, belongs to Devapala and bears the date 33.

P. 73. Monier Williams compares Wilson to the *Vedic Aruni*. But the episode mentioned in the footnote to bring out the point of the comparison is taken not from the *Vedas*, but from the *Epic*.

Pp. 124, 126. "Lorringer" should be "Lorinser".

P. 212. For Kataumi Pillar inscription, read 'Kahaum Pillar inscription'.

P. 275. An important work of Sister Nivedita, which seems to have escaped the attention of her biographer is the "Footfalls of Indian History."

HEMCHANDRA ROYCHOUDHURI.

FOOD AND HEALTH: By Chandra Chakraborty. Published by R. C. Chakraborty of 58, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price 2 s. or Re. 1-8.

The author wrote this book while at New York, U. S. A., in 1920 and sent the manuscript to Calcutta for publication. We get no information in the book as to the calling of the author but its perusal leaves no doubt that even if the author is not a medical man, he seems to be well read in medical subjects generally.

The book contains a lot of useful information on food as well as on the preservation of health and on the prevention of contagious and infectious diseases which will greatly benefit Indian readers. Indeed, what may rather be considered as a defect of the book is that there is *too much over-crowding of information* which is likely to make it rather tiresome reading not only to general but to medical readers also. The author could have well left out much of the unnecessary technical details which abound in many parts of the book and which are too specialised to interest even ordinary medical readers, and they are thoroughly unintelligible to general readers. For instance, much that is contained in chapters I and II, the microbic decomposition of albumen (page 181), the detailed chemical composition of tea leaves and of the yolk and white of eggs, etc., etc., are too technical to be interesting to ordinary medical readers and would not be understood or assimilated by general readers. The presence of these details would, we are afraid, make the reading of the book tedious and tiresome to many.

Much extraneous matter has been introduced in the book which is altogether outside the scope of a work of this kind. Such subjects as the pathological changes in the organs in Malaria and other diseases, the treatment of cases of opium poisoning, the detailed chemical, physiological and therapeutic references

about stimulating drinks and intoxicating drugs, etc., etc., could have been advantageously omitted.

There are a few inaccurate and loose statements here and there (pages 15, 70, 78, 80, 110, 117, 174, etc.) and a good many printing mistakes which we hope to see rectified in the next edition of the book.

The author has not touched the important subject of *Vitamines*, and this we consider to be a serious omission.

The chapter on "Water" is very short and the information supplied in it is meagre and incomplete. We hope that in a treatise on Health, considering the deplorable condition of water-supply in this country, this important subject will receive more elaborate attention from the author in the second edition of the book.

A large portion of the chapter on *Malaria* is too full of technicalities to make it a popular reading. Its usefulness has in this way suffered much.

In spite of these defects, the perusal of the book will prove profitable to its readers. The chapters on food are well written and they contain a large amount of useful information regarding all kinds of our daily food. The essay on "sexual glands" will amply repay perusal. The last five chapters on *Immunity*, *Serum-therapy*, *Organo-therapy*, *Fasting Cure* and *Psycho-therapeutics*, give useful information within a short compass.

CHUNI LAI ROSE.

REDEMPTION FROM THIS WORLD or the Supernatural in Christianity: By A. G. Hogg, M. A., Professor of Mental and Moral Science, the Madras Christian College. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1922.

"An attitude of easy, irresponsible disbelief in the miraculous is simply a belated survival." Miracles, or as the author prefers to call them, special providences, did not come to an end with Jesus Christ; the miraculous is not a burden on the Christian's faith, but its inspiration, and a permanent factor in practical Christianity. By a new interpretation of the doctrine of Christian redemptions the author has attempted to develop his position. We regret we have no time to review this book at greater length, but to Indian *Bhaktas* the book ought to prove interesting, and the comparison between the Jewish and Advaita views of the problem of unmerited disaster and suffering, at page 245, may provoke challenge.

THE GOSPEL OF SWADESHI: By Professor D. B. Kalelkar. G. Ganesan, Madras. 1922.

A pamphlet with a foreword by Mahatma Gandhi.

(1) THE FOREIGN POLICY OF INDIA. (2) AGITATE! (3) THE MENACE OF THE WEST: By Bernard Houghton I. C. S. (retired.) S. Ganesan, Madras. 1922.

These three pamphlets from the bold and fearless pen of Mr. Houghton form instructive reading. The greatest mistake of Indian politicians would be to leave the foreign policy of India in the hands of the bureaucracy, which, by its muddle-headed Afghan and Russian policies, has piled up a monstrous army expenditure, which renders educational and sanitary improvement hopeless.

Under the guise of national defence, also, the expenditure is sought to be justified. India must pay for her chains. A Government which devotes 63 percent of its income to the army in times of peace is totally unfit to rule, in the opinion of the author, and stands condemned out of its own mouth. The unwholesome combination between capitalism, Indian and European, and the forces of reaction centred in the bureaucracy, is quite natural and is to be seen everywhere in the world, where wealth, vested interests and power have always combined to keep down the people. The strong repugnance to agitation betrays only the intense selfishness of the well-to-do classes. "The preservation of our privileges becomes the preservation of law and order: our egotism figures as patriotic fervour; our lust to dominate as a desire to civilise backward peoples. Our very avarice is disguised as solicitude for the welfare of the subject nations." And yet, "villified, imprisoned as agitators may be to day, freedom once won, they sit in the throne of power and guide the destinies of nations. And rightly so."

THE DAWN OF A NEW AGE: By W. W. Pearson. S. Ganesan, Madras. 1922.

Some of the articles in this little volume, e.g., Practical Swaraj, are reprinted from this magazine, though the fact is nowhere mentioned. Analysing the salient features of the Tagore educational movement at Santiniketan and Mahatma Gandhi's work and personality, Mr. Pearson shows how they are essentially the harbingers in India of the dawn of a new age.

AHIMSA AND THE WORLD PEACE: By Wilfred Wellock. S. Ganesan, Madras.

This is a brightly written little volume in which the author, who has suffered imprisonment for the sake of his principles, pleads on behalf of the pacifist movement and the abolition of war. A few poems by the author are appended at the end of the volume.

JAIL DIARY: By C. Rajagopalachar. Madras, Swarajya Press, 1922.

Mr. Rajagopalachar was the General Secretary of the Indian National Congress at the time of his simple imprisonment for three months from December 1921 to March 1922. His 'History Board' in jail made him out to be illiterate, but if it is a ridiculous blunder it is not more so than many other official records of greater pretensions. The *Jail Diary* is a human document of extraordinary interest, and we have read it through from cover to cover. The very first entry shows that the writer believed that Swaraj would be won before January and that on his return from jail he would find that Mahatma Gandhi had finished his Swaraj work and had got back to his normal occupation, viz., research in dietetics. But one of his very last entries runs as follows: "I did not imagine that my release at the end of this week would be such a 'Dead Sea fruit.' What can I do outside with every fellow-worker and Mahatmaji in prison? I wish my term had been longer." Those who are interested in prison reform will find ample materials in this little book of 136 closely

printed pages, and the horribly insanitary condition of most of the wards, the bugs, fleas, mosquitoes and lice which infest them, the abominable jail dietary, the farce of non-official visitors, the cruelty, injustice and inappropriateness of many of the disciplinary methods, all come in for vigorous, but not unsympathetic, criticism. The treatment of political prisoners calls most loudly for amelioration. As for the superintendent, an I. M. S. officer, who is the 'Prison King', and has to administer a thoroughly wooden and soulless system, the writer says: "I see that he is not given a free hand to deal well with political prisoners. In fact, while he is asked to show liberality and sympathy towards them, he is at the same time asked to keep within the rules regarding ordinary prisoners, so that liberality and sympathy come to mere words." While the writer is for absolute non-violence on the part of non-co-operators, and the passive resignation to every kind of oppression in jail without protest, he seems to be of opinion that the Mahatma's insistence on non-violence on the part of the masses everywhere, who have not adopted the creed of non-violence as the essential preliminary to his programme of civil disobedience, was a mistake. He however believes in the law of conquest by self-suffering, as the strengthening of the spirit of the nation is the essential requisite for the attainment of freedom. "Nothing has so strengthened the nation as the cheerful manner in which numbers of the most cultured classes have undertaken to suffer and are undergoing the rigours of the worst forms of jail life." Again, "the nation is too weak, too far drawn in economic misery to be able to fight and win in one campaign. We have to carry on many campaigns before we can come to the end of it; and peace and recuperations are necessary at the end of each campaign." Nevertheless, "we have now all the disadvantages of a retreat, and with the mass mind, a retreat is a great handicap to work with."

"The grand principle of responsibility in a bureaucracy is that only the lowest in the grade shall be fully responsible, and all the others shall, as far as possible, be free from blame for any mishap. The ascending order of irresponsibility is the life principle of the bureaucracy."

"It is the duty of civilised governments to show leniency, but it is on our part a weakness and a lapse from our ideals to think of claiming such leniency..... It is to suffer unjust punishments, without protest or complaint, that we have come here, and we would be pulling off our own foundations if we attempt when inside jail to agitate, protest, or offer *satyagraha* against the hardship imposed on us there..... In the battle of truth against falsehood, of good against evil, wherein we have discarded all the weapons and trust to the favour of spiritual weapons only, it is a fatal error to allow Satan to find his way into our fortress. All our strength would be gone beyond recovery if we allow falsehood to poison our souls. We shall over-reach ourselves if we attempt to overreach truth."

Here is a penetrating piece of observation: "The Superintendent has become very nice and has changed from his original royal reticence to active benevolence, keeping of course enough of the bureaucratic feeling to save the system from degenerating into common humanity."

"We ought all to know that Swaraj will not at once or, I think, even for a long time to come, be better government or bring greater happiness to the people. Elections and their corruptions, injustice and the power and tyranny of wealth and inefficiency of administration will make a hell of life so soon as freedom is given to us. Men will look regretfully back to the old regime of comparative justice, and efficient, peaceful, more or less honest administration. The only thing gained will be that as a race we will be saved from dishonour and subordination."

"There is nothing like temporary privation to make one enjoy and appreciate the real beauty of the simple essentials of life. In the unbridled license of ordinary life in these days, we have lost the capacity for real enjoyment of simple things and hanker for more and more complications. With all that they do not satisfy. Occasional strict privation gives a tone to the system, both physical and moral, by giving an appetite for essential things."

"Prison-going by itself will not achieve anything unless the heart partakes in it and not the mere body.....How many, who have now accepted imprisonment, have done it as a moral necessity arising from their inner revolt against national humiliation, and not as a mere device for the embarrassment of the Government, with which they hope it will not be able to cope."

"Slave-labour has not been abolished. The whole system of jail administration is but a scheme for slave labour in the fullest shape.....not only is reformation absent, but it is almost an article of the creed of all jail authorities that the convict is beyond moral redemption.....it is a mere factory for slave labour giving the absolute minimum of food and intended to get the maximum of work. The slaves are not owned, but hired for a limited period. So there is no abiding interest in their health or morals....."

"How false is the argument about labourers doing heavy work needing a drink of liquor in the evening! The mendacity of the apologies and pleas of Government officials and departments in this matter is proved by the rigid and successful enforcement of Government rules totally prohibiting liquor in jails where such heavy work is extracted from prisoners without detriment to health or slackening of efficiency."

In the writer's opinion, concentration of all political prisoners in one jail specially adapted to the purpose, under the supervision of carefully selected officials, is the only remedy for their gross maltreatment. The jail authorities would also feel immensely relieved thereby, for "all that they want is that there should not be inconvenient light thrown into the jail and the nuisance of reforming influence and pressure brought to bear on the barbarities and corruptions of their administration. They have no other animus against political prisoners."

The writer became a great adept in spinning while in jail. He considers the Charka a great blessing in soothing the spirit and quieting the nerves, and better than the vanity of useless reading, for it enables one to do something practically useful.

The book is full of reflections and observations which are as interesting as they are instructive, but already we have exceeded our limits and must refrain from further quotations.

Wilfrid Scawen Blunt was sent to jail for taking part in a prohibited meeting at Woodford in Ireland,

and there wrote his wellknown sonnets, 'In Vinculis'. Mr. Rajagopalachar closes his book on somewhat the same note as the last of these sonnets :

"Farewell, dark gaol! You hold some better hearts  
Than in this savage world I thought to find.  
I do not love you nor the fraudulent arts  
By which men tutor men to ways unkind.  
Your law is not my law, and yet my mind  
Remains your debtor. It has learned to see  
How dark a thing the earth would be and blind  
But for the light of human charity.  
I am your debtor thus and for the pang  
Which touched and chastened, and the nights of  
thought  
Which were my years of learning....."

POLITICUS.

A SURVEY OF INDIAN HISTORY, 1757-1858. By K. H. Kamdar, Professor of Indian History, Baroda College. Price Rs. 3

This is a large volume of 588 pages, which, though evidently intended for students wishing to prepare the subject for the higher University Examinations, will very well repay the labour of the general reader, who may wish to know the history of the British Conquest of India in its various phases and in sufficient detail. The narration of facts is lucid and has been skillfully blended with pithy criticism of nearly every event, episode and administration during the long period of a century, in the course of which India passed into the possession of England. The arrangement is, in some places, a bit confusing, owing to absence of clearly marked sections or marginal notes, describing the contents of the various chapters. The work seems to have been hurriedly got up, possibly owing to printing difficulties. The want of a bibliography and reference to authorities is a serious defect.

The history of the British conquest of India, abruptly ending with the Queen's proclamation, is, as it were, without a moral; and although a small concluding chapter in Mr. Kamdar's book at the end summarises a few historical lessons of a century's work, a bald impression is left on the reader's mind that he has waded through a series of wars, conquests and their tiresome accompaniments, without receiving any permanent benefit, such as a real historical study is expected to offer. In fact, the crowning piece of the history of British conquest comes after the mutiny, when, consolidation and peace being fully established, the real test for estimating the effects of a foreign conquest could be properly applied. The book, from beginning to end, contains a sickening repetition of the same sorrowful tale. Under the ever present plea of peace and order, nearly every conquest and every aggression, even in far off Burma and Afghanistan have been justified by the administrators; very often, indeed, nearly every undertaking has been subsequently criticised and condemned by some one or other of the ruling class themselves, although what was once enacted, was hardly reversed.

Admitting that the degeneration of India demanded a drastic change in her fortunes, one might plausibly justify the East India Company's doings up to the year 1818, e.g., the year of the fall of the Marathas, when the supremacy of England having been fully and finally established, a genuine regard for India's good

would have required a complete halt in the policy of further conquest and expansion. How ennobling would such a consummation have been ! England and India both always united in mutual affection and good will, both striving to work for the common good of humanity ! An historian, in such an event, writing a century after the fall of the Marathas, would have had to record quite a different story, from what Mr. Kamdar had to do.

Coming to particular points, a few remarks may be offered.—

P. 153-54. Hyder's character has been wrongly viewed, so far as the political equilibrium of Southern India is concerned, while that of his son Tipu has, in my opinion, been correctly estimated.

P. 277. Is there no contradiction here, when Mr. Kamdar says that Shah Zaman appeared at Lahore, although he had not left his capital ?

P. 298. Very many States assumed independent power in India in the 18th century ; to use the word crown or throne in such cases is, I think, a misnomer, e.g., in the case of the Peshwas, when they were merely ministers, ruling for the king.

P. 300. The origin of Wellesley's Subsidiary System has not, I believe, been correctly traced. Ample evidence in Maratha papers exists to show that they had already started the same policy in a crude form, which Wellesley later defined in precise terms as required by the circumstances of his time.

P. 306. While Wellesley's actions and policy have been admirably detailed, the final judgment passed on his achievements leaves much to be added. In fact, more attention has been shown to Clive and Hastings than to Wellesley, who with Dalhousie was responsible for rounding up and reddening the political map of India and committing England to an irrevocable imperial policy. Dalhousie, in this respect, has been well summarised in pages 534 and 535.

P. 538. I wonder what difference it makes as regards the vital interests of the people, whether a province is governed by a Commissioner, a Lieutenant Governor, or a full-power Governor. Changes like these, even though proclaimed under the specious name of "Reform", may be convenient to the rulers for their administration but cannot affect the people. Similarly, the five-year term of a Governor or a Governor-General has perhaps done greater harm than good to India. They are mere instruments for executing a cast iron policy, which they cannot change or mend. Every newcomer gets a plausible excuse of want of acquaintance for the first year or two ; and when he realises the situation is ready to act, he finds his term over, and has to make room for another newcomer. Perhaps permanent life-long appointments would ultimately benefit India more, although they might have a monarchical tendency.

What Lord Northbrooke says on England's foreign policy (p. 461) is perfectly true and is exactly what all Indians have been saying all along. But has that principle been ever acted upon by the British rulers ? In fact, one becomes sceptical as regards the oft repeated assertion that the democracy of England is always well disposed towards Indian interests and aspirations, and that if things are not what they should be, it is because this democracy is entirely ignorant about actual conditions in India. This does not seem correct. The people of England

do not take any personal interest in distant India at all. They fully trust their agents on the spot and have always endorsed what the latter have proposed and will ever do so. Individual administrators of the type of Northbrooke and Ripon come only by chance and have ever proved themselves powerless in effecting any lasting good of India, against the general feeling of England ; nay, the liberal policy and independent views of such exceptional men, have, as a rule, been disapproved, if not openly condemned. In fact, the words "reforms" or "measures of public good" seem to have lost their real meaning. Wellesley and Bentinck, Minto and Dalhousie, Hardinge and Canning have each and all talked and incessantly worked for peace and order, for consolidation and construction, for administrative perfection and centralization (p. 577-78), for fostering Indian trade and strengthening India's defences, in short, for doing the highest good to India, until at last all their labours have resulted in depriving the people of all initiative and power for self-help and in making India more and more dependent upon England. In fact, all such talk entirely ignores human nature, which is the same all the world over. The hard realities of this human nature will have to be faced and can be changed by no amount of plausible pleading or lucid exposition, since even the great Proclamation of Queen Victoria has remained a dead letter. The political unification of India stated on p. 535 is equally a high-sounding phrase, without any practical meaning. In this world no individual can help another, much less can a nation do it. To assert that India's welfare depends upon the stability of British rule is a cant and ignores human nature.

However, these are points beyond Mr. Kamdar's scope. Otherwise his comments on very many events are indeed admirable ; in fact his handling of such measures as the Queen's Proclamation of the India Bills of Fox and Pitt and others will be found exceptionally clever and thoughtful.

A national historian of India has yet to arise. Mr. Kamdar shows the promise. He has great capacity for labour and judgment, for assimilating and marshalling essential details out of a huge mass of confusing materials and so many ever conflicting views. He has evidently much in his mind, which he discreetly leaves unsaid. Let us hope that Mr. Kamdar, whom we must recognise among the few silent workers, will develop into a great historian of the future.

G. S. S.

### MARATHI.

*KRANTI-KAUSHALYA or skill in bringing about a revolution : a play in 3 acts. Author—Mr. G. K. Phatak. Publisher : Mr. G. S. Jamadagni, Kurundwad. Pages 91. Price Re. 1.*

This is a dramatic play based on the Pauranic legend of the King Ven, said to have been killed by the Brahmins, when he stopped all religious and sacrificial performances in his state in spite of all protests from his subjects. The author has altogether changed the story and made the king commit suicide. Bhriku, a Brahmin sage, is shown to be the arch-revolutionist. But there is no revolution and no action assigned to Bhriku in it. He appears on the stage half a dozen of times

just only to chide the king. The whole book, from cover to cover, is full of absurdities.

**DUTTANCHI KAVITA** or *Dutt's Poems*. Publisher Mr. V. D. Ghute, M. A., Gwalior. Pages 60+100. Price Re. 1-8.

Dattatraya K. Ghate was a young Maratha graduate in whom poetic genius had just begun to germinate. But he left this mortal world before the tree flowered. However, the short pieces, 48 in number, which he composed, are collected, edited and published in a book form by his son, with a long introduction of his own and a foreword from 'Chandrashekhar', his father's intimate friend. The poetic pieces presented in this book, though lacking in high flights of imagination, evince a poetic flash of no mean order, sweetness, and a ring of patriotic spirit, qualities which undoubtedly raise the poet in the estimation of the critical reader. But the poet's son, not content with this encomium, claims for his father a higher praise, urging forward a plea that a poet should be judged not only from what he actually achieved, but also from what he was presumably capable of achieving—a plea, which, if admitted, will in many cases revolutionise criticism, literary and otherwise. The book is nicely got up and moderately priced.

**ASPRISHYA VIHAR** or *Thoughts on Untouchability* by Mr. S. M. Mate, M. A. Publisher: Mr. S. K. Shinde, Secretary, Vangmaya Vihar Mandal, Poona. Pages 62. Price as 10.

If any proof were needed to show the growing consciousness of the educated Hindu community to the evils of the prevailing doctrine of untouchability of certain castes among them, it is supplied by this little book, wherein a high class Brahmin has powerfully advocated the cause of the so-called untouchables and demonstrated the utter futility of the arguments that are put forth in support of the maintenance of the evil. Mr. Mate has examined the problem from every possible point of view, political, social, economic, and sanitary, and conclusively shown that if India is to be regenerated, untouchability must first go. The latter portion of the book is especially interesting being full of information bearing on the traditions, customs, occupations, etc., of the untouchables in Maharashtra. The book deserves to be widely read and pondered over.

**NIRMAJA** (a novel) by Mr. K. M. Chiplunkar, B. A., LL. B. Publisher: Vangmaya Vihar Mandal, Poona. Pages 295. Price Re. 1-8.

The ancient ideal of Indian womanhood is said to be in conflict with that held forth at present by the Western education imparted to Indian girls in schools and colleges. This idea is at the root of many divergent opinions and grossly exaggerated pictures and caricatures of educated girls in social novels. In the present novel Mr. Chiplunkar has faithfully drawn pictures from the real society, barring one or two incidents which are unedifying. The main character, Nirmala, looks like an unfinished picture. On the whole, the book is readable.

**HARI NARAYAN APTE**—a biographical sketch by Mr. B. M. Ambekar. Publisher: Aryabhushan Press, Poona. Pages 110. Price as 10.

Mr. Apte's name is familiar in every household as the premier novelist in Maharashtra. The present reviewer, while reviewing his novels in these columns, had occasions to compare him with the distinguished Bengali novelists Bankim and Rabindra and to show the points wherein they resembled or differed. Comparison apart, there is an unanimous agreement that Haribhan Apte was a towering figure among Marathi writers, especially in the class of fiction-writers. He was a self-made man. Though not a graduate of any University, the Bombay University had recognised his scholarship by appointing him an examiner in M. A. examination, and also a lecturer in philology. He rarely took a prominent part in Indian politics, yet he was a trusted friend and adviser of the late Hon. Mr. Gokhale. He threw himself whole-heartedly in the administration of the Local Self-Government and was for a long period the elected President of the Poona City Municipality. The New Poona College is a standing monument of his educational activities. Yet he remained undecorated at the hands of Government which is a clear indication of his independent spirit. Such a man certainly deserved a rich honor at the hands of his countrymen—at least a full and copious work dealing at length with all his many-sided activities should have been written. That is exactly the weakest point of our Marathi writers—especially of men of the Moderate party. For while within two years of the death of Lokmanya Tilak, his two biographies put in their appearance, great worthies like Ranade, Telang and Gokhale, have not yet found a biographer among their staunch and devoted followers possessing great literary ability. Thanks to Mr. Ambekar, that he has at least written a short sketch of Mr. Haribhan's life. The writer is an untried hand, the information given is scrappy, and the want of acumen is evident in every page. With all these faults the book is welcome and does credit to the author's fidelity towards his departed friend.

**WILSON PHILOLOGICAL LECTURES FOR 1915—49** by the late H. N. Apte. Publisher: Aryabhushan Press, Poona. Price Re. 1-8.

These lectures were delivered under the auspices of the Bombay University and the subject was: Marathi, its sources and development. In all six lectures were delivered and they all evince careful handling of the subject, wide reading and skill in the treatment of the subject. Mr. Apte could not publish these in his lifetime, and in the meanwhile certain researches were made, which threw a different light on certain statements made by the lecturer, but the learned gentleman, Sardar Melendale, to whom was entrusted the work of editing this posthumous publication, has inserted later information in footnotes at proper places and made up the gap. This has enhanced the value of the lectures. Every student of Marathi language and literature will now find the book indispensable for the deep study of the subject.

V. G. APTE.

**MARATHI SHEEGHRA DIHWANI LEKHAN PUDDHATI** Or the *Text Book of Marathi Shorthand System*.

This nicely got up book has been prepared and published by Mr. Vasudeo Sitaram Bendrey of Poona. He aims at adopting his system for all vernacular languages of India, and judging from what he has



done for Mahratti language, we have no doubt of his success, provided expert men of Hindi, Urdu, Bengali and Gujarathi literature co-operate in his labours.

As regards Mr. Bendrey's Mahratti Puddhati, it appears to have been soundly developed in consonance with the peculiar psychology of the Mahratti language. It is simple and can be mastered by men of general erudition. The signs of phonography shall afford great facility to speed, as is the case with the Modi characters. It also transpires from the analysis of the system that it has been evolved by the author on the best elements which he found in Dutton and Boyd's systems of English Stenography. We commend this system to the notice of Bombay Government and urge upon the necessity of eradicating the evil of nonsensical Police reports which were the basis of many a prosecution of late. The book is priced at Rs. 2-8-0 and can be had of the Author, 154 Shanwar Peth, Poona City.

K. S. T.

### BENGALI.

**KANTA-KAVI RAJANI KANTA :** *By Nalini Ranjan Pandit. Published by Calcutta Book Club, College Street Market, Calcutta. Price Rs. 4-8.*

"Biography", said Carlyle, "is the most universally pleasant, the most universally profitable, of all reading." But it is in this very department that Bengali literature is comparatively poor. The life of the poet Rajani Kanta Sen, which has just appeared from the pen of Babu Nalini Ranjan Pandit, is therefore a welcome addition to the scanty stock of vernacular biographies. Apart from the fascination which the very name of Rajani Kanta has for the people of Bengal and apart from the keen interest which a sympathetic, yet critical, presentation of the facts of his life is bound to rouse, the attractive manner in which Nalini Babu has woven together fact and comment, hint and suggestion, explanation and forecast, appreciation and admiration, and brought out the intimate connexion between the poet's inner life and his outer surroundings, should, by itself, secure for his book a wide popularity among students of Bengalee literature. It may be mentioned that Nalini Babu was requested by the poet himself to undertake the task of compiling this biography: but when Nalini Babu acceded to this request, a request he could not have possibly refused in view of the relationship which existed between him and the poet, little did he calculate for what a deal of worry and trouble he had let himself in. Nothing short of a careful perusal of the book can suffice to convince one of the immense labour, the patient investigation in trackless fields, and the lavish expenditure of money, which the collection of data, the verification of notes, and the procuring of photographs have entailed. It is precisely this which lends to the book a human interest, as pathetic as it is instructive.

The book is broadly divided into three sections. The first deals with the details of the poet's personal history and family life. The second, which in a sense is the most remarkable part of the book, gives the public a lucid and inspiring account of his illness and stay in hospital, most of these facts being gleaned with infinite labour from the scrappy records of conversation with many visitors which have been kept in the form of what may be called a diary but is

in fact nothing more than the written answers to questions asked of the poet at a time when, owing to his disease and the surgical operation necessitated by it, he could not speak. It is here that we have to record our grateful appreciation of Nalini Babu's persevering inquiries into and painstaking elucidation of the above diary which have alone made it possible to find out the names of those who visited the poet in hospital as well as the trend of the conversations they had with him, and thus to piece out and make intelligible the poet's thoughts and feelings while undergoing acute bodily pain and confronted with the doom of an inevitable death. It is no exaggeration to state that Nalini Babu has, by his interpretation of the diary laid all future Bengalee scholars under a deep debt of gratitude. The third and the last section is an attempt at a critical estimate of Rajani Kanta as man, poet, and devotee. It is perhaps too soon after the death of the poet that this task has been undertaken, yet no reader of the biography can fail to be impressed by the wide knowledge of the poet's life and by the deep sympathy with his ideals and aspirations which the author has brought into play in formulating cut-and-dried opinions and giving a definite lead to all future criticism on Rajani Kanta.

The volume terms with many an unpublished poem and song of Rajani Kanta and also contains a choice selection of illustrations, including a facsimile letter of the poet. Rajani Kanta's family life, as depicted by the pen of Nalini Babu, is the record of the usual struggle genius has to carry on against circumstances. As a student in his teens, Rajani Kanta gave distinct promise of the high destiny that awaited him in after life, even though the cruel hand of death cut him off from that consummation toward which his powers were growing. His inborn love of poetry and music, his enthusiastic association with literary and national movements in Bengal, and the awful desolation that came upon his life when he fell a victim to an incurable disease, have all been deftly delineated by his biographer. The record of Rajani Kanta's hospital life, which takes up nearly one hundred and fifty pages of the book, shows how his character was deepened and spiritualized under the very stress of that solemn ordeal through which he had to pass, and also shows how a poet's fancy and a patriot's yearning were melted, fused, and merged into that calmness and resignation which is born of a realized faith in the Divine. Among the many pathetic cameos which arrest our attention in this part of the book, Rajani Kanta's interview with Rabindranath deserves special mention. The place which Rajani Kanta occupies in the heart of his countrymen is the theme of the concluding section of the book. This is where we feel we are least competent to offer any criticisms of our own. We would only add that Nalini Babu has shown great analytical skill in differentiating, as far as may be, the several aspects of Rajani Kanta's character and genius; he has subdivided his critique into a discussion of the poet's humour, his nationalism, and his spiritual self-discipline, and wound up with a statement of the general value of his poetry.

All who have any abiding interest in Bengalee literature must have at one time or other felt tempted to appraise Rajani Kanta's contribution to it; but in the absence of a compendious survey

of his family life and of the successive developments in his mental outlook, this could have been at best amateurish and incoherent. Now that the public have access to Nalini Kaba's scholarly production, a thorough and systematic study of Rajani Kanta has become a duty and a duty which may be properly discharged.

ANANDAMAYA DHARA.

KANARESE.

**BASAVA BHANU:** *By S. D. Pavate, B. A., LL. B. Hubli. Price one rupee. Can be had of the author.*

This book is the result of a controversy that has been furiously raising round Basava and his teaching. As the name indicates, the author has successfully defended Basava, and in support of that he has cited authorities from the scriptures and from the sayings of Basava itself. Mr. Pavate is a Sanskrit scholar deeply read in Lingayat religious literature as well as other Advaita philosophy. No one who desires to know something of "Shakti Vishishtadvaita" philosophy should be without it.

Basava the apostle of cosmopolitanism taught and lived a philosophy of his own. Both his life and teaching were in consonance. His teaching is a revolt against the formalism of old; but he did not live long enough to consolidate the work he had begun. No equal of his appeared on the scene after him. The Brahmanism re-imposed upon this religion also its formalism.

**"ALLAMA SHIDHDHARAMA SAMVADA":** *Published by the Veerashaiva Young Men's Association, Dargangere.*

This is a small pamphlet which is in the form of a dispute between two Sharanas (Mahatmas). Shiddharama is for earthly glory and Allama is for Nishkama Karma or what is in Lingayatism precisely and technically called the "Sivayoga" or Sharanu, or what Maharshi Aravind calls complete surrender.

M. S. K.

**KARNATAKA SINHASANA STHAPANE:** *By S. N. Kulkarni. Edited and published by S. R. Desapande, B. Sc., Secretary, Shri Vidyaranya Prakasak Sansthe-Malumaddi, Dharwar, Pp. 141. Price one rupee.*

Karnataka Sinhasana Sthapane or the Foundation of the Karnataka Empire, is the first publication of Shri Vidyaranya Prakasaka Sansthe or Shri Vidyaranya Kannada Publication Society started by Mr. R. H. Desapande, M. A., and his son.

This book is a historical novel describing the circumstances under which Madhavacharya, the great political sage founded the Bijayanagara Empire in the beginning of the Fourteenth Century to stem the tide of Mahomedan invasion. The incidents are well connected and the story is interesting. The get-up of the book is excellent and every Kannadiya ought to read and profit himself by it.

A. R. JALIHAL.

GUJARATI.

**ATMA RAMAYANA:** *By the late Vaidya Karunasankar Mulji. Published by Prabhasankar Jayashankar Pathak. Printed at the Purandare Pathak Printing Press, Bombay. Pp. 86. Thick cardboard. Price Re. 1-0-0 (1922).*

A disquisition on the Jnan Marga, the book is based on the Ramayana, and is in an allegorical form. It tries to treat of abstruse subjects like the relation of the Atma to the Paramatma and other Vedantic topics in a simple style, and that is all that can be said, as the abstruseness remains all the same.

**SHRI KRISHNA CHANDRODAYA CHITRA KATHA:** *By Shah Balubhai Fulchand of Nadiad.*

It is a small book of 19 pages of a most disappointing kind. Its object is to illustrate several incidents in the life of Krishna by means of pictures, but the pictures are miserable and sloppy, and the letter-press hardly better.

**SHAIVA DHARMA NO SANKSHIPT ITIHAS, (शैव धर्मोच्चासंक्षिप्त इतिहास):** *By Durgashankar Kevlram Shastri. Printed at the Lady Northcote Hindu Orphanage Printing Press, Bombay. Paper Cover, Pp. 154. Price Re. 1-0-0 (1921).*

This book gives in a short compass the history of one of the most widely observed cults in India from the earliest times. It also gives its present condition in different parts of the country. It is a very readable and instructive little volume.

**KATHIAWAD NI JUNI VARTAO (કાઠિયાવાડ નો જુનો વર્તાઓ):** *By Hargovind Premshankar Trivedi. Printed at the Gujarati Printing Press, Bombay. Cloth bound. Pp. 264. Price Rs. 2-8-0 (1922).*

Kathiawad has been, from of old, the land of romance and chivalry. There is an amount of "floating" literature in the province, embodying tales of romance and chivalry. If caught and perpetuated it is likely to prove of great importance from a historical and linguistic point of view. Very few efforts have till now been made to collect and publish such stories and many of them must have perished with the Bhats and the Charans who had them by heart. The collector of these stories had an innate love for them from his childhood and he has now been able to give us about twenty-nine of them and told in a pleasing form. The glimpses we get of the life of the natives of Kathiawad from them are both attractive and valuable. A sympathetic introduction by Prof. B. K. Thakore, who says that he has heard similar stories as a child sitting in the lap of their Dhobi narrator, sums up their utility from various standpoints. We are all the same afraid of one thing, and that is monotony, so that in future collections it would be better to see that monotony is avoided.

K. M. J.

## COMMENT AND CRITICISM

[ This section is intended for the correction of inaccuracies, errors of fact, clearly erroneous views, misrepresentations, etc., in the original contributions and editorials published in this Review or in other papers criticising it. As various opinions may reasonably be held on the same subject, this Section is not meant for the airing of such differences of opinion. As, owing to the kindness of our numerous contributors, we are always hard pressed for space, critics are requested to be good enough always to be brief and to see that whatever they write is strictly to the point. No criticism of book reviews and notices will be published.—Editor, "The Modern Review." ]

## Income of the Calcutta University.

The following is taken from *The Calcutta Review* :

"Even conceding that the estimated income of Cambridge is only £105,546 12s. 8d., it is wrong to state that 'the estimated income of the Calcutta University for 1921-22 would not be less than that of Cambridge noted above.' Without taking into account the income of the trust funds of the Calcutta University which are used only for specified purposes, we may point out that the Budget for 1921-22 shows that the income utilised for Post-graduate teaching in Arts and Science is only Rs. 5,87,945—about one-third of what Cambridge spends from the *University Chest*. May we ask in all humility on what authority does the Editor make such a misleading statement about the finances of the Calcutta University?"

We referred to the *total* income of the Calcutta University from *all* sources, including the income of the trust funds; and we spoke of the income of the *university*, *not* of the Post-graduate departments. In support of our statement, we call the following figures from the Draft Budget Estimates of the Calcutta University for 1921-22.

	Rs.
Government Grant to Post-graduate Teaching	15,000
Fees from Post-graduate Students	96,000
" " Presidency College "	25,000
Fee Fund Receipts	9,19,430
Law College Receipts	1,90,300
Hardinge Hostel Receipts	38,090
Inspection and General Administration	
Fund Receipts	25,000
Ramtanu Lahiri Fellowship Fund	11,000
Students' Mess Fund	81,128
Minto Professorship Fund	13,000
Hardinge " " "	12,000
George V " " "	12,000
Carmichael " " "	20,246
Sir Rashbehari Ghose Fund	40,000
" " " "	68,750
Sir Taraknath Palit Fund	23,235
" " " "	22,700
" " Foreign Scholarship Fund	14,500
Khaira Fund	22,250

Total Rs. 1,649,629

## Curiosity About a Letter.

A writer in the *Calcutta Review* has somehow come to know that Sir Michael Sadler wrote us a letter some time ago, and asks why it was not published. The answer is, because it was not meant for publication. The writer also asks why we made a certain correction. The answer is, because it is our practice to make a correction whenever we discover a mistake ourselves or one is pointed out to us by anybody. Unimportant mistakes which the reader can correct for himself are not usually corrected.

## Communalism as the Basis of Indian Democracy.

While admitting the merits and excellence of the line of arguments adopted by Dr. Radha Kamal Mukherjee in laying down the ways as to how the Indian Democracy should be established on a safer and surer basis, I may be permitted to make a few remarks on the same.

In his learned article Dr. Mukherjee first tried to examine the common ways of judging the social and political systems of both the East and the West, and then made his own suggestions towards the construction of our future political system on the communal basis in preference to the parliamentary or party system that obtains in England at present; and in so doing he tenaciously adhered to his old idea of incorporating the caste or sub-caste panchayet element into the village polity or communal councils, which I believe is erroneous in view of the fact that it goes to rehabilitate the evils which the whole country is up in arms to combat. It is really astonishing to see that notwithstanding the bitter experience of the sad consequences of this invidious distinction of castes and subcastes, our learned professor has not been able to get clear of the tentacles of the old monster that has been, for centuries, eating into the very vitals of our nation. This is not the first time that he is enthusiastic enough to advocate the merits of this system; but in all his previous writings on the social reforms problem he was carried away by the same idea of functional or caste government. He is quite in the right when he says that "it is a remarkable paradox that whereas the

results of the Parliamentary system are becoming more and more revolutionary in Great Britain, the system is introduced as essential to India, the home of communal experiments, in social, economic and political life ;" and I admit that we should be careful that we do not commit the same folly in determining the political future of India. But then I am at a loss to find his logic consistent when I see him advocating in the same breath the return of the system which has been so many times deplored and denounced by so many of our Indian statesmen and leaders of thought on so many occasions on account of its disastrous effects on our national life. He suggests again : "Meanwhile let all our reformers in India beware of the errors of Western democracy, and try to build a safer and surer democracy from the bottom on the foundations of our village or caste panchayets, .....casting out the abuses and evil customs which have clung to them." Here I should like to ask him, what guarantee can he give us that this monster, which has been sucking the vital fluid of our national system for centuries, will remain docile because its fangs will be taken out and talons lopped off ? They may very naturally grow again and it may resume its rapacious career afresh. Is it not paradoxical (to quote his word) that he advocates in the same breath the merits of both Democracy and a system that brings into play and fosters the artificial barrier between man and man, created

on account of the accident of birth ? The very word democracy in the truest sense of the term is incompatible with any term that conveys the idea of any artificial distinction between high and low, rich and poor, privileged and unprivileged, or any institution that supports the subjugation of man under man. And who does not know that this distinction, especially that which exists in India, is the most pernicious of its kind ? To speak the truth, the very word caste, so long as it carries the idea of birth consideration, should not be allowed to come within the pale of the conception of democracy, whether based on Eastern principles or Western principles.

To sum up, I should like to say that if Democracy or Commonwealth be our goal to move on to, we should always be on our guard to eliminate all the elements that stand in the way of social and political solidarity ; or it will be fighting backwards in search of the political welfare of the country ; for so long as class or caste-feeling exists, class-wars and conflict of interests are sure to ensue, in spite of all sermons and warnings.\*

PRASANNA KUMAR SAMADDAR.

\* One might also enquire what would be the place and status of the Musalmans, the Christians, &c., among whom there is no caste, in Dr. Mookerjee's communal system.

## A B C OF INDIAN POLITICS

### II

**I** HAVE so far discussed the fundamental implications of our political position. The conclusions at which I arrived may be thus summarised :—

1. That being a subject people and not a sovereign nation, we have no power to make laws ; nor have we a constitution which owes its existence or its evolution to the sovereign will of the nation.

2. That the nation and the state which impose their sovereign rule on us are those of Great Britain.

3. That the laws in force in British India have been made by the British and as such, not owing their origin or the sanction to the sovereign will of our nation, are not morally binding on us ; that politically no nation owes any allegiance to laws not made by

it either directly or indirectly through its representatives ; that our allegiance to British-made laws comes not from our consent but from the compelling force of the might of the British government and that the Government of India is a government established by British law and not by any law made by us.

4. That a government imposed on us by a foreign state by the force of its might is not subject to any changes by our will, as long as we do not evolve and assert our irresistible national will, which should compel the government to look to us for its authority and power.

5. That our first and foremost duty is to evolve and assert such a will.

6. That it is futile to think of reforming a foreign government and mean-

ingless to talk of constitutional agitation for the purpose.

7. That the Reform Act of 1919 has made no change in our political status. In fact it has emphasised our subject condition and established it as a formula for the future.

8. That we owe no co-operation to such a government, nor can our co-operation with them in any way affect and improve our political position.

9. That our co-operation with such a government to maintain what is called 'law and order' and to repress and harass those who are engaged in the task of forming a national will is an act of disloyalty to our own people and to our country.

10. That 'law and order' are only means to an end; there have been times when in the interests and for the good of the nation as well as the protection of the fundamental liberties of the individual and the community, they have been disregarded even by the citizens of a sovereign state; that such times may recur; that both modern theory and practice deny the absolute 'omni-competence of the state' which should make it obligatory on everyone to bend to its will under all circumstances and for all purposes; and that a government can only derive its authority from the nation it governs and so must be responsible to it for all its acts.

It may be said in reply that this is all very well in abstract theory but it is not practical politics. Practical politics require that we should win the good will of the ruling race, use their laws for the purpose of strengthening our position, accept their service in order to get experience in the work of administration and in the mean time build up the nation. Also that being militarily helpless, depending on the British for the defence of our borders and for the protection of our hearths and homes, it is no use our pining for the moon and applying the political theories of sovereign nations to our conditions. It is also said that differences of race and religion and the jealousies and

rivalries that arise therefrom are such effective hindrances in the way of our national unity as to make the work of formulation and assertion of the national will extremely difficult, if not altogether impossible and that pending the attainment of this national unity it is better for us to be governed by the British than to run the risk of being dominated and exploited by some other nation. It is added that in the present state of world politics it is impossible for a country like India to remain free even if the British leave us, and that in that event Japan or Afghanistan or some other power is bound to step in and take us in hand. There are some, who place an implicit faith in the sense of justice of the British, who believe that the British are quite honest and sincere in their promises and pledges\* and that now that they have promised to give us Dominion status within as short a time as possible, it is for us to use our opportunities in such a way as to disarm opposition and criticism and to inspire faith in our capacity, loyalty and reasonableness. These latter often talk of "ordered progress" and warn their countrymen of the dangers of a revolution and the misery that comes in its train. They hold up the France of 1789 and the Russia of the last few years as examples of revolutionary disasters. Their watchword is 'Progress, steady though slow.'

Some of these points are quite weighty and cogent; others have only a substratum of truth: the rest are absolutely fallacious, based on that lack of individual and national self-confidence which accounts for the continued subordination and passive acquiescence in conditions of national humiliation of large populations to a mere handful of strong-willed and assertive foreigners. It may be true that theories would not help us unless we create facts to accord with those theories.

The European Imperialists maintain that the theories evolved by western

\* This was written before the delivery, on August— of Mr. Lloyd George's now notorious speech on the subject of the position and future of the Indian Civil Service, &c.

thinkers in their progress towards perfection and enduring democracy are not applicable to Eastern conditions of life. Not only political theories but conditions of life too, are so different as to make the western notions of freedom and democracy unsuitable to the people of the East. Consequently, say they, there is no analogy between the countries of the West and the East. If this argument were true, it would knock the bottom out of the theory of Self-Government by stages or by instalments. In a few years, say ten or twenty or even fifty, the East will not be so changed as to become fit to work out western ideas of democracy. And if it does change so rapidly and so completely, it will be an evil day for humanity. By the time the East changes so as to be fit for the political institutions and ideas which are current to-day in the West the latter itself would be entirely changed and might be on a different track altogether. Are we born only to follow and imitate the West and always to remain at a distance from it even when so following and imitating? Are we quite sure that the West is after all on the right track and deserves the intellectual, the political and the economic leadership of the world for all times to come? Are we quite sure that these people—the Vincents and the Haileys of the Indian government, the Butlers and Lloyds of the provinces are the right persons to lead us to the gates of the democratic harem? Are they disinterested enough, even if intelligent and able, for that rule? Are they superior to the Asquiths, Balfours, Chamberlains and the Lloyd Georges of their native island? If the latter have made a mess of their own country's affairs and have brought it to the verge of bankruptcy and civil war, what guarantee is there that their prototypes in India will do better? Is there any reason for us to believe that the British Indian rulers and pro-consuls, who in the majority of cases have risen to these high positions from the ranks of a bureaucracy, the most despotic and the most cunning that the world has known, are morally better men than the Lloyd Georges, Winston Chur-

chills, Curzons and Chamberlains of Great Britain? The whole past history of Great Britain, the story of its dealings with its colonies in America, Africa and Asia, its diplomatic record in Europe, its dealings with coloured people all over the globe, should put us on our guard against taking its words, promises and pledges on their face value. The truth is that the British are neither worse, nor better than the other Imperial races of the past and the present. They would not be Imperialists, if they were different from what they are. It may be that sometimes, even as Imperialists, they are guilty of blunders, but to say so is only to admit that after all they are human. There would be no escape from Imperialistic clutches if there were no blundering Imperialists. The case of its victims would indeed be hopeless if Imperialism were always served by the best, the cleverest and the most virtuous of men. It is an affection which carries with it the seeds of its own destruction.

To the relief of the dependent and enslaved people such seeds rapidly fructify when they are watered by Imperialists of the type of Sir Michael O'Dwyer and General Dyer. They rouse their victims to a sense of danger as nothing else does. But Imperialism, at its best, has in itself certain inherent characteristics which bring about its downfall. These are the greed and the lust of power which makes its votaries reckless, haughty, inhuman and overbearing. Even the best of the Imperialists is an enemy of human liberties. Any alliance with him is an alliance with the powers of evil. Submission to Imperialistic rule on the part of a weak and powerless people, their inability to rise against it, the refusal of their leaders to undertake a campaign of violent opposition to it, are entirely different from an alliance with it. The former is the result of their helplessness and impatience; the latter, the evidence of their degeneration. Only a fool or a knave can believe that Imperialists desire the alliance or the co-operation of the leaders of the subject

peoples with the object of their own overthrow. We can understand the argument that being militarily helpless, disunited, uneducated and lacking in qualities of head and heart, which are necessary to enable a subject people to assert their national will and set up a government of their own, it is best for them to proceed with care and to avoid attempting things which might prematurely bring them into violent conflict with the rulers; one can appreciate the argument that under the circumstances the best thing for a subject people is to take advantage of the opportunities that are left to them of consolidating, educating and organising themselves for the day of liberation; one can even comprehend the argument that it is better to put up with the humiliation of being a subject people than attempt freedom by force resulting in enormous bloodshed; but one cannot understand how a member of a subject people can make an alliance with the rulers in order to make their rule more effective, more popular, more enduring and still claim to be a sincere patriot desiring the freedom of his country. The two things are entirely incompatible and inconsistent. Once it is admitted that Imperialism is an evil and a negation of the fundamental rights of the dependent and subject people, any compromise with it, which carries an acquiescence in its methods and a continuance of the system, must be condemned. There can be no Empire without dependent and subject peoples. For these subject or dependent peoples to aspire to a position of partnership in the Empire is an act of disloyalty to the subject country, as it involves condonation of the principle of Imperialism and a denial of the rights of other peoples to be free and self-governing. Accepting the *fact* of foreign rule and acquiescing in its continuance one may for personal ends accept the service of such foreign government but one can never be a servant and an ally at the same time. A slave may negotiate with his master for his freedom, but he can never be an ally.

Leaving aside the theoretical discussions let us deal with concrete facts.

There is nothing in the history of British rule in India which justifies the assumption that the Indians in the service of the British have even by a hundredth of an inch advanced the cause of their country's freedom. On the other hand there is plenty of evidence that even the best, the most conscientious and the most 'patriotic' of them have been used as tools by the British bureaucracy to enact repressive laws, to administer repressive laws and to apologise for their proceedings on behalf of their masters under what is termed 'ordered progress'. Is it progress ordered from above? Then what is progress? Does the railway mileage represent progress or do the figures of imports and exports connote progress? Does a big army and a heavy budget indicate progress or is the increase in the number of government officials, a sign of progress? Do magnificent buildings, erected at public expense by a foreign government, to bespeak their glory, represent progress? All this may be 'progress' in a certain sense, yet may also be evidence of the utter helplessness of the people with whose money and at whose cost all this progress is achieved. France was at the zenith of her glory under Louis XIV, but can it be said that that was progress? The Mogul Empire reached its highest pinnacle under Aurangzeb. Was it progress? Russia was a formidable power under Czar Nicholas II. Its Government was most zealous in maintaining law and order. Most of its gifted sons were in exile either in foreign countries or in Siberia. Freedom of speech, freedom of worship and freedom of association were denied to the people in the name of law and order. Yet the Russians in the employ of the Czar all stood for progress and only aimed at ordered progress. How often have law and order been used to cover tyranny and oppression! If the will of the despot is law and the maintenance of that law is order, then have 'law and order' been vindicated by all governments, at all times in history, even by the most tyrannical and the most cruel among them; then there was never any justification for revolt against government authority however mild its

form. Let us assume for the sake of argument that the British Indian government is a national government of our own. Let us forget that it is a foreign government. What would be our duty if such a government passed a Rowlatt Act under the circumstances it did, or committed an outrage or applied the Criminal Amendment Act to the Indian National Congress or proclaimed the Seditious Meetings Act or gagged the Press. I contend that a self-respecting progressive democratic people would have done exactly what we have done under these circumstances, perhaps even more.

"The supreme interest of the state is in justice and it does not necessarily follow that justice and order are in perfect correlation." There are times when the business of law is not the maintenance of an old equilibrium but the creation of a new one. Let those Indians who talk so glibly of 'law and order' and 'ordered progress' remember that in the advance of humanity 'few things are more fatal than the triumph of authority over truth'. On these notions of law and order, as they are entertained by some of our countrymen, it would be impossible for any country to make any advance towards freedom. Even in self-governed countries, freedom is not a stationary thing. It is always progressing. And wherever the governments are not sufficiently responsive to the new ideas of freedom entertained by the people, the latter have to enforce their point of view on the governing class or classes by not making a fetish of 'law and order'. Says Lasky, "wherever in a state a group of persons large enough to make its presence felt demands the recognition of certain claims, it will not recognise a law which attempts defiance of them; nor will it accept the authority by which the law is enforced." This is not a new political maxim, but one which is amply corroborated by the facts of history. These principles acquire even greater force, when considered in relation to a country which is being governed by the will of a foreign state which denies even elementary freedom to the people it governs. Let it not be

forgotten even for a minute that with us it is not a question of the expansion of our liberties, but it is a question of *our being born a free nation*. A nation governed by another has no liberties, except such as are allowed to it by its masters, either as a matter of grace or enlightened self-interest. These are not liberties but concessions, which may any time be withdrawn by the power that granted them. The point is being emphasised from day to day by the Anglo-Indian Press and is the fundamental basis of the Reforms Act, of 1919. But what we, the nationalists, are after, are not *concessions* but *rights*. At present we have no rights. It is a matter of great humiliation that even the best intellects in the country cannot see this point. They feel no shame in talking of concessions, in asking for them and in agitating for them. This creates a solid wall of principle between the nationalists and the moderates. The former are constructivists, the latter are mere reformers. The former want a rebirth, the latter a mere continuance, though under better conditions, of their present subordinate life. The former want the people to come to theirs—by their own efforts; the latter want a kind Providence to throw their crumbs from its beautiful table. The former are "rightarians", if I may coin such a word and the latter "charitarians". What we want is, *evolution from below*, what our opponents are after is a *gift from above*. What the nationalists assert is the *right of manhood* for which they are prepared to pay the price, what the moderates seek is a *condition of gilded bondage to develop into manhood at some future time, without much trouble in the process*. The moderates in their supreme wisdom often label the 'nationalists' as 'impatient visionaries' and 'revolutionaries' and themselves as apostles of 'ordered progress' and 'evolutionaries'. The fact is that they do not understand what national evolution implies and involves. Acquiescence in the existing order and dependence on the benevolence of those



whose imperial interest is opposed to our national evolution, is not seeking progress by evolution. A subject people cannot evolve into a self-governing nation unless it is prepared to struggle for it. The struggle does not consist in seeking offices and in accepting honours from those who do not believe either in your right or in your capacity to determine the steps in your evolution and who insist that they and they alone must be judges of these steps. It is travesty of language to call that evolution. Intelligent evolution assumes active and intelligent struggle. The nation will never evolve into a self-governing state if it were to follow the methods of the moderates. The latter deny the people a right to assert their rights and to put forth energy to enforce them, if by doing so they have to do things which are displeasing and disconcerting to their political masters. To win their political and economic freedom by the willing consent of their masters is their goal. To win our political and economic freedom in spite of the other party's denial of our rights and in spite of his wish to keep us out of them, is our effort. In this effort a certain amount of conflict is inevitable. The best amongst us are determined not to let that conflict lead to bloodshed, but to let that conflict be determined by considerations of mere legality is to show one's ignorance of both nature and history. The fact is that the moderates are not democratic at all. They do not care for the people. What they are aiming at is power for a few. They seem to be afraid of the people. They do not want the people to get strong and acquire the power of asserting and enforcing their will. They want to impose their will on them. This they can only do by an alliance with the authorities. The latter are prepared to share their power with a class of

Indians, whom they can easily coerce or please, but they do not want the people to develop power and strength and unity. The tragedy of the thing, however, lies in the fact that the moderates cannot see this. They believe, many of them quite honestly and sincerely, that they are all working *for the people* and in their interest. The difference between the two parties is thus not one of speed nor of mere method but of fundamental principles.

Power from above is a two-edged sword. It is more demoralising and corrupting than power from below. The former breeds insolence, pride, helplessness and narrowed vision; the latter teaches humility, forbearance, constant vigilance and constant sacrifice. The former depends on the pleasure of a few, the latter on the pleasure of many. It is true that in the hands of small people the latter also may lead to demoralisation and corruption. But the first spoils even *the best* of men. It is the most dangerous thing for a member of a subject race to share power with their rulers. It is liable to make them mere tools of the latter, even against their will.

As for experience in administration, this is again a shibboleth. What experience had Lord Reading or Dr. Sapru, or Mr. (now Sir Mohammed) Shafi or Mr. Sarma? What experience had Lord Peel?

Let me not be misunderstood. I am no advocate of rashness or foolhardiness. Let us be careful by all means; but carefulness does not mean procrastination or subservience. Let us lead the nation on the *right lines*, however slow the progress may be, but for God's sake let us not confirm their slavish mentality and habits of acquiescence and passivity by our own *narrowmindedness and narrow vision*.

AMRIT RAI.

## FOREIGN PERIODICALS

**Mustapha Kemal Pasha, the Man.**

In the *Fortnightly Review* for July there is an informing article on 'Mustapha Kemal Pasha, the Man'. In the opinion of the writer,

'He was a man of iron in a situation which would break any man of less durable metal..... To me he is one of the hardest and soberest leaders in the world today.'

The following extracts will show what is the British attitude towards Turkey and Greece respectively, and what the sympathy of British statesmen for Mussalman susceptibilities comes to in practice. (The Italics are ours.)

"Great Britain, which had been supporting Abdul Hamid against Russia, dropped the Sultan and joined hands with the Tsar in the Anglo-Russian Treaty of 1907.....Without British support the end of the old Empire was now only a matter of time. The revolution [of the Young Turks] of 1908 succeeded only to fail.....

"Under the terms of the Mudros armistice the Turkish navy had been surrendered and interned at Constantinople, and the Turkish armies were being rapidly disarmed and demobilised.....It had then become apparent that Venizelos and political Hellenism had succeeded to the place in the Anglo-Russian alliance which Russia had vacated. *Backed by the overwhelming strength of the victorious British arms, the new Anglo-Hellenist rapprochement was even more dangerous to the disarmed remnant of Turkey than the old Anglo-Russian alliance had been to the late Empire, and with the Allies in occupation of Constantinople itself, Kemal knew that it was useless to attempt to gather the broken and chaotic capital against the new doom which was ready to burst upon it. Accordingly he left Constantinople for Asia Minor to escape Allied surveillance for a sufficient period of time to enable him to form a new political party which, working under the terms of the Mudros armistice, should compel Damad Ferid to re-assemble Parliament and enable the country to consider its future....."*

About the occupation of Smyrna the writer says :—

"*But the Greek occupation of Smyrna on May 15th, 1919, showed what might be expected of the new Anglo-Hellenist rapprochement*

and sent whole provinces in Asia Minor scurrying to Kemal.....

"The Greek occupation of Smyrna led Kemal to tear up the Mudros armistice, but he continued to direct his efforts towards the building up of a Nationalist majority in the Parliament at Constantinople. He now moved his headquarters to Angora, a town of mud and malaria which happened to be within easy communication of Constantinople both by rail and wire. Here a group of twelve leaders of his now powerful Nationalist Party drew up the National Pact and dispatched it to Ferid's Parliament in Constantinople, which adopted it on January 20th, 1920, "declaring the principles therein announced to be the limit of sacrifice to which the Ottoman Parliament can consent to go in order to assure itself a just and lasting peace." *The British military command in Constantinople now suppressed the Parliament by arresting and deporting to Malta as many of its Nationalist deputies as could be found. But the long effort which Kemal had made to build up a Nationalist majority in the Parliament did not come to nought. The arrival of scores of Nationalists who had fled from Constantinople on the famous night of March 16th now made it possible for Kemal to set up a solidly Nationalist Parliament at Angora. The Grand National Assembly was convened at Angora on April 23rd for the sole purpose of executing the National Pact, and in the remnant of the great Empire over which Abdul Hamid had once wielded his absolute rule Field-Marshal Mustapha Kemal Pasha had finally become master."*

Subsequent events are thus referred to.

"Thereafter Ferid lasted long enough at Constantinople to see the Sevres Treaty signed at Paris on August 11th, but when it became apparent that he would be unable to ratify it, he was finally dropped from office. *The Sevres Treaty was the handiwork of Anglo-Hellenism. Briefly it proposed to close the Greek pincers about Constantinople, to cut it off from Asia Minor with a garrison restricted to 700 men, and to place what remained of Turkey in Asia Minor under the permanent military, financial and economic control of Great Britain, France and Italy. Had it been ratified it would have put an end not only to the Ottoman Empire but to Turkey itself, and the possibility of securing its ratification was not abandoned without a struggle. The National Assembly had scraped together sufficient Turkish forces to maintain touch with the Greeks along a front which followed the line of the Bagdad Railway.....but*

with its Navy taken over by the British under the terms of the armistice it was unable to contest the Greek command of the coasts, and the Greek rear in Europe was of course out of the question. Bottled up in Asia Minor, the Assembly's only military contact with the Greeks was the frontal contact of the line from Eski-shehr to Afium. With a British military mission now attached to the Greek high command, the Greeks encircled the left flank of the makeshift Turkish forces in front of Afium, and sent them pell-mell into a disastrous retreat. Some seventy-five miles to the rear and only forty miles in front of Angora itself, they reformed on a north-and-south line along the Sakaria river, where Mustapha Kemal Pasha himself took command. Here the Greeks sought again to encircle their left, but Kemal pulled down his forces to meet them. Crossing the Sakaria south of the Turkish lines, the Greeks drove some fifty miles due east in a vain attempt to find the Turkish left. With the Turkish positions now shifted to an east-and-west line at a distance of some fifty miles southwest of Angora, the Greeks hammered away for twenty-one days in an effort to break through—a struggle which some day will be appreciated as one of the world's historic battles. In Kemal's career it was almost as brilliant an episode as his victory before Anaforta in 1915."

What was the result of that battle?

"In that engagement Anglo-Hellenism and its handiwork, the Sevres Treaty alike collapsed. The Near East Conference at Paris last March was the result, a conference at which Kemal was represented by the Assembly's Foreign Secretary, Youssef Kemal Bey. At that Conference Great Britain, France and Italy made "suggestions" to Athens, Constantinople and Angora, respecting a Greco-Turkish armistice pending the assemblage of a peace conference at "a town to be decided upon." The Grand National Assembly's reply was a demand for "integral acceptance" of its National pact and evacuation of Asia Minor by the Greeks before the peace conference began, coupled with a suggestion of Ismid town, at the head of the gulf of that name on the Sea of Marmora, as a suitable scene for the conference. Ismid was suggested in order to make it possible for Kemal himself to attend behind the scenes when the Angora delegates entered the conference.

"And here events stand to-day. Both before and since the Genoa Conference Kemal's chief anxiety is to recover, on that new basis of equality which is laid down in the National Pact, the understanding with England which Abdul Hamid lost in 1907.....

"History has not yet written its verdict on Kemal. Whether his revolution of 1920 will succeed in effectively introducing into Turkey those Western ideas of government which Abdul Hamid once fought with all the espionage at

his command, whether his revolution will succeed where Enver's revolution of 1908 failed, remains to be seen. All that one can say today is that Kemal has become the leader of all those Sunni Moslem countries between Constantinople and Kabul which until 1917 felt the full weight of the Anglo-Russian Treaty of 1907."

### The Peace Mind.

In the same issue of the *Fortnightly* Mr. Holford Knight writes on "The Peace Mind". "At the centre of our present discontents," he begins, "is a general uneasiness that the mind of our rulers is not set towards peace." He proceeds as follows:

"I found in America and other parts of the world a general criticism to the effect that, as a people, we were singularly unready to apply to our own concerns the remedies we recommended to other nations. For instance, if we had made a serious effort to extend to India, Egypt and Ireland the principles we assisted to impose on enemy communities in Europe, many of our difficulties would not have occurred. This correspondence between our commendations to others and our own practices will have to be accomplished before the respect of large minorities throughout the world is secured."

### Some Leading Phases of the Evolution of Modern Penology.

Harry Elmer Barnes writes in the *Political Science Quarterly* that in really advanced and thinking societies crime is no longer the mere object of organised revenge. Civilised societies recognise that the criminal is also a member of society and as such has a claim to social consideration, sympathy and fair play. In many cases his crime is the outcome of abnormal physical, psychological or environmental conditions, many of which could be removed. Crime in a large number of cases is a curable disease, and the criminal an useful member of society who has ceased to be so only temporarily and with good reason. Justice instead of going into ecstasies over her blind ruthlessness is finding new pleasures in the use of spectacles and the microscope.

Modern biology, for example, has made clear the characteristic animal traits which man has inherited from his ancestors and

has opened the way for an understanding of the difficulties inherent in attempting to keep this primitive equipment controlled by modern laws and institutions. It has called attention to the frequent occurrence of organic defects in the criminal personality, which are an important cause of his criminal behavior, and which may through ill-controlled heredity, lead to a transmission of these menacing defects to a multitude of descendants. It has also made plain the necessity of incarcerating the prisoner under healthful conditions, if any effective effort at reformation is to be hoped for.

Equally significant has been the growth of scientific knowledge in the field of psychology. This has utterly destroyed the old notion of the criminal as a "perverse free moral agent" and has led to the analysis of the nature and significance of "criminal behavior." It has pointed out the psychopathic trends and characteristics in the disposition or mental constitution of the typical criminal. It has, at the same time, destroyed forever the belief that the criminal class is a uniform type, and it has made clear the necessity of differentiation in the study and treatment of the offenders against the law. It has proved to the satisfaction of all scientifically minded persons the utter hopelessness of attempting to reform a certain very considerable group of low-grade psychopathic criminals, and has demonstrated the necessity of a permanent detention and segregation of this type in the interest of social protection. But it has also made it equally apparent that the majority of the remaining element in the criminal class can be restored as safe members of society when they are subjected to proper educational and therapeutic treatment, according to the principles of modern psychiatry. More than this, it has aided the courts in providing a more scientific technique for detecting and convicting the criminal. The work of Hans Gross and Hugo Munsterberg is sufficiently well-known to illustrate this field of psychological activity in its relation to criminology and criminal jurisprudence.

The attitude of society towards the criminal has undergone a parallel transformation.

It has passed through exactly what Comte regarded at the stages of the mental evolution of humanity—the; theological, the metaphysical and the scientific. In primitive and early political society the criminal was believed to be possessed by an evil spirit. Later he was viewed in a sort of metaphysical sense as a "perverse free moral agent." Finally, with the development of the scientific outlook, the criminal is now looked upon as a pathological unit of behavior, whose actions are determined by hereditary disposition and the experiences of life. The

earliest scientific form of interpretation of the pathological behavior of the criminal was set forth by the group of anthropological or somatological theorists, mainly Lombroso and his followers, who believed that the typical criminal exhibited gross forms of physical defect and biological reversion. While careful students of criminal science have not been generally disposed to reject in their totality the views of Lombroso, a continually increasing number of criminal scientists, from the days of Maudsley onward, have come to believe that pathological psychic traits are much more important in the production of the criminal mind than are mere physical defects. Lastly, the sociological student of criminal behavior emphasizes the part played by a defective life experience, leading to a maladjustment to the conditions of a properly socialized existence.

As a result of this new way of looking at things a large number of people took up the work of prison reform and the formulation of methods of treatment for the regeneration of the criminal.

In his two works, *The Penitentiary Systems of Europe and America* (1828) and *The Theory of Imprisonment* (1836), that wise and progressive French penologist, M. Charles Lucas had clearly taken the advanced position that a curative reformatory type of prison discipline ought to be substituted for the contemporary repressive prison system. It was a long time, however, before this aspiration was adequately realized. It was only achieved, and then imperfectly, in the Elmira Reformatory system introduced into the New York State following 1870.

Captain Alexander Maconochie came to Norfolk Island in Australia in 1840, and was able to bring about a tremendous improvement in penal methods by eliminating the old flat-time sentence and introducing the beginnings of commutation of sentence for good behavior.

The notion of productive and instructive prison labor, which goes back to the Pennsylvania Quakers, was also developed by a number of progressive penologists during the second quarter of the nineteenth century, especially by Montesinos in Spain and Obermaier in Bavaria.

The modern method is to so use the period of imprisonment as to reform the criminal into a good citizen and not one of savage revenge leading to a progressive degeneration of the delinquent.

### A Sociological Interpretation of the Russian Revolution.

In order to understand the Russian revolution the student must have a good grasp of the conditions prevailing in pre-revolution Russia. Mr. Jerome Davis gives us in the *Political Science Quarterly* a fair idea of what things were like before and how they helped to bring about the revolution in Russia.

*The People*—numbered 180,000,000 in 1912; workers and peasants comprising 93 per cent of the total. The ruling class formed the remaining 7 per cent. There was no middle class. There were over one hundred races or nationalities speaking different languages or dialects. There were groups as far separated from each other as, for example, over 5 million German Jews, 9 million Mongolians and several million Tartars. The important point to remember is that all this diversity occurred exclusively within the proletariat 93 per cent, the ruling 7 per cent being for the most part of pure Slavic stock. Jews were rigidly kept down. In Turkestan most of the people could not even speak Russian. So that we find a racially alike ruling class and a vast population of diverse racial stock dominated by it.

*The Country*—consisted of the stupendous area of 8,600,000 square miles. Siberia alone was 40 times as large as the United Kingdom. The soil was rich and the land rich in natural resources—for the most part undeveloped. In 1912, 86 per cent of the people were rural. Industry was hard and the workers were disorganised and badly paid. Very often peasants worked in the factories in winter and drifted back to the fields in summer. The people were bound to the soil and generations of common work in a common climate had tended to establish certain well-defined cultural habits among the masses. The aristocrats on the other hand were under no such compelling power to shape their interests.

*Religion*.—To the masses the priests were persons to be feared and obeyed and the Church was something which must have its tribute even at the cost of star-

vation to the giver. The dominant group looked upon the priest as a person who must obey their wishes. A large number of the aristocracy were frankly sceptics. As a matter of fact the whole religious experience of the common people built up an attitude of mind quite foreign to that of the nobility. Their superstitions were often not known to the upper classes.

*Education*.—In 1912 less than 4 per cent of the entire population were at school and of these the majority were from the aristocratic class. Those who attended schools from among the peasants were often found to be quite illiterate soon after leaving school. This was due to short terms of study. Among the upper classes boys were efficiently educated. They were always taught some foreign language, frequently two or three. All this was a bond of social solidarity drawing together the upper classes but separating them all the more from the masses. The peasants even acquired a jargon of their own which was not always intelligible to their superiors. The ruling group far from attempting to lift up the masses, deliberately fostered their mental deficiency. Newspapers and magazines were carefully kept out of the reach of the peasants and the few which had the remotest chance of being read by them were censored.

*Traditions, Folkways and Folksayings*.—The result of no education for the masses was the building up of a whole congeries of traditions, folkways and proverbs which were handed on by word of mouth. The peasant saw no gain in wars or empire-building, because it affected him only badly. His viewpoint was different from that of the aristocrat.

*Recreation*.—The aristocrat danced, went to theatres and played cards. Tolstoy tells us that it was considered good for every young man to have had at least one intrigue with an older married woman; and drinking, gambling and dissipation was all but universal. The people were fond of folksongs and musical entertainments of a simpler nature. There are songs welcoming back the sun after winter, besides special ones for every festival.

*Occupation*.—The landowners and the



Reforming the Sharks

nobility were taught that it was beneath their dignity to do manual work. They must have a life of leisure, medals, distinctions and honours. The peasants were not wrongly under the impression that they were being cheated out of what they produced on the land. They worked hard, but bad equipment and ignorance kept them poor, to say nothing of the extortion by the nobility.

*Home life.*—The peasants lived all in one room often with their live stock. Their food was mainly rye bread, potatoes and milk products. Famine was not unknown. Disease was common

owing to lack of sanitation and doctors. The peasant usually had a large family. The upper few lived in luxury and pomp and never worried about what happened to the people. All these made the 93 per cent quite unlike the seven per cent.

Added to this was a caste system which excluded a man born a peasant from rising above his class except on occasions of rare good luck such as a particularly heroic deed on the battle field, or the saving of the life of one of the nobility.

As a matter of fact, the aristocrats lived in a world so removed from that of the peasants that they did not even realize that they were separated. The proprietary classes did not under-

stand why a peasant should steal in a famine year. Some of them did not even realize that the peasant had feelings, that he really fell in love, or had sympathies, and an appreciation for art and beauty. How absolute was the line of demarcation is shown by the fact that Prince Kropotkin told me of a landlord's wife who was astounded to see a peasant girl break into tears on hearing that a certain soldier had been killed at the front. She could not believe it possible for the peasant classes to be really in love. Another noble saw nothing wrong with the fact that wounded soldiers had been left for hours by the railroad track, uncared for, although there had been room in the hospital car with the officers. It shocked him to think of soldiers riding in the same car with officers.

In 1905 the world had the greatest warning of impending disaster that has occurred in recent history. Suddenly an entire nation of workers and peasants struck. Armed risings of peasants broke out spasmodically all over Russia. Not understanding the handwriting on the wall, the upper classes became alarmed and persuaded the Tsar to grant certain reforms. It was soon apparent, however, that neither he nor the nobility had the faintest conception of the longings of the masses, for at the first opportunity he violated his most sacred pledges to the people, suppressed newspapers, arrested hundreds and disbanded the legislative assembly.

For years Russia had had a slowly falling barometer of nihilist and anarchistic assassinations and plots. The nobility were too far removed from the common people to understand what was wrong. As in a chemical mixture capable of causing high explosion, the elements within the Russian empire had long been in the proper proportions to cause the most serious catastrophe in Russian history. In spite of this, the explosion was delayed for a time by the strong governmental pressure of a highly bureaucratic and centralized system backed by the ruthless use of force. The racial and religious divergencies among the masses, which we have indicated, acted as one deterrent. Peasants from one district were always used to quell disorder in another where the customs and habits of the people and perhaps even the language or dialect were quite different. At every point the peasants were hemmed in by government officials who restricted their every movement. The *Ispravnik*, or police commissioner, had general supervision over each district. His will was law. He could fine or imprison anyone he chose. Under him was the *Uriadnik* or constable, also having absolute power but subject to the disapproval of the *Ispravnik*. He could enter any house at any time of day or night to make inspection without a warrant. Besides these officials there was the *Zemsky Nachalnik* who had administration over all the rural institutions and was higher than the

*Uriadnik*. He could depose the elected officials of the peasant commune or *Mir* and order any peasant flogged. He belonged to the nobility and naturally would not betray their interests. The only way to placate an angry official was through bribery. Taxes were extremely heavy, in some cases more than the total income from the land. Yet since the village commune was responsible collectively for the payment of the tax, and the peasant could not by law leave his village without its consent, he was hopelessly under bondage. The least delinquency might result in imprisonment and a heavy flogging. An elaborate system of espionage was used to make still more difficult any resistance on the part of the peasant. Yet the very pressure of this coercive force acted as a stimulus to revolt. By its action it generated the friction which would make for its own negation.

There were some people in Russia who were educated and had imagination enough to look at things with normal eyes. The revolutionary party grew up out of them. The Tsar's machine tried to break it; but with what success we shall see. Common suffering brought the revolutionary party nearer and nearer to the masses. The more bitterly they were persecuted, the more firmly convinced did they become that there was nothing to be hoped for from the Tsar's government. It was natural that they should look about for better theories of government. France and Germany were alive with Marxian dogmas and these were naturally adopted by the Russian radicals, who were so much in touch with the French and the German thinkers.

Let us see how Lenin was made.

What happened after the revolution will be understood from the following extracts:

Lenin was born in the city of Simbirsk fifty years ago, where his father was director of the high school. When he was seventeen, his elder brother was hanged by the Tsar for taking part in a student revolutionary movement. When Lenin entered the university he was promptly excluded. Nevertheless, after four years of private study he did succeed in passing the examination for the bar, but was arrested in Petrograd soon afterwards for organizing a group of workers. After a long period in jail, he was exiled to Siberia in the latter nineties where he wrote two books, *The Aim of the Social Democratic Party* and *The Growth of Capitalism in Russia*. As a result of their publication, Russia became too hot for him, and he



### We Give, They Get.

fled abroad, joining the revolutionary group of Russians in Switzerland. It is obvious that such an experience, beginning with the death of his brother on the gallows and ending with imprisonment and exile, would warp the mind and outlook of anyone. In 1903 at a conference of the Social Democratic Party, Lenin led a faction which pledged itself to "pure revolutionary action" without any compromise with the bourgeois parties. His faction secured the majority of the delegates and ever since has been nicknamed the majority, or *Bolshevik*.

Whereas the soviets were composed of the representatives of the masses and therefore like them, the Temporary Government included such of the intellectuals as Miliukov and

Gutchkov. How far unlike the common people they were is now apparent to everyone. The Foreign Minister, Miliukov, stated to the world that the Russian people wanted to fight until they could add Constantinople to their empire. In reality the common people did not care about fighting for one foot of foreign soil, and were even willing to sacrifice some that they had. So unpopular was his declaration that Miliukov was compelled to resign at once.

On the other hand, the Bolsheviks, who for the moment were far more like the common people in their thinking, readily won converts by the thousand with their popular slogan, "*Peace, Land and Bread.*"

*The Bolshevik Government.*—In view of all



this, it was only natural that the small and active protocracy of Bolsheviks, who did to some extent understand the thoughts and desires of the people, should seize control. As Sir George Buchanan, the English Ambassador, said, "They had won over the majority of the soldiers, the workmen and the peasants," and were firmly in the saddle. That they had the masses behind them is now admitted by Kerensky when he says, "The Bolsheviks gained a majority in the Petrograd Soviet on the 7th of September. The same happened everywhere with lightning rapidity."

But while the Bolsheviks were far nearer the real desires of the masses in the slogan "Peace, Land and Bread", they were not nearer to them in theory. Their theory was a derivative from the Marxian and totally foreign to the masses, a fact of which the Bolsheviks were well aware. Says Lenin in a pamphlet for party members only, "The advance guard of the Proletariat of the Communist Party manipulates the non-party mass of the workers, educates them, prepares them, trains them in the school of Communism (first the workers, then the peasants) in order that they may sometime take over into their own hands the conduct of all their affairs."

The measures which the Bolsheviks enacted broke down the iron-clad compartments which had separated the ruling classes from the masses. In the first place, each racial group in the population was given the right to form a separate state. All of these were then federated into the Soviet Republic. The propertied classes were for a time disfranchised and made propertyless, and the result was that they soon found themselves working side by side with peasants and workers. It was only a matter of months before the majority began to have a dim understanding of the feelings of the peasant classes. To-day scores of them testify that they never understood what it was to be a peasant and go hungry until they themselves had felt the pangs of hunger. Although the Bolshevik policies definitely antagonized a large number of the seven per cent and forced them into open counter-revolution or into foreign soil, it did make many of the intellectuals mingle with the peasants and so grow more likeminded to them. This in itself acted as a strong force toward breaking down the barriers that had formerly existed between the two classes.

Society does not long for a new order quite so intensely as the social reformer. As a result the social reformer either has to climb down at least some length of the ladder of theories or society gets rid of both the ladder and the climber.

Ever since the Bolsheviks took control, step by step they have been abandoning their

earliest positions. First, Lenin advocated a uniform wage rate for all. To-day he is paying the workers according to an output test. He began by urging the confiscation of all factories and their management by the workers. Today they are being run under the direction of experts appointed by a Supreme Council of National Economy, and Lenin is bargaining with the capitalists of Europe to come in and run his industries.

Lenin entered upon his power by nationalizing the land and compelling the peasants to yield all their products to the state. This was unpopular. Today there is practically private ownership in land, subject to re-division by the villages, and the peasants can sell their products after they have paid a tax to the government. Lenin has definitely used the incentive of private property to induce increased production. A co-operative brotherhood of individuals working without the spirit of monetary gain for the benefit of all, still remains a dream in Russia. In nearly all cases where the Communist management has been tried on large farms it has proved a failure.

At the beginning, Lenin talked of doing away with money entirely and substituting work checks which would be good only to those who had actually done work, and which would be void after a certain period. Today he is introducing a silver-secured currency.

As regards the future, certain definite things about the Russian revolution are predictable.

In the first place, the Bolsheviks cannot permanently remain in power if they build up a wall between themselves and the mass of the people. To some extent they have done this already. If the Communist Party becomes in its turn separated from the peasants and unresponsive to them, it can only remain in power by means of an adequate machine of governmental pressure. If, however, the Bolsheviks are willing to change their theories to meet the demands of the population and the needs of the situation, they may retain the government for a period of years. The bulk of the population has so long been forced to submit to the strong pressure of a Tsar's autocracy that they are far more docile than almost any other race in Europe. These three years of rule have already demonstrated that the Bolsheviks can easily build up and maintain a strong circumstantial pressure against revolution. If, in addition, the Bolsheviks can keep open the lines of intercommunication, interstimulation and response between the Communist Party and the masses of the people, regardless of whether they rule in a more or less autocratic and dictatorial fashion they may have a chance to remain in power for in that case the majority of the people would not be so far removed but that each

could mutually understand the other. Their will be a certain amount of likemindedness existing between the rulers and the ruled. If this be true, it may be that the future in Russia for a long time to come will be one of slow evolution rather than dangerous and damaging revolution.

### Fruits of Freedom.

What freedom or even the hope of freedom does for man is wonderful. Erich von Salzmänn, the China correspondent of the *Vossische Zeitung*, thus reports an interview with Wu Pei-fu shortly before his campaign against Chang Tso-lin.

A scrupulously clean railway-train, where every traveler had a ticket and rode in his proper class, took me through a country that reminded me of Saxon Switzerland to the old imperial capital, Loyang..... Eyes sparkled when I inquired my way to the General. Everywhere was order, discipline, cleanliness. Men are kept busy, but they are well treated; even the humblest is admitted to his commander at any time. Rickshaws were waiting at the railway-station. It was a two hours' trip across country.

At headquarters again every thing is well ordered and neat. I see many books on the shelves, and blackboards evidently used in training courses. Friendliness and alertness everywhere. No barrack smells, no dirty corners.

The head of the Training Department receives me. We discuss things frankly. Messengers are constantly coming and going. The General is now inspecting infantry. He has just left to inspect the artillery. He is conversing with the wireless men. 'Tell the Marshal that the German correspondent has arrived.' Five minutes later I am sitting in his office. He steps in—slim, soldierly, in spotless uniform. Tea and cigarettes are served.

'Well, how are things going in Germany?' I tell my story.

'If you had captured Paris you would be the finest fellows in the world now. The nation that succeeds is always right.'

It is now my turn to ask questions.

'What do you think of Russia?'

'Too many parties: too much disorder.'

'What do you think about England, and the United States?'

'It looks as though England was drifting toward social disorder. America is smothered in money. She is inclined to imagine, without sufficient reason, that she has found the only path to salvation.'

'What do you think of Japan?'

Wu lights up with interest. He lifts his head and squares his shoulders in his soldier's jacket. 'Japan must give up her old methods. She is in greater danger than we are. Since the Empire was overthrown in China the people have been the masters. Foreigners must recognize this. No one can really do anything here that the people oppose; the people have their way now in the long run. The Japanese are discovering that in Shantung. But we must wait and see whether they really give up Tsingtau.'

I reply that I believe Japan is sincere. The General merely smiles.

### British Precedent in Syria.

According to a contributor to *L'Opinion*, in the Syrian Legion organized by France, "following the English precedent in India, no natives are being trained for the artillery service." "It seems inadvisable to increase the number of native troops to one-fourth of the total. Neither their military value nor their loyalty is sufficiently to be depended on."

### British and American Efficiencies.

The following from *The Forum* will enlighten those to whom the admiration of British efficiency is almost a cult.

In the past the British industries were the most efficient in the world. Now they are lamentably inefficient as comparison with the United States will show. The only census of production taken in the United Kingdom relates to the year 1907. The American census of production nearest the date was taken in 1909. The data given in the two documents may be summarized in two lines, as follows:

<i>Number of Workers. Value of Products.</i>		
United States, private manufacturing industries only, in 1909	6,615,046	£4,134,421,000
United Kingdom, industries of all kinds, including the production of public utilities such as gas and water-works, etc., in 1907.....	6,019,746	£1,617,340,000

The figures given are fairly comparable. The value of production is given in both censuses at wholesale prices. British and American wholesale prices, but not retail prices, are very much alike. Hence British and American goods compete freely everywhere. In 1907-1909 production per worker was approximately two-and-a-half times as great in the United States as in the United Kingdom. Since then output per worker has increased in the United States but has declined in England. At present one American worker produces about as much as three British workers.

The late Mr. F. W. Taylor, the eminent American efficiency engineer, wrote to me a short time before the war :

"I know of case after case in England where they use exactly the same machines as in this country, but at far less horse-power and at far less speed than they should be run, and in a manner so as to turn out nothing like half the work that is being turned out in this country ; and this is due, not to the lack of proper machinery, but to the almost unalterable determination of every workman in England to turn out as little work as possible each day in return for the money which he receives. This with the English workman is almost a religion."

### Japan's View of China's Crisis.

The Japanese Press, according to *Current Opinion*, is busy repudiating all hints that Japan has a hand in the Chinese upheaval. The *Nichi-Nichi* of Tokyo says that American army officers—men no longer in the service—are actively directing the operations of Wu's forces. According to the Japanese dailies England's neutrality is also merely technical. Wu is said to have had the benefit of subsidies from the Anglo-Saxon world. Anglo-Saxon financiers will benefit from a government with Wu at the head. This is what Wu himself thinks. The question is, are the probable gainers already making investments speculatively ?

### Significant Sayings.

"I went into the British army believing that if you want peace you must prepare for War. I believe now that if you prepare for War you will get it." —*General F. B. Maurice.*

"There is no goal that is as near as it appears to the hopeful or as remote as it seems to the timid." —*Lloyd George.*

"Socialism will only be possible when we are all perfect, and then it will not be needed."

Dean Inge.

### The Great Revival

Dr. Frank Crane, editor of *Current Opinion*, thinks that what the world needs to-day is a great revival, by which he means a renewal of spirit, a new kindling of conscience. He asks :—

Is it not strange that an age of science that has produced a Herbert Spencer can be blind to the facts of history, which show so plainly that the reliance upon force has ruined every nation that has had it !

Is it not strange that an era which magnifies business cannot see the enormous waste and bankruptcy which the present rivalry of nations with its inevitably recurring wars produces over and over again !

Is it not strange that a civilization that has outgrown and discarded gladiatorial games, judicial torture and human slavery, cannot get rid of those international hates which are more terrible in their toll of death and ruin than they !

And is it not strange, above all, that a Christendom that has been capable of the Crusade, of the Reformation and of the Eighteenth-Century revival cannot summon enough enthusiasm to force the politicians of the world out of the darkness of empire and conquest into the light and liberty of federation and humanity !

### Great Men.

The first great man was the soldier. The second great man was the priest. The final great man is the business man, because the ultimate calling of man upon earth is to work, not to fight nor to pray. Thus *Current Opinion*.

### The Supreme Surprise of Bolshevism.

*Current Opinion* for July says that when the world first came to know about Bolshevism, it contemplated the far away heroes of that movement with awe and fascination. Lenin, Trotsky, Tchicherin, Joffe, Litvinoff, Krassin and the rest of them appeared to the world outside like incarnations of the great destructive forces of nature. But to-day they have been found out. The world knows that Bolsheviks are mediocrities. "The Bolsheviks are a set of ordinary bureaucrats, tame, tiresome, incompetent." This is the "Supreme surprise of Bol-

shevism" according to the writer of the article. He also points out that the Soviet government contains "no great personality, no genius." Why? Because

"It is an established axiom that however brilliant the rulers of a nation, and however magnificently they hold sway, they are discredited if the people beneath them are hungry, cold, wretched, unhousted, oppressed."

A very sound axiom, and, apart from the question whether it applies to the case of the Soviet, it should make people beneath equally, if not more brilliant and magnificent rulers, think. The people of India, for example.

### How The Great Krupp Works are Employed in Peace.

We read in *Current Opinion* for July :

The great Krupp Works at Essen, Germany, which have been transformed from a war munitions plant into a factory devoted solely to the manufacture of peace-time implements, reports a gross profit of 98,000,000 marks for 1921 and the resumption of dividends after three lean years. At present there are being manufactured in place of gun carriages, auto trucks and Diesel motors; in place of heavy guns, forged tubes; in place of armorplate, boilerplate; in place of ignitors, cream separators; in place of gun turrets, locomotives; in place of small guns, agricultural machinery; in place of shells, carriages; in place of fine work on cannon and war instruments, cash registers, adding machines, cinema projectiles, medical instruments.

In addition, the Krupps have turned out their first textile machine, and are embarking on the manufacture of a turbine locomotive, having obtained the patent of a Swiss inventor. The complete list of Krupp products fills a large book. For the Essen works employ 15,000 men—even more than before the war—and triple shifts are maintained in all the steel departments.

### An Ocean Liner As Big As 400 Houses.

*Current Opinion* informs its readers :—

The White Star liner *Majestic* which, in May, was launched upon its transatlantic career, is the last and greatest word to be uttered in the shipping world. Built by the German firm of Blohm and Voss on the Elbe and christened as the *Bismarck* a few weeks before the outbreak of the war, the *Majestic* has a length over all of 956 feet, a beam of 100 feet and a gross tonnage

exceeding 36,500 tons, her displacement when loaded to her marks being 64,000 tons.

The *Majestic* is longer than the river front of the House of Commons, and that if she were stood on end she would tower to more than twice the height of St. Paul's; and it has been calculated that in tonnage she approximates to the aggregate of the 135 ships of the Spanish Armada, and that the space inside her is equivalent to 400 detached suburban residence of eight rooms each.

The lounge, with an area of 4,000 square feet, is laid with a parquet floor for dancing, and is remarkable for the fact that no internal pillars are used to support the roof and its great glass dome.

The dining saloon on deck F has an area of 11,350 square feet, and the dome over its middle portion rises through the two decks above to a total height of 31 feet. Opposite the doors of the saloon is the entrance to the swimming bath, where a lady instructor is to be in attendance, and on deck A there is a gymnasium.

The full complement of the ship is over 5,000 persons, including 850 first-class passengers, 545 second-class and 2,392 third-class. Steam is supplied from 48 water-tube boilers fired with oil fuel, of which sufficient can be carried for the round voyage to New York and back. There are four screws, and the turbine machinery is capable of developing in the neighborhood of 100,000 horse-power.

### "The Political Implications of Tagore's New Play."

The translation of a German review of Tagore's new play *Muktadhārā* or *The Waterfall* which we published in our last number, showed that the critic was on the right track. The following review of the same play in *The Living Age* shows that the American critic is not entirely on the right track :

*The Waterfall*, a new play by Rabindranath Tagore, is printed in full in the May number of the *Modern Review*, of Calcutta. It is a poetic drama, scarcely adapted for the stage and, to tell the truth, hard to understand; for there are constant changes of scene and innumerable characters, all talking symbolically, and the whole drama is tinged with mysticism. When one lays down the play, the suggestion irresistibly presents itself that more is meant here than meets the eye.

Is Tagore shrouding a pitiless criticism of modern England under an unusually thick veil of symbolism? Does one catch a glimpse here and there of political feelings? But the poet did not join the Non-co-operators. There are only a few passages on which finger can be laid,

and yet the general impression left by the drama is of protest—and of very definite protest directed either specifically against the British *raj*, or at the very least against the reign of the machine in modern life.

*The Waterfall* tells the story of Ranajit, king of Uttarakut, whose royal engineer, Bibhuti, has at last succeeded in building an embankment across the waterfall called Muktheadhara, which means 'Free Current'. His achievement means disaster for the people of Shiutarai, who live farther downstream. The Crown Prince of Uttarakut—sent, like the Prince of Wales, by his father—travels abroad in the land and, learning that he is actually a foundling who was picked up near the source of Muktheadhara, comes to feel a profound spiritual relationship with the waterfall. When he learns that Muktheadhara has been dammed, it comes, in Tagore's own words, 'as a challenge to himself personally; for to him the current of this waterfall has become an objective counterpart of his inner life.' He realizes that his official responsibilities are the real hindrances to his spiritual freedom: they are alien to his inner self. He casts aside the life of the palace. He goes forth with the object of loosing the prisoned water, and he succeeds; but in the effort he loses his life. Throughout the play the gaunt outline of a great machine, devised by the engineer to complete his work, towers in the background like a symbol of the modern age.

The publication of such a play immediately after the tour of the Prince of Wales suggests that the great Bengali poet, who long ago renounced his English knighthood, is subtly commenting on the political problems of modern India; but so dexterously has he refrained from definite propaganda that it is impossible to take anything from the play save a general impression that it tends in this direction.

At the end there is an ambiguous note by the author:—

"The name 'Free Current' is sure to give rise in the readers' minds to the suspicion that it has a symbolic meaning—that it represents all that the word 'freedom' signifies in human life. This interpretation will appear to be still more obvious when it is seen that the machine referred to in the play has stopped the flow of its water.

"While acknowledging that there is no great harm in holding the view that this play has some symbolical element in its construction, I must ask my readers to treat it as a representation of a concrete fact of psychology."

And all this may mean much or little, as the reader wills—which is probably what the dramatist intended.

### Public Health in America and in India.

*The New Republic* of New York writes

In a world where the soul sickens with public interests gone perversely amiss there is a curative virtue in the contemplation of a department of human affairs in which progress is continuous and there are no strategic retreats. Such a department is the public health. The great pestilences that once stalked remorselessly through the homes of men, taking toll of every household, extirpating at times whole communities, have been put to rout. They can reappear formidably only where war or famine paralyzes the efforts of physician and scientist. The lesser epidemics are steadily yielding ground, the death rate is receding.

Can all this be said of India?

### Waterways.

Though in the U. S. A. there are networks of railways covering the country, waterways are not neglected. On the contrary, they are fully utilised, and additions are made to them. On this subject *The New Republic* says:

In Holland one sees a man trudging along a canal tow-path pulling a barge with a cargo equal to the contents of several railroad cars. It is a scientific fact that man-power, or horse-power, can drag or propel through water about five times the weight which it can move on rails, even level rails. That is, water transportation is fundamentally cheaper than rail transportation. A nation which does not make the fullest possible use of its coastwise and its navigable inland waterways lacks one of the essentials of a transportation system.

Why are waterways not fully utilised and developed in India?

### Making Full Use of School Property.

We read in the *Playground*:

The report of the Superintendent of Recreation of Duluth, Minnesota, for the year 1920-1921, indicates that the fullest use of the school property of that city is being made. Here are some of the activities that have been carried on in school buildings and school yards.

The activities described are community clubs, game programmes, boy and girl scouts, gymnasium classes, parent-teachers associations, moving pictures, lectures and entertainments, bands, dramatic clubs, men's clubs, elections,

minstrel shows, parties, skating rinks, and dances. Our Chandi Mandaps in Bengal were (and in some places still are) used as school houses, men's clubs, and for some other purposes, besides being used and resorted to as places of worship.

### The World Still in Arms.

According to *The Communist Review*,

The world is still in arms. In 1911 there were 7,000,000 in the armies. In 1922 there are 11,000,000 under arms. If one considers that the German army has been completely disbanded, with the exception of about 1,000,000 reichswehr, and the Austrian army is practically eliminated, still there is an increase of 4,000,000 in the armies of imperialism. France has nearly 1,000,000 men in the army. It is costing five billion francs per annum. The social institutions of France, the laws for social insurance, etc., are only given one-and-a-half billions, France was a creditor to the amount of 50 billion francs. Now there is a deficit of 35 billion francs against her. France owes this sum to other nations.

England spends a large percentage of her income on the fleet. The Geddes Commission was formed for the purpose of finding ways and means of economising the national household. There is a conflict now because that commission submitted a report which demanded a reduction of the army to the number of 75,000 and a reduction of the naval forces to the number of 50,000, and the unification of the ministries of the air and the army and other measures.

The world war did not solve the antagonisms and the problems which brought it about. It did not end with the Peace of Versailles. It can only end with the proletarian revolution. The proletariat is exploited more than ever before. In England six and one-third millions of wage earners have had their wages decreased since the peace was declared, while only 130,000 have gained increases. The only right of existence that capitalism ever had was that it developed the forces of production. But capitalism itself now limits the further development of industry. It is slackening the forces of production, and therefore it has no more right to exist; its historic mission has ended. This impossibility of capitalism to develop its own productive forces further is increasing, and will intensify the existing antagonisms which are increasing the danger of the conflict.

The danger of war is increasing rather than decreasing. But even among the bourgeoisie there is opposition to war.

### Social Movements in Tokyo.

In *The Japan Magazine* a writer describes the principal institutions established at Tokyo for juvenile protection and other philanthropic activities. They are a children's day nursery, a children's hall, a children's home, a home for dependent children, the Tokyo reformatory, a home school, a home for poor children, another reformatory, eleven elementary private schools for neglected children, an asylum for feeble-minded children, a school for the feeble-minded, an acupuncture and massage school for the blind, Government school for the blind, Government deaf-and-dumb institute, an institute to cure stammering, the Tokyo Women's Home of the Salvation Army with its various activities, such as prison visiting, protecting travellers, rescue work, etc., the Tokyo Women's Home for rescuing girls from houses of prostitution or from kidnappers at Asakusa Park or in railway stations or in dangerous situations, free dispensaries and aid for prospective mothers, etc. There are about thirty other institutions on a smaller scale but of the same nature in Tokyo. At present there are found 34 free-dispensary stations in the entire country, but 14 of these are in the city of Tokyo. The work of protecting ex-convicts is also performed.

### Religion in the United States.

Mary Austin thus begins her article on the above subject in *The Century Magazine*:

Recently a review of "Civilization in the United States" by some thirty of our Intelligentsia omitted all mention of religion from their consideration on the ground that none of them was sufficiently interested in it to be informed. This is very much like leaving hemorrhage out of the list of the patients' symptoms because you do not know how to spell it. For if you do not know how a great people relates itself to the Allness, what else do you know about it that is of primary significance? What can you say conclusively of its history or politics if you do not know the secret adjustment to the source and direction of all history?

The United States is probably the most

re-ligiously energetic country in the world. There is at least no other country in which there is anything like the florescence of new ideas as to the source and direction of creative energy, or so many systems of individual accommodation to it. Not only is there an incessant flow of discursive interpretation, as any publisher's list will show you but new systems into which are being built all our newest ideas of psychology, of chemistry, of the constitution of the atom, of the endocrine glands, and of Einstein's theory of relativity. Not since the Reformation has Europe produced anything like the confident assimilation of experience into the riddle of man's relation to the universe which goes on here, drawing contributions from the medievalism of Italy, from the turgid dogmatism of central Europe, not despising the all but unintelligible archaism of Asiatic thought, or fearing to bring them into contact with the latest items from the daily news. Thus if one were compelled to restrict one's choice of America's outstanding contribution to civilization to two items, one might waver between open plumbing and rapid transit for the first, but one could not possibly hesitate over the freedom of religious speculation for the other.

Of mysticism in America she says :—

The present race of Americans is naturally given to mysticism. Our experience of the unknown, the condition forced upon us by pioneer life of being every day prepared for the unexpected, our contact on all sides with the vast, overwhelming scene of mountain and prairie and untrimmed forest, the necessity constantly upon us for two hundred years of trusting ourselves upon "something without us" which experience proves can be trusted—all these things predispose us to be interested in, and to take into account as part of our daily life, things that cannot be accounted for by what we call our intelligence.

She also gives the reader some idea of the new American religions.

I have made a digest of the new American religions,—such as are not merely offshoots and variations of existing orthodox sects,—putting Christian Science at one end as the chief non-materialistic religion, and Mormonism at the other, almost completely mechanistic. I have included in this digest the work of several persons who, though they have never effected any organization of their teachings, must be ranked through the millions of copies of their books and the far-reaching effects of their lecture courses, as among religious manifestations. I find that none of these new religions wholly disregard Christianity, though the most outstanding pair of them claim the superior authority of their own evangel. Two of them—there are eleven in my list—are predominantly theological in caste, and several of them borrow

freely from Oriental sources. All of them without exception include health and material abundance in the category of religious satisfactions. Only two of them treat the practical organization of their membership as anything more than incidental, and three of the eleven offer no form of organization whatever. In nine of the eleven the whole case is rested on a reorganization of the individual relation to some central item of the universe, called, for convenience, God, though generally recognized as a center of power or energy rather than a personality. Wherever mechanistic concepts of the efficient society appear, they follow rather than lead the individual readjustment. In all but two instances they are the consequence rather than the occasion of the Christian promise of "life more abundant."

### A Chinese New Woman.

*The Woman Citizen* reports :

Inez Phang, who has just won the annual prize offered by New York University to the student showing the greatest proficiency in the study of political science and public affairs, plans a public career for herself in China as soon as she has graduated. Miss Phang is a Chinese girl, born, however, in the island of Jamaica.

### Value of Regular Doses of Housework.

We read in *The Woman Citizen* :

At the Mental Hygiene Conference recently held in Paris, the eminent scientists and brain specialists there decided that housework performed regularly by women preserves their general health and helps to maintain and even brain balance. This is because various groups of muscles are exercised through housework and it soothes hyper-excitability.

### Two Japanese Buddhist Sects.

*The Eastern Buddhist* contains a long article on Honen Shonin and the Jodo Ideal by Beatrice Lane Suzuki which tries to explain Mahāyāna Buddhism as it expresses itself in the sects in Japan. To understand what she writes, it is necessary to be familiar with the teaching of Shōdōmon and Jōdomon.

It was the great patriarch of Buddhism Nagarjuna, who taught that there are two ways of life ; the one of difficulty, the other of ease. In the first, he who seeks salvation must work for his enlightenment through the means of meditation, fasting, study, ascetic-

cism, and work out his own realisation according to the Buddha's dying words, "Here is the doctrine, work out your own salvation!" But in the other path the seeker for salvation throws aside his own efforts and pins his faith in another. According to the Paradise sects, that other is of course the Buddha Amitabha, or Amida as he is called in Japan.

Shodomon is the holy path. He who walks this road is ever exerting himself, seeking to be saved by his own efforts and not looking for help to any one else. When he attains to enlightenment, it is through his own power, and his way is long and beset with difficulties. But how different is the path of Jodo! Here, the struggling one can cast all his self-power (*jiriki*) aside and believing only in Amida and his saving power at one stride can cross over all his difficulties and be saved—born into the Pure Land and attain bliss eternal. On this path, one learns that if he keeps in mind, if only for a day or a week, the holy name of Amida, the Buddha himself will meet him at the hour of death and lead him to the Pure Land (Sukhavati)—the Western Paradise.

### All Children Not Fit For Advanced Literary Education.

In the opinion of the editor of the *Industrial Education Magazine* of America, seventy per cent of children never should go to the high school, though all may receive elementary education.

At the last convention of the Western Arts Association some thought-provoking statements were made by Dr. Henry H. Goddard, director of the Bureau of Juvenile Research, Columbus, Ohio, who spoke on "The Education of the Abnormal Child." One of these was...to the effect that seventy per cent of the children of the nation never ought to go to the high school, simply because they are below the degree of intelligence that is essential to make high school work profitable. We know now that there are many boys and girls in high school and a less number in college who never ought to be there. The reason that they are there is that we have made a botch of our education; we have annoyed them by trying to force them beyond their power to go and they have annoyed us by not being able to meet our arbitrary unscientific and harmful requirements.

The editor proceeds:—

The great lesson of Dr. Goddard's address was that, even with the natural procedure followed in education, it is still impossible for seventy per cent of school children to profit by high school training, and almost half of these

cannot profit by a grammar grade education. Yet, he asserts, it is possible to give them an education which will make many of them happy workers and real contributors to the work of the world.

And science is showing the way to pick out such children and suggesting the character of their education.

Here is one of the great opportunities of manual arts education.

### "Man's Senseless Garb."

The "Man" whose "senseless garb" is described and criticised in *The Nation's Health* (Chicago), is the western man. We quote some passages extracted from it by *The Literary Digest*.

"The feet are incased in stockings which hold both heat and moisture, and over this layer are shoes made of leather and canvas, and rendered almost watertight by an outer coating of wax or enamel. They bind the feet to deformity and the muscles are atrophied by non use. The leg is constricted by stocking and garter, outside which is a pair of trousers which bind the knees, thighs and hips.

"The thighs are incased in drawers which may extend to the ankles, binding calves and knees still more, and tightly buttoned over the hips and around the waist. In the case of breeches, motion is still further restricted by their being buttoned from the knee downward, and this is accentuated by puttees, either of stiff, unyielding leather, or a bandage of wool tightly applied. Trousers or breeches tightly encircle the waist, and to make sure that the abdominal muscles shall be thoroughly crippled a belt of leather or non-elastic cloth is worn.

"An undershirt of cotton or wool envelops the body from the neck almost to the knees, and perhaps from the shoulders to the wrists. It may interfere with respiration, and over it is a shirt with constricting bands of stiffly starched cloth which binds the neck and wrist. In the case of the dress-shirt, a cuirass-like plate extends downward.

"A stiffly starched collar which impedes the use of the muscles of the neck, and a necktie of no imaginable use whatsoever, top off the shirt. A snug vest of cotton or wool tightly clinches the thorax, only to be covered by a coat which restricts the shoulders, arms and trunk.

"Add to this a heavy overcoat or raincoat, and a hat which tightly encircles the cranium, and the costume is complete, unless a cane, which is necessary in order that this poor beswaddled male may walk, be included.

"Factory laws in general require that workshops shall be well ventilated.

"It is curious that this principle has not been more generally applied to the clothing of man, i.e., that steps have not been taken looking to the improvement of the body of the individual.

"Women have displayed far more intelligence in reforming their clothing along hygienic lines. A man's clothes average about nine pounds in weight,



a woman's usually less than five, and it is a well-known fact that a girl in an evening gown can dance a man in a dress suit to death.

"Changes are coming slowly : underwear is being improved ; the soft collar and the sports shirt are steps in the right direction ; the war popularized a shoe which somewhat approaches the shape of the foot, but, unfortunately, there remain to be worn out a lot of puttees.

"It still is impolite for a man to appear in his shirtsleeves ; walking without a hat is frowned upon and the man who attempted to traverse Fifth Avenue in really hygienic clothing would continue his journey

in a patrol wagon. Yes, the ideal is still a long way off."

But what is the "ideal" garb ? The writer says :—

"A pair of sandals and a loincloth would be about right, but, as Carlyle has pointed out, such a garb would detract from the dignity of the courts, so it must be said that the one-piece dungaree which automobile mechanics wear is about the best to which we have attained at this stage of our sartorial development."

## INDIAN PERIODICALS

### American Competition in India.

That all industrial nations think of India pre-eminently as a market for their goods—as a country to be exploited, shows how backward we are in manufactures. America has been preparing herself afresh for this work of exploitation in a methodical manner, as the following paragraph from *Industrial India* will show :—

The American Government ( Department of Commerce, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, Industrial Machinery Division ) is devoting increased attention to helping the American export trade in engineering products. The men in charge are stated to be engineers who have had actual practical experience of South America, India and the Far East, and their mission is to help American engineering firms to retain and increase business with India and other countries of the world. It is mentioned that one of the special features of the service is the furnishing of Reports on various foreign markets and export problems, especially relating to British and German competition in India and the Far East in such articles as locomotives, machine tools and textile machinery. We understand also that the Department is preparing a Report on the machinery markets of the whole of the East, which has involved a personal visit to every important city between Bombay and Yokohama.

According to the last American census (1919) there are over 4,000 factories in the United States engaged in engineering. The value of the production of these factories is \$2,200,000,000 per annum, of which 17 per cent. valued at say \$400,000,000 is exported. These 4,000 factories employ about 400,000 men.

### Undeveloped India.

*Indian Industries and Power* says of India :—

The country is a *terra incognita* abounding in vast stores of potential wealth, teeming with possibilities and rich in every variety of product, yet its wealth, its possibilities and its riches are all neglected and undreamed of. It has been stated that *per capita* India is the poorest country in the world and that forty millions of its inhabitants have never known the meaning of a full meal. Beggary is one of the chief characteristics of the country and squalor and poverty are met with everywhere. Yet India, if its vast stores of mineral, agricultural and natural wealth were only developed, could speedily become one of the richest and most prosperous countries in the world.

Some of these potential sources of wealth are then referred to.

Timber is used probably more than any other commercial commodity and in countless different ways throughout the world. The forests of India cover an area of 240,000 square miles or no less than a quarter of its entire length and breadth while the total extent of the land under the control of Forest Department is 252,468 square miles or more than one-fifth of the total area of the country. It has been stated that India is capable of supplying, by herself, not only all the timber needs of the British Empire but of many other countries as well. Yet the annual production of timber and firewood or what are technically known as "major products" of timber during the five years 1914-15 to 1918-19 was only 88,097,931 cubic feet and 209,595,417 cubic feet respectively. The authorities tell us that this quantity could easily have been doubled, perhaps trebled, under intensive forest control. But instead of attempting this India imported in 1918-19 no less than 35,750 tons, which quantity had been increased the following year to 68,036 tons. In 1910-21 the quantity imported was 62,582 tons.

As another illustration, take two of the most valuable metals that determine the status of a nation in the present day, viz., iron and coal :—

It is stated in the *Iron Resources of the World* that British India possesses 65,000,000 tons of iron in actual reserve; while the potential reserve is quoted at 250,000,000 tons "plus considerable". This means that the iron ore actually surveyed and not yet worked amounts to the first figure, while the second figure is a rough estimate of the deposits known to exist but not yet surveyed, while by "considerable" is meant that further supplies in large quantities are known or believed to be in existence. The fact is that India has not been properly surveyed and prospected, yet even with the present incomplete knowledge the iron resources of the country are greater than those of Australia and Oceania, Japan, Austria and Hungary and a few other countries combined. Yet large quantities are imported into India annually. The same remark applies to coal. India is said to possess 79,000,000,000 tons of coal—an amount equal to the entire coal resources of Africa and South America. Yet India only produced 17,962,000 tons in 1920, which is 4,686,000 tons less than in 1919. This output is only 94.4 tons per head per annum for each person employed in the industry whereas the output per head in the United States is 803 tons, in Great Britain it is 184 tons and in Japan 122 tons. Here again, as a result of India's undeveloped state, large quantities of coal at great cost had to be imported to supply our needs, and the money which might have been kept in the country went abroad.

Agriculture is the main occupation in India and the majority of labourers here are agricultural. Yet agriculture itself is in a backward condition.

Government statistics show that out of 621 million acres of land in British India only about two-thirds is under cultivation. Or, in other words, out of a possible total of 63 per cent. available for cultivation only 36 per cent. is under tillage. Of the remaining 27 per cent., 9 per cent. has been intentionally kept fallow, while 18 per cent. has never been taken up at all. It is stated that if the whole available acreage were put under cultivation, famine would be reduced by over half. But even with the land under cultivation the yield per acre is very disappointing. Wheat, for example, in Bombay and the United Provinces yields 1,250 lbs per acre, whereas in Switzerland, in spite of its rocky soil, the yield is 1,858 lbs. to the acre, and in Great Britain 2,874 lbs.

### International Intellectual Co-operation.

*The Educational Review* of Madras writes in its editorial columns :—

The Council of the League of Nations is rightly seeking to base the foundations of International co-operation on as many points of strength as possible. The latest action of the Council of the League of Nations is to appoint a Committee of ten to study the question of International Intellectual Co-operation. The Committee includes Prof. Gilbert Murray, the well-known Regius Professor of Greek at the University of Oxford; Madam Curie of the University of Paris, well-known in connection with the

discovery of Radium; Dr. Einstein of the Theory of Relativity fame; and India is represented on it by Dr. P. Banerjee, the Minto Professor of Economics at the University of Calcutta. It cannot be denied that India could have been represented by some more eminent scholars, Sir Rabindranath Tagore, Sir J. C. Bose, Sir P. C. Roy, Dr. Brajendranath Seal, Sir Asutosh Mukherjee or Prof. Paranjpye; but Dr. Banerjee is a very estimable gentleman, too, fully deserving of the confidence and high responsibility now imposed on him. He has not only been a very able professor and author—*Introduction to Indian Economics and Public Administration in Ancient India*—but also a person who has taken considerable interest in public life, the last being a qualification specially desirable in one whose business it will be to advise on the intellectual resources of the whole country.

### The Oxford Dictionary.

Prof. W. A. Craigie's third Madras University English Lecture was devoted to the "New English Dictionary on Historical Principles", briefly called the Oxford Dictionary. *The Educational Review* of Madras has published a summary of this lecture, from which we learn that in November 1857 it was resolved at a meeting of the Philological Society "that a Dictionary of the English Language on Historical Principles was shortly to be edited." The scheme was actually taken in hand in January 1858.

The work was begun in right earnest under the guidance of Dr. Furnivall and in 1861 there were as many as seven hundred separate authors who were engaged at it. They were all enthusiastic scholars who were devoting their precious time for no remuneration whatever for advancing the study of the mother-tongue. After years of steady labour the mass of material collected was considerable; and by 1879 it may be said that a definite stage in the progress of the work had been reached. The necessary spade-work had been done: the interest of the people had been roused; and in a measure, the collection of Authorities, Quotations from standard authors, etc., may be said to have been over.

In 1880 therefore began negotiations with the Oxford University Press for the printing and publication of this huge work; the next year the Preface to the First Volume was written and in 1882 the first instalment of the first part was out. In the first few years the progress was so slow that by February 1884 only 352 pages had been finished (A—Aunt).

What was begun nearly half a century ago is not yet finished; and in the mean time Sir James Murray, the original editor, died in 1915, after devoting 36 years of his life to this great task with unsurpassed enthusiasm, devotion and self-sacrifice. He was the soul of the work.

The gigantic task is now approaching completion. More than nine volumes and a half have been published (out of the ten volumes it is to occupy) and we are on a fair way to bring out even the remainder in a few more months. When this is over, the Dictionary will run to more than 14,000 pages of closely printed matter; dealing with more than 380,000 words which are illustrated by more than 1,500,000 quotations.

Whatever name we give it, we must not forget that we owe a deep debt of gratitude to the Oxford University Press for the splendid printing and get-up of the work.

This how the raw materia was collected :—

An author is given a certain book—say Johnson's *Rasselas*—to read through. He has before him a few thousands of strips of paper on the top of which the name of the book is printed. As he goes on reading, he first marks those sentences which illustrate the use of a certain word in a certain sense; then he takes a strip of paper, writes the name of the word he wants to illustrate and adds the sentence below as illustration. Thus for every book that he reads through he would have some 200 strips of paper ready with him.

After collecting all those strips of paper which deal with the same word, there is the work of classification done partly by voluntary labour and partly by paid labour. When the various quotations are thus classified according to the different meanings, the work is taken in hand by the Editorial Staff. At first provisional definitions of words (according to the various meanings) are framed; and of the quotations given only the best are selected for insertion.

Then it passes through the Sub-Editor who uses his discretion in adding to the various meanings given, checks all references once more, verifies doubtful quotations, reads the proof sheets after printing and sends it on to the Chief Editor for final revision.

### Civic Progress of Women.

The following paragraphs are taken from *Stri Dharma* :—

#### MUNICIPAL FRANCHISE FOR CALCUTTA WOMEN

The first long step forward has been taken in the political equality of women and men in Bengal Province. The Calcutta Corporation has, by a 21 to 4 vote, granted the Municipal Franchise of Calcutta City to those women who possess the qualifications which are also necessary for men voters. Its recommendation that the sex disqualification be removed in the Reformed Municipal Bill has to be voted upon later by the Provincial Legislative Council, and that event will be looked forward to with intense interest as it will afford an opportunity for seeing if a very desirable change of attitude towards woman suffrage has come to the Bengal Councillors with the passage of time.

#### ERODE LEADS THE WAY

In the matter of Compulsory Free Elementary Education, the Municipality of Erode has led the way in the Madras Presidency by being the first Municipality in the South to include girls equally

with boys in its scheme for Compulsory Primary Education. It is particularly gratifying to find a Municipality which was *unanimous* on the necessity of applying the scheme to girls and which raised an additional education tax of 1 per cent on the property tax and 25 per cent on the professional tax for this purpose. Unfortunately the large towns, Vellore, Kumbakonam, Coimbatore and Conjeevaram have begun their Compulsory schemes for boys only.

#### RECORD WOMEN'S MEETING IN MADRAS

The Madras women are determined that the little girls of their City and Presidency shall get all the facilities of the Compulsory Education schemes. To demonstrate the strength of their demand for this act of justice the members of seven Women's Associations combined in holding a meeting in the Madras Senate House. It was the best attended meeting of a public kind held for years in Madras. The Hall was full of most representative women, teachers and girl undergraduates; the speaking was in the vernaculars and was noticeably fluent and spirited; Lady T. Sadasiva Iyer made an ideal and popular President and there was no doubting the whole-heartedness with which the women expressed their desire that the Compulsory system shall be applied to girls.

#### THE LIBERAL PARTY'S MEETING

Another significant meeting took place on the same subject as the above in Madras. It was entirely a men's meeting called by the South Indian Liberal Federation at which a number of the most prominent Councillors and educationists of the City supported the inclusion of girls in the Compulsory Education scheme. They passed the following resolution: "That it is highly desirable to introduce free and compulsory education for boys and girls in the city of Madras as early as possible."

#### CHINA

The following is a quotation from an article on The Women of China written by the lately deceased Chinese statesman, Dr. Wu Ting-fang :—

At the present time there are well over 200 Chinese girl students in the United States alone. They are the successors of many others who have gone before them and, returning to their native land, have been fired with enthusiasm to bring to China the practical benefits of their studies in the democracy of the West. I believe in the equality of the sexes to the extent that no woman should be penalised merely because she is a woman. But though woman may have equal rights with man we cannot overlook the fact that Nature has made them different. In any system of votes for women I should be inclined, first of all at any rate, to confine the privilege to widows and single women, because man and wife are, or should be, one.

### India, Washington and Genoa.

Dr. Gilbert Slater writes in the *Indian Review* :—

Whether it is good or bad for Europe that international affairs are now being conducted by partially public conferences, round which skilled journalists buzz like bees to extract every item of interest for the information of a watching world, instead of by the pre-war methods of secret diplomacy, the new method has, at least for India, the advantage that she gets much fuller information about international transactions and the consequences of which she will sooner or later be involved.

He asks, how will the proceedings at Washington and Genoa affect India? And answers, in part :—

The first result should be an abatement of alarm about the North Western frontier. Trade should develop by direct results between Russia and India, and this should pass partly through Afghanistan, and encourage peace and progress in that country, and the development by the Afghans themselves of the internal resources of their country. Afghanistan may by degrees become to Asia what Switzerland is to Europe. It does not seem too much to hope for an immediate beginning of a progressive reduction in Indian military expenditure in consequence.

Those people who think that the over increasing need of America, Britain and Germany for tropical produce and foreign markets will make for war between them do not understand the psychology of big business.

In consequence India's political connections will in future be less exclusively with Britain, and more and more with America and Germany. The old ideal of national independence is out of harmony with present day economic conditions, and has become a dangerous anachronism, but it is inevitable that the controlling power limiting India's freedom to do what she likes should pass gradually from the British House of Commons to the public opinion of the civilised world.

In these circumstances, Indians ought to prepare themselves to make their own contribution to the formation of that opinion. In this work Mr. Srinivasa Sastri has made a notable and worthy beginning. But it is desirable that his successors should occupy a somewhat different position—that they should be able to speak as exponents of the conclusions reached by Indian public opinion after earnest public discussion, and not as interpreters of India's sub-conscious thought.

It is also necessary that both India and Britain should think out what they want the future political relation between them to be.

### **A Contrast Between British And Feudatory India.**

*Bharat Sevak*, the monthly journal published for the All-India Conference of Indian Christians, edited by Prof. S. C. Mukherji of Serampore College, has a notable editorial article with the above heading. In it we read :

According to an eminent Indian leader the gravest

charge against the British rule was that it tended to prevent the full development and expression of Indian Manhood. Well, in a way the Indian States are even greater sinners in this respect, for the latitude of freedom allowed the subject in any of the provinces is denied in the States. This, therefore, far from offending the Englishman ought rather to please him, for it is a compliment to the British love of liberty. The States are autocratically governed and the political ideas of most of them would hardly do credit to the Eighteenth Century. And yet, they are tolerated by their subjects! Yes, but one must never forget the fact that in a consideration of this question the Government of India stand to gain very little, for it is believed that most of the States would have advanced with the times but for the fact that they could not rise in importance being overshadowed by the mighty Government at Delhi, and hence they became indifferent for they lacked the chief stimulus of all Governments, the hope of being politically powerful. Nor must it be forgotten that popular belief accredits the Resident as being the real ruler, and even though that is certainly an exaggerated view of the Resident's position and importance, it is well-known that the Indian Government guarantees to come to the rescue of any feudatory chief should his subjects rebel, while in return no measures of good government are insisted upon. It is natural in these circumstances that Indians should feel that whether in British India or in the Feudatory States it is the British who rule and shape policy and that when an Englishman points out how much more tolerant the British are in the Provinces than the Indian Chiefs in the States, he is making much of a distinction without difference, as Indians feel that if the Chiefs had not the sense of security born of the pledge of support of the Government of India, they would not have been so out of date in their methods of administration.

According to the writer, there are two main causes for the great agitation that is sweeping over the British-ruled provinces of India to-day, while leaving the Indian States comparatively calm.

*Among the masses, the discontent is due to economic exploitation, and among the classes, to racial arrogance.*

There can be no question that in most cases British India is far more efficiently administered than the States are. Justice as between fellow-Indians is cheap, speedy and equitable.

And yet, let an official from British India visit the villages of a feudatory state. He will find that the rustic says "Maharaja ki jai", whenever he has a stroke of good luck; he will find the villagers happy and contented and with sufficient to eat and drink. He will even get pure cow's milk. And if it is known that he is from British India, he may receive strained respect not unmixed with fear. Let an official from Feudatory India visit the villages of a British India district. He will find the people bent, dejected, starved, and if they ever do have good fortune coming their way, they thank the gods, not the Government, for the boon. Food is scarce and dear. The villagers eat not what will nourish their

bodies (it is too expensive for their slender means) but what will somehow stifle the pangs of hunger. And if this district adjoins a feudatory state, of which they could therefore have some idea, and they know he hails from there, he will be warmly welcomed as if he was a Father of the village.

In feudatory states with all their misgovernment they see to it that no one suffers from want of the common necessities of existence. Provision is made to ensure that these are cheap and in abundance, and that every villager has enough. The States know that it is not wise to "kill the goose that lays the golden eggs."

Then it is explained why there is no racial arrogance in the States.

And again, in the States, all are of Indian nationality and the question of racial arrogance cannot arise. To be capable of existing it must have an extra-national existence, at least where one of the two races is concerned. This circumstance is in existence in British India, and does lead to bitterness. Though the brown bureaucrat may *officially* be more tyrannical, *personally* he dare not be as arrogant, for he is of the people, he is kept in check by the community. The European, on the other hand, belongs to a foreign community which is exclusive and keeps to itself. None of its members has to fear social ostracism because of his individual attitude to the Indian.

Thus it happens that with all the blessings of a benign administration, and in spite of the beneficent policy of "Pax Britannica", there is grave and deepening discontent in British India.

### Buddhistic Research.

*The Mahabodhi and the United Buddhist World* thinks that

Research scholarships enabling students for the study of Pali, Chinese, Tibetan and Japanese in connection with the Indian Universities should be founded, and unmarried students should be selected from various parts of India who would bestow their time in making researches in the field of Buddhism to find out the part played by Indian Buddhists in the civilization of the Asiatic races during the last 2,000 years. Pali texts should be printed in Devanagari characters together with the principal commentaries for the use of Indian scholars. A History of Indian Civilization has to be written from authentic sources, and the Pali texts would be a promising field to gather materials from for such a work.

### Indian Engineering.

Mr. K. V. Vaze, I.C.E., states in the *Vedic Magazine* :

Engineering philosophy consists of ten Sciences **दास्य**, thirty-two Lores **विद्या** and sixtyfour Arts **कला**.

On Engineering there are the following texts as

far as I know and I would be glad if anybody is able to throw more light on the subject. Names of places where the books can be seen are noted in brackets. Other books I would like to see and copy if anybody has any.

He gives a list of 130 Sanskrit works on engineering in the widest sense.

### Subordinate and Superior Postal Employees.

*Labour* writes :—

The Post Office of India was brought into being in 1854 and during the last 68 years it has made marvellous improvement. From a tiny mustard seed the Post Office has now developed into a huge and mighty tree with myriads of branches and thick and luxuriant foliage. No one, however, has yet attempted to write a history of the life and conditions of the Post Office workers in India—the clerks, the sorters, the postmen, the overseers, the runners, and others during these years 68. They have all along been members of a very prosperous establishment, but did they ever share in its prosperity which they were instrumental in building up with the sweat of their brow?

Only a few years ago the initial pay of a Postal clerk was Rs. 15 a month and his usual maximum pay Rs. 30. He used to spend from ten to twelve hours a day at the counter and was transferred at least three or four times during a year. Holidays he knew none and a considerable part of his earnings was recovered from him in fines for paltry mistakes. The rules of the C. S. R. regarding privilege and casual leaves were almost a dead letter to him as he could seldom avail of them. In several cases men suffering from serious illness were not relieved in spite of repeated representations until they were actually dead! The life of the postmen, runners and other menials was much harder.

But look at the other picture for a moment. How did superior officers of the Department, the D. G.'s, P. M. G.'s and Deputy P. M. G.'s, Presidency Postmasters and others fare during these 68 years? Did they share in the prosperity of the department? Why—yes. Their pay has now run into digits that would tempt the highest officers of even the richest countries. Their charges have been lightened so as to make some of the posts almost sinecures.

### Germany's Greetings to India.

In February last, *The Collegian* reports, Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar delivered a lecture at the University of Berlin on the world's great classics through Indian eyes.

On this occasion the lecturer was introduced by "Geheimrat" Professor Alois Brandl, the well known Shakespearean scholar of Germany.

At the close of the address, which dealt with the universal, human values in the *Iliad*, the *Aeneid*, the *Divine Comedy*, the *Faerie Queen*, *L'Etourdi*, *Faust* and other classics, the lecturer was

publicly asked by Professor Brandl to communicate the following message to India :

"You may assure the people of the East", said he in the midst of loud applause, "that we Westerns shall be modest in the future in our attitude to Oriental attainments. Mankind is one in spite of differences. It is evident that Young India is not sleeping on a lotus leaf but embodies action and energy. Let more messages like the present one come from the representatives of Indian culture with the same logic and force and it will not be long before Europe revises her methods of study and scientific judgments."

### An American Martyr of Science.

The *Collegian* quotes the following editorial note from the *Nation* of New York :

"Through his death from yellow fever at Vera Cruz, Dr. Howard B. Cross of the Rockefeller Institute takes his place among the heroes of science, for he has deliberately risked death as did Dr. Jesse W. Lazear and Dr. Walter Reed, the two physicians who by their courting death in Havana in 1899 established beyond question that the yellow fever germ was carried by certain species of mosquitoes. Those two physicians voluntarily submitted to inoculation to prove the theory. Dr. Cross, who went to Vera Cruz for the express purpose of combating the marsh and yellow fevers which curse that region, contracted the latter disease two days after arriving at Tuxtepec. The Rockefeller Institute declares that Dr. Cross gave his life willingly in order that one of the great plagues of humanity might be overcome and destroyed."

### The Bengal Red-vented Bulbul.

Mr. C. M. Inglis corrects, in the *Agricultural Journal of India*, the current notion that the Indian Bulbul is a singing bird. Says he : —

With regard to their popular names which are so well known and firmly established that it is difficult to dislodge them from general use, many animals have acquired titles which are perhaps more descriptive than correct. Such, for example, are the "white ant", which is not an ant and not always white, and the "black beetle", which is not a beetle and not necessarily as black as the popular idea paints it. Many similar instances might be quoted and in this connection it is difficult to resist the temptation to refer to the dictionary which defined a lobster as "a little red fish which runs sideways"; whereas of course a lobster is not a fish, it is not red until it has been boiled, and it does not run sideways. Owing to similar confusion of ideas or terms the Indian Bulbuls have achieved a somewhat spurious reputation as exquisite birds of song. Both in Eastern and in European poetry the Bulbul is frequently referred to as a delightful singing bird, and the dweller in India may well wonder why the Indian Bulbul does not live up to its reputation. The fact seems to be that Indian

Bulbul is not the same bird as the Bulbul referred to in Persian poetry as the lover of the rose and which is really a nightingale. Our Indian Bulbuls have cheerful notes but they are not exactly nightingales.

The Bulbul is, on the whole, helpful to gardeners and farmers.

The late C. W. Mason investigated the stomach-contents of thirty-seven birds at Pusa and found them to contain 129 insects, of which 96 were classed as injurious and 30 as of neutral value. At Faridpur, in Bengal, this bird has been noted as committing "great havoc in gardens amongst tomatoes and chillies, the red colour of which seems to attract them." Bulbuls sometimes do some damage by attacking fruits in gardens and orchards, but the good done by destroying insects throughout the whole year must be offset against this.

### Nitrogen Losses from Dung and Urine.

In the same journal Mr. N. V. Joshi thus sums up the results of studies in methods to prevent nitrogen losses from dung and urine during storage.

1. The losses of nitrogen from cattle dung when stored separately are small under both aerobic or anaerobic conditions of storage.

2. In the case of urine great amounts of nitrogen are lost under aerobic conditions, while under anaerobic conditions the losses are negligible.

3. Covering the surface of the urine with a layer of some kind of oil, such as kerosene, mustard or coconut, brings about the necessary anaerobic conditions and this method has proved effective in preventing losses of nitrogen from the urine.

4. Among several substances tried to prevent losses of nitrogen from urine occurring under aerobic conditions of storage, sulphuric acid, superphosphate and formalin have proved effective but their cost is expected to be prohibitive in practice.

5. Very great losses of nitrogen have been observed when straw and soil were used as absorbents for urine. These absorbents would therefore not prove of value in conserving the nitrogen of the urine.

6. Since greater losses of nitrogen occur in the mixture of cattle dung and urine, it is advisable to store cattle dung and urine in separate pits instead of following the prevalent practice of mixing them in storage.

### Caste-Consciousness and Colour Prejudice.

*Prabuddha Bharata* for July gives the English translation of a Bengali letter written by Vivekananda to a brother-disciple, extracts from which are made below.

Now-a-days we hear it from the lips of people of all castes in India that they are all full-blooded Aryans—only there is some difference of opinion amongst them about the exact percentage of Aryan

blood in their veins, some claiming to have the full measure of it, while others may have one ounce more or less than another. And it is also reported that they and the English race belong to the same stock—that they are cousin-german to each other, and that they are not natives. And they have come to this country out of humanitarian principle. Their religion is also of the same pattern as that of the English! And their forefathers looked just like the English, only living under the tropical sun of India they have turned black! \*\*\*

All modern races have sprung from an admixture of different races.

It is not a generally accepted theory in the West that a warm country produces dark complexion and a cold country white complexion. Many are of opinion that the existing shades between black and white have been the outcome of a fusion of races. \* \* \*

The little tendency that remained in me for taking to European ways vanished, thanks to the Americans.

Once I was burning with hunger, and went into a restaurant and asked for a particular thing, whereupon the man said, "We do not stock it." "Why, it is there." "Well, my good man, in plain language it means there is no place here for you to sit and take your meal." "And why?" "Because nobody will eat on the same table with you, for he will be outcasted." Then America began to look agreeable to me, somewhat like my own caste-ridden country.

Out with these differences of white and black, and this nicety about the proportion of Aryan blood among the 'natives'! How awkward it looks for slaves to be over-fastidious about their pedigree! The excesses about caste distinctions, obtain most among peoples who are least honoured among mankind.

### Vivekananda on the Lascars.

The same monthly quotes the following from Vivekananda's *Memoirs of European Travel, 1899* :—

Seeing these Bengali lascars, coalmen, servants and boys at work, the feeling of despair with regard to my countrymen which I had was much abated. How they are slowly developing their manhood, with a strong physique,—how fearless yet docile! The cringing, sycophant attitude common to 'natives' even the sweepers do not possess—what a transformation!

The Indian lascars do excellent work, without murmur, and go on a quarter of a European sailor's pay. This has dissatisfied many in England, especially as many Europeans are losing their living thereby. They sometimes set up an agitation. Having nothing else to say against them—for the lascars are smarter in work than Europeans—they only complain that in rough weather when the ship is in danger they lose all courage. Good God! In actual circumstances, that infamy is found to be baseless. In times of danger, the European sailors sometimes drink freely through fear, and make themselves stupid and out of use. Indian sailors never take a drop of liquor

in their life, and up to now, not one of them has ever shown cowardice in times of great danger.

### Trained Teachers Not Encouraged in U. P.

*U. P. Education* for August complains :

New men with no training or teaching experience are being recruited for the Intermediate colleges. We are told that with better emoluments to offer the department is securing the services of better class of teachers. We have no quarrel on this point, nor will a true friend of education have any. What we would like to urge upon the attention of the authorities is that a certain percentage of these appointments be reserved for the trained graduates who have put in meritorious service. Or else, where is the stimulus for good work?

### Self-reliance and Spiritual Progress.

Mr. C. Jinarajadasa's short article on self-reliance in *The Mahinda College Magazine* is worth perusal. In his opinion,

By the very nature of the Buddhist conception, the more a man relies on himself to gain wisdom direct, the more he sees the problem of life clearer. It is a significant fact that, in the Buddhist tradition, all who dominate their lower natures by the developments of will-power become at the same time more and more full of compassion towards those round them. The highest will and the fullest compassion are as object and image. Everyone, therefore, who lives the life proclaimed by the Lord Buddha, and frees himself from his fetters by the exercise of his own will, in that very process develops an intense compassion which kills out the self-centred standpoint of personal evolution. Hence comes the seeming contradiction in Buddhist ideals that the man who has sought Nirvana, when he is actually at its threshold, renounces Nirvana, in order to help all his fellow-men to come to that threshold.

The injunction to the Buddhist then to hasten his evolution is not in reality that he may "save his own soul," but rather that he may be one more Saviour of humanity.

It is said by a French thinker that to understand is to pardon. That great truth is carried many steps further by the Lord Buddha in the teaching that to understand is to love and save. That is the reason that He, who toiled through hundreds of lives to save humanity, achieved, with his Buddhahood, both Supreme Wisdom and divinest compassion. For he who sees truly sees with compassion, and to him the realisation of his highest will-power is only in order to dedicate it to the service of his fellow-men. The man who has come to a true realisation of his own powers cannot ever think of utilising those powers for the purpose of his own self. For he comes to that most fascinating of mysteries that, when a man realises his true self, he knows it as the One Self of all that lives.

### Courage.

Sir Michael Sädler's monthly letter to *Indian Education* is devoted in the July number to "Courage" in great part.

The arresting incident in this month's education in Britain is Sir James Barrie's address as Rector of the University of St. Andrews. The red-gowned undergraduates gave a thrilling welcome to the creator of Peter Pan. The magician wove his spell over them in a discourse which was moving and whimsical. Its subject was courage—"the lovely virtue. Courage is the thing. All goes if courage goes. He not merely courageous but light-hearted, also gay."

From his pocket he drew some filmy sheets. On them in the Antarctic ice Captain Scott had written a last message to his friend. "We are pegging out," the letter ran, "in the very comfortable spot. Hoping this may be found and sent to you, I write you a word of farewell. I want you to, think well of me and my end. Good-bye. I am not at all afraid of the end, but sad to miss many a simple pleasure which I had planned for the future in our long marches. We are in a desperate state, feet frozen, etc., no fuel and a long way from food, but it would do your heart good to be in our tent, to hear our songs and our cheery conversation." There ended the first part of the message. In words hard to read it continued: "Later. We are very near the end. We did intend to finish ourselves when things proved like this, but we have decided to die naturally without."

Courage is the badge of strength. The young in spirit are those who have courage. The young, Sir James Barrie went on to say, have to play a great part in the re-making of a shattered world. "Youth have for too long left exclusively in the hands of their Betters the decisions in national matters that are more vital to them than to us who are old. Things about the next war for example, and why the last one even had a beginning. A time has arrived for Youth to demand a partnership. To gain courage is what you come to the University for."

This strikes a note different from what our youth are told here.

### "Shama'a."

*Shama'a* for April and July gives a reproduction from an old painting depicting a game of polo played by some princesses of India. Apart from the artistic qualities of the picture, it has a historical value showing that Indian women of old played this "manly" game and this was in part the reason why they could be heroic themselves and also the mothers of heroes.

### The National Value of Art.

Sri Aurobindo Ghose's article on the national value of art in *Shama'a* is a contribution of outstanding importance and value. Owing to the inclusive and comprehensive character of the writer's thinking and style, his production are difficult to summarise. But it is hoped that the following extracts will be found to give some idea of the article:—

There is a tendency in modern times to depreciate the value of the beautiful and overstress the value of the useful, a tendency curbed in Europe by the imperious insistence of an age-long tradition of culture and generous training of the æsthetic perceptions; but in India, where we have been cut off by a mercenary and soulless education from all our ancient roots of culture and tradition, it is corrected only by the stress of imagination, emotion and spiritual delicacy, submerged but not yet destroyed, in the temperament of the people. The value attached by the ancients to music, art and poetry have become almost unintelligible to an age bent on depriving life of its meaning by turning earth into a sort of glorified ant-heap or beehive and confusing the lowest, though most primary in necessity, of the means of human progress with the aim of this great evolutionary process. The first and lowest necessity of the race is that of self-preservation in the body by a sufficient supply and equable distribution of food, shelter and raiment. A few rise higher and satisfy larger wants. These are the wants of the vital instincts, called in our philosophy the *prana-kosh*, which go beyond and dominate the mere animal wants, simple, coarse and indiscriminating, shared by us with the lower creation. It is these vital wants, the hunger for wealth, luxury, beautiful women, rich foods and drinks, which disturbed the first low but perfect economy of society and made the institution of private property, with its huge train of evils, inequality, injustice, violence, fraud, civil commotion and hatred, class selfishness, family selfishness and personal selfishness, an inevitable necessity of human progress. The Mother of All works through evil as well as good, and through temporary evil she brings about a better and lasting good. These disturbances were complicated by the heightening of the primitive animal emotions into more intense and complex forms. Love, hatred, vindictiveness, anger, attachment, jealousy and the host of similar passions,—the *chitta* or mind-stuff sullied by the vital wants of the *prana*, that which the Europeans call the heart—ceased to be communal in their application and, as personal wants, clamoured for separate satisfaction. These primary wants and necessities have to be satisfied and satisfied universally or, society becomes diseased and states convulsed with sedition and revolution.

The whole of humanity now demands not merely the satisfaction of the body, the *anna*, but the satisfaction also of the *prana* and the *chitta*, the vital and emotional desires. Wealth, luxury, enjoyment for oneself and those dear to us, participation in the satisfaction of national wealth, pride, lordship, rivalry, war, alliance, peace, once the privilege of the few, the higher classes of prince, burgess, and noble are now claimed by all humanity. It is this claim that arose, red with





fury and blinded with blood, in the French Revolution. This is Democracy, this Socialism, this Anarchism; and, however fiercely the privileged and propertied classes may rage, curse and denounce these forerunners of Demogorgon, they can only temporarily resist. Their interests may be hoary and venerable with the sanction of the ages, but the future is mightier than the past and evolution proceeds relentlessly in its course trampling to pieces all that it no longer needs. Those who fight against her fight against the will of God, against a decree written from of old, and are already defeated and slain in the *karan jagat*, the world of types and causes, where Nature fixes everything before she works it out in the visible world. *Nihatāh purvameva.*

The mass of humanity has not risen beyond the bodily needs, the vital desires, the emotions and the current of thought-sensations created by these lower strata. This current of thought-sensations is called in Hindu Philosophy the *manas* or mind, it is the highest to which all but a few of the animals can rise; and it is the highest function that the mass of mankind has thoroughly perfected. Beyond the *manas* is the *buddhi*, or thought proper, which, when perfected, is independent of the desires, the claims of the body and the interference of the emotions. But only a minority of men have developed this organ, much less perfected it. Only developed Yogins have a *vishuddha buddhi*, a thought-organ cleared of the interference of the lower strata by *chitta-shuddhi* or purification of the *chitta*, the mind-stuff, from the *prana* full of animal, vital and emotional disturbances. With most men the *buddhi* is full of *manas* and the *manas* of the lower strata.

Above the *buddhi* are other faculties which are now broadly included in the term spirituality. This body of faculties is still rarer and more imperfectly developed even in the highest than the thought-organ. Most men mistake intellectuality, imaginative inspiration or emotional fervour for spirituality, but this is a much higher function, the highest of all, of which all the others are coverings and veils. Meanwhile the thought is the highest man has really attained and it is by the thought that the old society has been broken down. And the thought is composed of two separate sides, judgment or reason and imagination, both of which are necessary to perfect ideation. It is by science, philosophy and criticism on the one side, by art, poetry and idealism on the other that the old state of humanity has been undermined and is now collapsing, and the foundations have been laid for the new. Of these science, philosophy and criticism have established their use to the mass of humanity by ministering to the luxury, comfort and convenience which all men desire and arming them with justification in the confused struggle of passions, interests, cravings and aspirations which are now working with solvent and corrosive effect throughout the world. The value of the other side, more subtle and profound has been clouded to the mass of men by the less visible and sensational character of its workings.

A purely scientific education tends to make a man keen and clear-sighted within certain limits, but narrow, hard and cold. A cultivated eye without a cultivated spirit makes by no means the highest type of man. It is precisely the cultivation of the spirit that is the object of what is well called a liberal education

and the pursuits best calculated to cultivate the growth of the spirit are language, literature, the arts, music, painting, sculpture or the study of these, philosophy, religion, history, the study and understanding of man through his works and of Nature and man through the interpretative as well as through the analytic faculties. These are the pursuits which belong to the intellectual activities of the right hand, and while the importance of most of these will be acknowledged, there is a tendency to ignore Art and Poetry as mere refinements, luxuries of the rich and leisurely rather than things that are necessary to the mass of men or useful to life. This is largely due to the misuse of these great instruments by the luxurious few who held the world and its good things in their hands in the intermediate period of human progress. But the æsthetic faculties entering into the enjoyment of the world and the satisfaction of the vital instincts, the love of the beautiful in men and women, in food, in things, in articles of use and articles of pleasure, have done more than anything else to raise man from the beast, to refine and purge his passions, to ennoble his emotions and to lead him up through the heart and the imaginations to the state of the intellectual man. That which has helped man upward, must be preserved in order that he may not sink below the level he has attained. For man intellectually developed, mighty in scientific knowledge and the mastery of gross and subtle Nature, using the elements as his servants and the world as his foot stool, but undeveloped in heart and spirit, becomes only an inferior kind of Asura using the powers of a demigod to satisfy the nature of an animal. According to dim traditions and memories of the old world, of such a nature was the civilisation of old Atlantis, submerged beneath the ocean when its greatness and its wickedness became too heavy a load for the earth to bear, and our own legends of the Asuras represent a similar consciousness of a great but abortive development in humanity.

The first and lowest use of Art is the purely æsthetic, the second is the intellectual or educative, the third and the highest spiritual. By speaking of the æsthetic use as the lowest, we do not wish to imply that it is not of immense value to humanity but simply to assign to it its comparative value in relation to its higher uses. The æsthetic is of immense importance and until it has done its work, mankind is not really fitted to make full use of Art on the higher planes of human development. Aristotle assigns a high value to tragedy because of its purifying force. It purifies by beauty. The beautiful and the good are held by many thinkers to be the same and, though the idea may be wrongly stated, it is, when put from the right standpoint, not only a truth but the fundamental truth of existence. According to our own philosophy the whole world came out of *ananda* and returns into *ananda*, and the triple term in which *ananda* may be stated is Joy, Love, Beauty. To see divine beauty in the whole world, man, life, nature, to love that which we have seen and to have pure unalloyed bliss in that love and that beauty is the appointed road by which mankind as a race must climb to God. That is the reaching to *Vidya* through *Avidya*, to the One pure and Divine through the manifold manifestation of Him, of which the Upanishad repeatedly speaks. But the bliss must be

pure and unalloyed by self-regarding emotions, unalloyed by pain and evil. The sense of good and bad, beautiful and unbeautiful, which afflicts our understanding and our senses, must be replaced by *akhanda rasa*, undifferentiated and unabridged delight in the delightfulness of things, before the highest can be reached. On the way to this goal full use must be made of the lower and abridged sense of beauty which seeks to replace the less beautiful by the more, the lower by the higher, the mean by the noble.

### Water Power in India.

*The Indian and Eastern Engineer* for August contains a finely illustrated article on the electric power scheme at the Gokak Falls. The introductory paragraph, quoted below, dwells on the value of water power and the need of speedily harnessing it.

In these days, when India is seeking to develop with the greatest speed possible her industrial life the question of harnessing the water power is one of the most important problems to be faced. While we do not know whether further research will reveal new coalfields, etc., we know that for the present, the industrial magnates will have to look in other directions than the coal supply for their motive power. India is far behind many European countries and America, in her plans for making the best use of her water supply for power purposes, though she has highly developed her irrigation system. There are several large successful electrical schemes, and there is a prospect of a rapid development in several parts of India. Wherever there is a fall of water of considerable height, investigations are being made as to the best plan by which the power can be utilised. There is always a natural anxiety on the part of those who are concerned about the preservation of the beauty spots of the country lest, in harnessing these falls, the landscape should be completely spoiled. In some cases the harnessing the power of water has led to the destruction of the natural beauty, as for instance, the beautiful fall at Kateri, in the Nilgiri Hills, commandeered for running the great Cordite Works. On the other hand, there are schemes which do not affect the landscape at all, at least as far as the actual falls are concerned.

### Feeling and Lines in Painting.

Dr. Abanindranath Tagore writes in *Rupam* :

How feeling can determine the character of the lines is well shown in the drawings of the Mother by Miss Santa Devi (Pl. N, Fig. A), Miss Kiran (No. 198) and Miss Mrinal (No. 197), in all of which the firmness, sweetness and patience of the mother are made manifest by their firm and graceful line work. The obverse is to be seen in Master Nabendranath Tagore's "Nabob" where the riotous lines of the drawing speak to the ungainliness and indiscipline of the character portrayed. Here, more correct

drawing would have failed of its object. Thus can both good and bad draftsmanship be made to serve the artist's purpose.

### Works of Lady Artists at the Last Exhibition of the Society of Oriental Art.

The editor of *Rupam* thus speaks of the works of lady-artists exhibited at the last annual exhibition of the Indian Society of Oriental Art :—

One of the interesting features of this year's show was the contributions made by many lady-artists, of whom the works of Santa Devi, Basanti Devi, and Gauri Devi deserve special mention. The latter's "Ashoka Flower" (fig. 1; Pl. II) and "Winter" displayed surprising qualities which one is accustomed to look for in the works of modern French artists. Santa Devi exhibited a number of sketches which were of considerable promise. Her "Clouds" revealed a mature sense of mass and spacing which was unexpected in the work of a new student.

### Indian Mercantile Marine.

The following observations of Mr. L. N. Govindarajan in *Everyman's Review* on an Indian mercantile marine deserve attention :

Every country rightly or wrongly holds that a large merchant fleet is indispensable both to its economical development and political power. The famous remark once made by the Kaiser, William the Second, 'The future of Germany is in the sea,' is but the expression of a feeling shared by all civilised governments. Even from the point of view of national defence it is held that a navy can recruit its personnel only if there be a nursery of professional sailors. Further national industries find in the display of the national flag a very effective advertisement in foreign ports. The possession of a strong commercial fleet confers on a country the privilege and power to fashion her commercial policy to suit her own industrial ends. Otherwise the advantage which a country might have secured by a policy of protection, she will have to forfeit by paying heavy freight.

Even if a large mercantile marine be not indispensable to the greatness or prosperity of a nation, it is certain that maritime transport is a lucrative industry. Consequently a country like Holland of the former times and England of to-day that transports the goods of all other countries will derive immense profit therefrom. But those nations that apply to foreigners to transport their products must pay a heavy price for the service. "France has to pay over 12 million pounds annually to foreign shipowners, while England which transports over two-thirds of tonnage of the whole world and builds ships for all nations gets an annual income of 80 million pounds."

But unfortunately the bulk of the carrying trade with India is done by English and foreign ships. Vessels belonging to India herself have practically

no share in Indian shipping. Over seventy-five per cent of the Indian transport industry is done by British vessels alone; while more than 1500 vessels mainly from Japan, Norway and Holland enter and leave Indian ports. Vessels belonging to foreign countries are obtaining an increasing proportion of India's carrying trade and the Government of those countries pay large subsidies for encouraging navigation, ship-building and extension of steamship routes. If India can transport her imports and exports in her own steamers she will save Rupees thirty crores a year in freight and will give employment to thou-

sands of Indian workmen. The traditions of the people ensure the success of indigenous shipping and the requirements of economic progress demand development in this direction.

In ancient times the Indians excelled in the art of constructing vessels and the Hindus can in this respect still offer models to Europe. The English, very attentive to everything related to naval architecture, have borrowed from the Hindus many improvements which they have adapted with success. The Indian vessels have both elegance and utility and were models of patience and fine workmanship.

### THE THREATS OF LORD NORTHCLIFFE AND MR. LLOYD GEORGE

**I**N every country in the civilized world there are certain laws relating to the government which are recognized to be fundamental and unchangeable. To British journalists or politicians such laws do exist in their own country, but when India is concerned every person is at liberty to assail any institution and hurl anathemas on the politicians, who dare in any manner offend the susceptibilities of the Britishers.

*The Times*, on the 22nd March 1922, sought to castigate the members of the Indian Legislative Council for daring to criticize the Budget then introduced in the Legislative Assembly and for voting for reduction of the budget by about 6 million pounds. The attitude of the members of the Legislative Assembly, it observed, had "probably made it necessary for Great Britain to reconsider the whole working of the constitutional reforms in India." Whether it was warranted for a newspaper, without the sanction of the British Cabinet or Parliament, to launch such vitriolic attack on the so called modern Magna Charta or fundamental law regulating the future relationship between Great Britain and India it has yet to be established. In India such attack would bring instantly an editor within the clutches of the Indian Penal Code for attempting to create disaffection or bringing the administration into contempt.\*

\* It will be remembered that Lord Curzon during his viceroyalty endeavoured to interpret Queen Victoria's proclamation of 1858 conferring equal rights of citizenship upon the Indian people as conditional upon their good behaviour, etc.

The Prime Minister on the 2nd August made a speech ostensibly to allay the dismay manifested in the ranks of the Indian Civilian as a result of the critical spirit brought into existence by the foundation of the Legislative Assembly and thus dragging them out from their desks into limelight.

It is human that no autocrat or bureaucrat who has ruled according to his whims or caprices for generations is likely to tolerate the modern spirit of criticism and the consequent necessity of one's actions being discussed in the open and free atmosphere of Delhi and, by irony of fate, by the ruled. The Prime Minister fell into many fallacies when he attributed the dwindling number of competitors in Great Britain to the want of regard shown to their material welfare in India, when the real cause was to be found in the great War which depleted the Schools, Universities and Inns of Courts of the ever-recurring recruits. Their attention had been diverted to other channels, whereby commissions in the Army, Navy and Air force and lucrative posts could be secured before leaving schools. Those halcyon days are over and the monotonous drudgery of life has begun. The minds of youths were out of their moorings. Fortunately for India her promising and intelligent youths were unaffected by this calamitous war, which devastated the world. Those members of Parliament who participated in the debate on this occasion were startled by the spectre of a Civil Service not receiving support and encouragement at home and their material

welfare not being sufficiently cared for by their countrymen.

The revenue of Great Britain being £1,216,650,000, ordinary civilians who have not reached the topmost rung of the ladder on retiring from service draw a pension of not more than £500 a year, or £600; whereas India, a poor country with a revenue of about £123,258,000, pays an annual pension of £1000 a year to a civilian. There is no doubt that the Indian Civil Service, in view of the resources of the country, is paid higher than in any country in the world. The system is iron cast and not elastic and to unimaginative people the perpetuation of this evil is a necessity. Not only America but the whole world looks aghast when in the 20th Century artificial barriers are raised by alien rulers to keep the natives of the country out of the positions legitimately due to them as their birthright by reason of merit and character and not race superiority or colour.

From 1860 when a Special Committee of the India Office made its recommendations to the Government of India, and again when Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji was instrumental in having the House of Commons adopt a resolution to hold simultaneous examinations for the Indian Civil Service both in England and India, to the passing of Govern-

ment of India Act 1919, nearly 59 years have elapsed, and, still at the present day the gradual infusion of the Indian element in the service of the country is loathed and resented as dire ruin of the British rule and prestige.

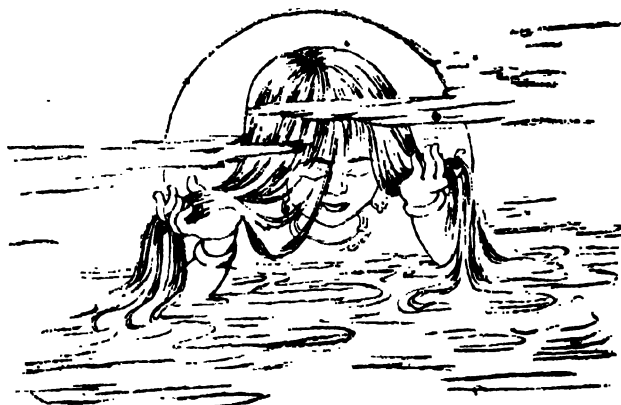
Mr. Lloyd George anticipates a great danger looming ahead when the general elections take place eighteen months hence and apprehends that the conservative or moderate element at present pervading the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State may be swamped by the Nationalist onrush. Lord Northcliffe, on the other hand, expressed unspeakable aversion for the present members of the Assembly and he chastises their audacity in not bowing their heads and nodding assent without challenge or contradiction to every measure however harmful to the interests of the country.

How to reconcile these opinions is a great problem of the day.

The future alone can tell whether the King of the newspapers over 40 in number singing the same tune was right in his prophecy, or the modern British dictator who is at present at the helm of the State.

E. DALGADO.

London.



EVENING.

By the Courtesy of the Artist.

Mr. Sarada Chara

## NOTES

**"The Genuine Wild-beast Breed."**

The trial of Gunners Eaton and Stevens of the 13th Battery, Royal Field Artillery, before the Chief Justice of Allahabad and a jury on the 26th July last on a charge of murdering Metha, a chowkidar, ended in a unanimous verdict of guilty on Eaton with a recommendation for mercy on the ground of youth and want of premeditation. And a week ago the death sentence passed on Gunner Eaton was commuted to penal servitude for life by the Governor in Council in view of the jury's strong recommendation for mercy, which was forwarded to the Governor by the Chief Justice. The following extract from the report of the proceedings published in the *Statesman* gives the facts in a nutshell :

The Government Advocate then tendered the statements made by the accused in the Lower Court. These showed that they were drinking on the night in question. On leaving the canteen Eaton said, "Let's do some one in", and rushing into the verandah of the tailor's shop fisted and kicked the chowkidar. Later on he said, "Let's finish him off", and rushed towards the chowkidar with a jack-knife. Stevens and Spellane struggled to prevent him but failed. Coming out Eaton said, "Let's do away with him, as dead men tell no tales." The accused dragged the man to the well and Eaton pushed him."

It is difficult to analyse the complex feelings which agitate the breast of a mild Hindu on reading the above. There is first the natural desire of revenge, which demands blood for blood and is, in the words of Bacon, a kind of wild justice, followed by the misgiving, bordering almost on conviction, and deriving support from numerous similar instances in the past that justice might not be done, as it has not been in the present case, too ; next comes the shock of finding a recommendation for mercy coupled with the verdict even in such a case of undiluted barbarity, accepted, intensified by the recollection of the contrast afforded by the punishments apt to be inflicted on Indians in circumstances which considerably mitigate the heinousness of the offence ; then there is the humiliation of a subject race which can only look help-

lessly on at these exhibitions of utter contempt for Indian life on the part of individuals belonging to the army, on which the Indian taxpayer has to devote more than half the public revenues for his protection from internal and external aggression ; and the burning sense of shame at the emasculation and disarmament of the people which so crows down the immortal spirit within as to render it incapable of effective resistance even when life itself is at stake, and encourages the repetition of such crimes. But above and beyond all these surging emotions is the overmastering sense of the appalling and wanton brutality of the man, who can, for the mere fun of the thing, conceive the idea of 'doing some one in' and 'finishing him off'. The very conception that there can be any fun in doing an inoffensive man to death and in the mere act of killing for killing's sake, is so preposterous and foreign to us, with traditions of *ahimsa* going back to hoary antiquity humanising our passions, and making violence and bloodthirstiness repugnant to our senses, that we can confidently assert that among all the teeming millions of India in whom the Aryan civilization has had time to take root, there will not be found a single man, however much he may be the worse for drink, who can be actuated to such a deed by such a motive. His whole nature would recoil with horror at the thought of murder as a means of enjoying oneself or of whiling away an idle hour. It is by deeds and motives such as these, which usually lie in the background of consciousness and are dragged into light by the stimulation of drink, that we may take the measure of the immense distance that still separates European civilization from our own in certain aspects on the moral and spiritual plane. The impress which European civilization as a whole has left on the minds and passions of the lower classes of the West makes possible the irruption of monsters of the type of Gunner Eaton ; the impress which our civilization has stamped on the lowest classes in India makes such a demoniacal bloodhound unthinkable. The lower classes form, by far, the majority

in both the orient and the occident, and it takes the leading tendencies of a particular type of life a long time to penetrate into the mind and emerge as dominating habits of thought and action, thus helping the evolution of a higher and nobler form of civilization and its gradual dissemination among the masses. For the lover of humanity, who would unite the East and the West in a silken bond of love, it is infinitely sad to reflect that the twenty centuries which have elapsed since Christ sacrificed himself at Calvary have not proved long enough to civilize the masses of Europe to the extent of placing them on a level with the East in kindliness of disposition. We would fain do Gunner Eaton the justice to think that the motive which impelled him to do the foul deed was unconnected with the race of his victim and that he did not consider an Indian as subhuman and beyond the pale of whatever remnants of the moral sense might still glimmer in his consciousness. In that case the conclusion is irresistible that the type which still persists among the Western proletariats is the type of the Yorkshire boors of whom Browning says :—

“Harsh and fierce of word, rough and  
 Hated or feared the most — who knows ?—  
 the genuine wild-beast breed !”

though even then we must add that the comparison implied is unfair to the wild beasts, for they do not get drunk and kill their kin for the sake of fun.

### Fall of Vijaynagar.

Briggs in his translation of *Ferishta* (ii. 414) gives Friday, 20th Jamadi-us-sani 972 A. H. = 25 January, 1556, as the date of the battle of Talikota, where the empire of Vijaynagar fell. As Briggs's conversion of the Hijera date is wrong, Sewell (p. 200) has corrected it to Tuesday, 23rd January, 1565, which Vincent Smith (*Oxford History*, p. 294) accepts.

Now, both these dates are wrong. Ferishta is a mere compiler and not an original authority. His source, the older history *Burhan-i-masir* (India Office Library MS. transcribed for me), definitely states that the battle was fought on Friday the second of Jamadi-us-sani, 972, which corresponds to Friday, 5th January, 1565. In

a subsequent passage the *Burhan* quotes the contemporary chronogram *Ek-az-awwal Jamadi-us-sani* as giving both the day of the month and (by the *abjad* calculation) the year of the battle. [(a) One day after the 1st of Jamadi-us-sani. (b) Deduct the numerical value of *ek* from the numerical value of *awwal Jamadi-us-sani* and you get 972.] So, there can be no doubt that the date was the second of the month.

The mistake of Briggs or Ferishta may be explained by supposing that either a zero was put after 2, in dating the battle, or the date of the march of the Muslim confederacy against Vijaynagar from the plains outside Bijapur, namely 20th Jamadi-ul-*awwal*, (Briggs, ii. 126) was carelessly considered to be the day of the battle in the next month or Jamadi-us-sani. The passage corresponding to Briggs, ii. 414, does not occur in the Lucknow edition of Ferishta's Persian text.

J. SARKAR.

### Student Life in Central Europe.

Student life has always meant a terribly hard struggle in modern Indian Universities. I cannot easily forget my own experiences among students in the Panjab and I have seen what is happening to-day in Calcutta and elsewhere. The following account given in a personal letter to me by an American in Marburg University will be of great interest to Indian readers and will be read with deep sympathy :—

Some of the professors I know haven't enough money to buy decent paper upon which to write their lecture notes ; rather do they buy up a sort of printer's waste paper printed on one side, with the other side free for lecture notes. For some of the best professors, it is difficult or impossible for them to go to a health resort when they are ill or go to the hills for a necessary vacation.

The situation for the students is even worse than among the professors. The existence minimum for a Marburg student was Mk. 12.43 for the month of June, at the present rate equal to about 11 shillings. Personally I know several students who have incomes of less than Mk. 500 per month. In fact, one girl student living on the floor above me has an income from home of Mk. 100 per month and a student on the fourth floor—in the attic—has an income of Mk. 300 a month. The average income of the Marburg Student, as compiled by very careful statistics of the Marburger studentenschaft is between Mk. 700-2000 per month. From Marburg University last vacation 214 students (or 10 per cent of the whole student body) worked full time on farms, in mines, factories or in trade, in order to earn money to

study during the semester. As there seems to be a standing grievance between students and labor unions, some of the labor unions have protested against allowing students to go into the coal and sulphur mines and thus competing against the labor union members. In this connection I might describe the work of the European Student Relief. This is affiliated with the Deutsche Studentenschaft and in every University town in Germany has organized a most efficient piece of Relief and Self-Help work. Here in Marburg there are two large Student Mensas, or Eating Halls, where the poor students pay Mk. 8 for each meal. The meal itself is about as meagre and poor as one could imagine, but hundreds of students are very glad of this help, thus enabling them to continue their studies. Besides the Student Mensas, the Studentenschaft has organized Co-operative Book Stores, and Libraries where needy students, on the payment of a small fee, are loaned the necessary text books for the term. The new plan of the Studentenschaft is to buy a large garden near the city, in order to provide vegetables, etc., at cheap prices to the Student Mensas and also to provide poor students with work. The whole Student Relief and Studentenschaft is based on the idea of Self-Help—is a model of efficient and extensive organization. There are no truer agents of international reconciliation and good will than the Student Relief Organizing Secretaries, Mr. Israel and Mr. Hersey, with their central offices in Berlin. The Relief which comes to the German Students from foreign lands represents more of a spiritual than a material help. It means deep gratitude and real lasting international friendship. The European Student Relief and the Relief Work of the Quakers represent to every German a real gift of Christian love. George Fox and the principles of the Quaker community are extremely popular in the best religious circles of Germany today."

My friend is not himself a Quaker, but in every letter which he has written to me he has vividly described the triumph of love, in this modern world of hate, which the 'Society of Friends' has won by following literally and implicitly the Sermon on the Mount.

C. F. A.

### **Ayurvedic Research at Santiniketan.**

At the beginning of the cold weather term, after the Puja Vacation, it is intended to open an Ayurvedic Department of Medicine, at Santiniketan, in connexion with the Visva-bharati, under the direction of Babu Kshitimohan Sen. Along with the practice of Ayurvedic medicine in the villages under the direction of the Principal of the Department, research work will be carried on into the records of the past. Ayurvedic treatises which are to be found in Tibetan and Chinese, will be translated and the original Sanskrit texts recovered. It is

hoped, also, that new light may be thrown upon Ayurvedic treatment in the past by recent discoveries in Central Asia.

C. F. A.

### **Dacoities and how to stop them.**

The newspapers are full of accounts of dacoities committed all over Bengal. The only true and sure way of putting a stop to them lies in removing the economic distress of the people, and making it possible for them to earn a decent livelihood and become well-fed and strong, and not in taking the food out of their mouths to feed greedy foreign capitalists, and in devising new ways and means for opening up Indian careers for foreign youths under the guise of acting as trustees for the Indian people. The duties of true trustee in this respect were recognised so far back as in the sixth century before Christ, as will appear from the following passage of the Kutadanta Sutta (*Dialogues of the Buddha*, Part I, Rhys Davids, pp. 175-6, *Oxford University Press*, 1890.)

"The King's country, Sire, is harassed and harried. There are dacoits abroad who pillage the villages and townships, and who make the roads unsafe. Were the king, so long as that is so, to levy a fresh tax, verily his majesty would be acting wrongly. But perchance his majesty might think, : I'll soon put a stop to these scoundrels' game by degradation and banishment, and fines and bonds and death.' But their license cannot be satisfactorily put a stop to so. The remnant left unpunished would still go on harassing the realm. Now there is one method to adopt to put a thorough end to this disorder. Whosoever there be in the king's realm who devote themselves to keeping cattle and the farm, to them let his majesty the king give food and seed-corn. Whosoever there be in the king's realm who devote themselves to trade, to them let his majesty the king give capital. Whosoever there be in the king's realm who devote themselves to government service, to them let his majesty the king give wages and food. Then those men, following each his own business, will no longer harass the realm : the king's revenue will go up : the country will be quiet and at peace : and the populace, pleased with one another and happy, dancing their children in their arms, will dwell with open doors."

### **The Guilt of the Late war.**

Every day evidence is accumulating, owing to the publication of first-class documents and to the researches of impartial historians, which goes to show that the Treaty of Versailles has been founded on a lie, when it made Germany the only guilty

party in the late war in Europe. The records of the Russian Foreign Office, which the *Manchester Guardian* has been publishing, have been so damaging to French and Russian reputations, that it is not too much to say, that they have thrown the balance of guilt at least equally on the Russian side. They also show the English Foreign Secretary, Sir Edward Grey, to have been a consenting party to acts of secret diplomacy leading directly to war, which would have been repudiated by the whole of England if they had been published. Mr. Austen Chamberlain, the leader of the Conservative party in the House of Commons, stated in the House on February 8, 1922, that if the engagements towards France and Russia, entered into without national sanction, had been known beforehand by the nation, the world tragedy of August, 1914, would never have taken place. Signor Nitti has declared, that the onus of responsibility for the war lies equally upon the war-lords of Russia and of Germany. Mr. Lloyd George himself has confessed, in a revealing moment, what is practically the same truth. But perhaps the most damaging declaration of all is to be found in the minutes of the Russian Foreign Office in an entry on September, 1914, just a month after the Great War itself was started. A conversation is reported between Count Witte and the French Ambassador. Count Witte denounced the War as a "stupid adventure". M. Paléologue, the French Ambassador, replied: "Allow me to recall to you, that if the world is to-day given over to blood and flames, it is for a cause in which Russia was pre-eminently interested, a cause eminently Slav, a cause which concerned neither France, nor Britain."

When Sir Edward Grey made his fatal treaty with Russia, over the deadbody of Persia, a treaty by which Persia was to be divided into two spheres of influence between the two powers, he was in reality signing his name to a scrap of paper, which was to lead him on to further and further entanglements with Czarist Russia, and in the end to the last entanglement of all, the great European war.

C. F. A.

### Ceylon and Malaya.

The news has come, that an effort is about to be made by the planters in Malaya and

Ceylon to obtain exemption for those two countries from the new Emigration Act. If there is one thing that the people of India are determined to have absolutely in their own hands, it is the settlement of all labour questions connected with emigration. The planters, therefore, both in Malaya and in Ceylon, would do much more service to their own cause by putting their house in order, than by paying visits to Simla. They should know that, in the future, the whole question of emigration will rest with the vote of the Legislative Assemblies, not with the Imperial executive. It should be also clearly understood in Ceylon, that unless the last vestige of the old 'tundu' system, by which the labourers were kept in perpetual debt, is abolished, there will be no chance whatever of labour emigration being permitted under the new Act. A great step forward was taken in Ceylon recently when the old Labour Penal clauses were rescinded from the Ceylon Labour Penal Code. It now remains to sweep away all the other abuses, which have been so often pointed out. The same applies to Malaya.

It has been suggested, that the stoppage of Ceylon and Malaya labour from India should be held over the head of the Colonial Office in London, as a threat, in order to strengthen the Indian position in Kenya Colony. Personally, I cannot agree with any policy of retaliation of that kind. The Indian labourer must not be made a pawn in the political game; his own interests must be first and last considered. The question of labour emigration is a social and economic one, rather than directly political.

C. F. A.

### Bengal Ministers and the Indian Association.

We have before us some correspondence dealing with certain arbitrary methods, adopted at the annual meeting of the Indian Association held recently. It is stated that the Chairman of the meeting acted, in a number of instances, contrary to accepted principles of constitutional procedure. Further, we are told, his attitude towards the independent section of members, that is, those who dared to differ from the Ministers and their entourage and refused to carry out their behests, was throughout rude and dis-



courteous in the extreme. Examples are also cited of cases in which the executive of the Association have not only violated the express provisions of its rules, but have also gone against the fundamental principles of public associations. We are asked in this connection to note that the Hon. Sir Surendranath Banerjea, Minister of Local Self-government, who is President of the Association, was Chairman of the meeting; that the Hon. Mr. Provas Chunder Mitter, who now acts more or less in the role of guide philosopher and friend to the executive of the Association, pulled the strings from behind the *Pardah*; and that Mr. Krishna Kumar Mitra is the Honorary Secretary to the Association. Reference has been made in the Press to the allegations mentioned above by more than one member of the Indian Association, and these have not been contradicted. The allegations may, therefore, be taken to be substantially correct. It had so far been an accepted principle with public associations in this country that they should not in any way be fettered in their work by official intervention. It is this consideration which has led public-spirited Indians to demand the release of public bodies and institutions, such as Senates of Universities, Municipalities, District Boards, etc., from the leading strings of official control and influence. Taking into account the relation of intimacy in which the Ministers stand to the Government, as also the way in which the Committee and office-bearers of the Indian Association have carried on their work during the last two years, we feel convinced that so long as Ministers are so closely associated with the work of the Association it is not possible for it to fulfil its main object, which is to represent and interpret popular wishes in matters of public interest. It is unfair to the two Ministers, one of whom happens to be its President, as also to its members, that this should be so. If the Indian Association is to serve the purpose for which it was brought into existence, two conditions require to be fulfilled. First, no Minister or Ministers should, in our opinion, have any power to interfere with the work of the Association. The other condition refers to the arrangement which, we are told, places at the disposal of the Ministers votes of people whose subscriptions are paid not by the members themselves but

by others. This is a most objectionable device and it is imperative that it should be put an end to at once. So long as these changes are not introduced, we do not think that the Indian Association can claim to be regarded as an organ of independent public opinion.

### A Series of Jobberies.

Memorandum No. 9374 A, of the Government of Bengal, Appointment Department, dated the 19th August, 1922, runs as follows:—

"Mr. H. E. A. Cotton, who has been appointed President of the Legislative Council, has been granted by His Excellency the Governor, with the approval of the Secretary of State, an allowance of £ 400, or approximately Rs. 6,000, for his outfit and voyage expenses. This sum has been paid to Mr. Cotton by the Secretary of State for India, and it is proposed to meet the charge from savings in the provision for the revision of pay of the ministerial establishment in the current year's budget under the head "22G—General Administration—Civil Secretariat—Finance, Commerce and Marine Departments". For the purpose of classification in the accounts, Rs. 4,000 will appear in the estimate of the Secretary of State—General Administration—Sundry items and Rs. 2,000 under "40—Exchange on transaction with London". The concurrence of the Legislative Council is requested to the proposed transfers."

The appointment of Mr. H. E. A. Cotton to the presidentship of the Bengal Legislative Council was unjust and wrong and an insult to educated Bengal. Bengalis were not wanting who could discharge the duties of the office quite satisfactorily. This is not a mere supposition; for Mr. Surendranath Roy has been doing the work very ably. The granting of leave to Mr. Cotton before he had taken charge of his office was also wrong.

We do not know why Mr. Cotton should have been given his voyage and outfit expenses. According to what law, rule or regulation has it been done? To the bureaucrats who squander crores of rupees in frontier expeditions, &c., Rs. 6,000 may be a trifle; but to us poor people it is not a trifle. But supposing that it is an insignificant amount, why should even a small sum be wasted? If an Indian had been appointed to the office, this waste could have been prevented.

If the consent of the Legislative Council to this expenditure was a legal necessity, this consent should have been obtained before the expenditure was incurred; but if the consent was not a legal necessity, why has the con-

concurrence of the Legislative Council been sought? To incur some expenditure on the assumption that the Council would sanction it or would not have the courage or the lack of so-called courtesy to refuse sanction, and then to try to obtain their concurrence, is an insult to the Council. At this writing (August 26), we do not know how the Council have dealt or propose to deal with the request of the Government. But if we were the Council we would certainly not comply with it.

Throughout the country, the Imperial services and next to them the Provincial services are the pampered pets of the Government; the ministerial establishments have not for decades been paid decent salaries. Therefore, the words "savings in the provision for the revision of pay of the ministerial establishment," sound like a grim joke. Has anybody ever heard of savings in the provision for the revision of pay of the *Imperial* services? Government has never been lavish in paying its humblest servants. Therefore to effect savings in the provision for the revision of pay of clerks and then to pay Rs. 6000 (representing an year's salary of more than a dozen clerks) out of these savings to a foreigner unnecessarily imported from abroad, must be considered unjustifiable.

And there does not seem to be any sense of humour in the camouflage suggested "for the purpose of classification in the accounts"; for what has this bucksheesh to a foreigner—for no service yet rendered—to do with "Exchange on transaction with London"?

### **"Concurrence" Due to Fear, Ignorance, Carelessness, or Indifference.**

When poor starvelings take what is not "legally" their own, to keep body and soul together, they are called thieves. When wicked private persons take by force what is not theirs, they are called robbers; the leaders of nations doing the same are called heroes. One knows, too, what in law is called misappropriation. But when governments spend money for a wrong purpose, when such expenditure is not meant for the private gain of the men who constitute the personnel of governments, the words of opprobrium mentioned above are not applicable. Nevertheless, such expenditure is wrong. And concurrence thereto, no matter for what reason, is also wrong. But many people do

"concur", some just as auditors and others sign audit and other reports, as in Anton Tchekhov's story of "In Trouble", which begins thus :

Pyotr Semyonitch, the bank manager, together with the book-keeper, his assistant, and two members of the board, were taken in the night to prison. The day after the upheaval the merchant Avdeyev, who was one of the committee of auditors, was sitting with his friends in the shop saying :

"So it is god's will, it seems. There is no escaping your fate....."

.....Avdeyev went on with a sigh :

"The tears of the mouse come back to the cat. Serve them right, the scoundrels! They could steal, the rooks, so let them answer for it!"

"You'd better look out, Ivan Danilitch, that you don't catch it too!" one of his friends observed.

"What has it to do with me?"

"Why, they were stealing, and what were you auditors thinking about? I'll be bound, you signed the audit."

"It's all very well to talk!" laughed Avdeyev. "Signed it, indeed! They used to bring the accounts to my shop and I signed them. As though I understood! Give me anything you like, I'll scrawl my name to it. If you were to write that I murdered some one, I'd sign my name to it. I haven't time to go into it; besides, I can't see without my spectacles."

### **"Indian Art" in the Bengal Legislative Council.**

The proceedings of the Bengal Legislative Council are not adequately reported in the daily papers, and the official reports appear after so much delay that very few persons ever turn over their pages. But though we received the official reports of the Council proceedings of the 27th February last and of subsequent sittings only a few days ago, we did turn over their leaves to find out what some members of the Council had said on "Indian Art"; for we had heard that, though only a small number of persons take any interest in it and fewer still understand or appreciate it, some members had spoken on the subject some months ago.

The occasion was furnished by the provision of Rs. 19,880 as grant to the Indian Society of Oriental Art under the head Education. Rai Dr. Haridhan Dutt Bahadur observed :—

Another item under this head is the sum of Rs. 19,880 as grant to the Indian Society of Oriental Art. I fail to see how it has come under education. I confess I do not know much about the internal working of this society—except when we hear of their presentations of jewelled images to high personages. There is another thing we must re-

member. The Post-graduate Department of the Calcutta University has created during the year a chair for Oriental Art to which a distinguished Oriental Artist has been appointed. As the financial stability of this chair is secured through the Khaira Endowment the continuity of it can in no case be jeopardised by the threatening bankruptcy of the University. I therefore feel that the Council should refuse this special grant at least for the bad financial year of 1922-23.

As Dr. Dutt confessed that he did not know much about the internal working of this Society, should he not have spoken after obtaining some knowledge, or, if that was not practicable, should he not have refrained from referring to the matter? The item came under education, because the Society provides directly for teaching pupils Art and indirectly educates the public by publishing the quarterly *Rupam* and holding exhibitions and arranging for the delivery of lectures, &c. The chair of Art in the Calcutta University is not meant for teaching Art students and, therefore, it cannot provide for the sort of education which the Society supplies.

Babu Jatindranath Basu said :

I regret that Dr. Haridhan Dutt has thought fit to object to the sum that has been provided in the Budget as grant to the Indian Society of Oriental Art. Among the things that we desire to see preserved and encouraged are our old art ideals,—the old ideals in their true spirit.

With the advent of modern systems of education in India, these art ideals were being gradually lost sight of. There are many of us here who feel that it is necessary that these art ideals should be revived and the spirit that permeated them should again animate the people of the country and not only the spirit that now permeates and animates the activities of our people. The achievements of India in the field of Art in the past, as manifested in the remnants now in existence, excite the admiration of the world. In the field of architecture we have the *Taj* and many other buildings, in the field of paintings we have the Ajanta frescoes, and in various other departments we have manifestations of the old artistic spirit which we can hardly afford to lose. This Society of Oriental Art that has been recently established is seeking to create a school which, if run on proper lines, will re-generate what previously existed and is dying.

The grant as shown in the Budget is a very small one. In fact, a much larger grant should have been allowed to this Society, which is doing excellent work, and will appear from the annual exhibition of this Society. I trust the Council will pass this grant.

Babu Surendranath Mallik tried to be facetious by putting in the remarks :

As regards the grant to the Society of Oriental Art over which my friend, Babu Jatindra Nath Basu, was in raptures, not only do I object to it,

but I am of opinion that the manner in which the Society's pictures are painted tends to vitiate the artistic taste of our people. The painters belonging to this society paint fingers bigger than hands and nails bigger than fingers and eyes half shut just like those of confirmed opium-eaters—it is simply ridiculous and vitiates the taste of our people. Because Sir John Woodroffe or other great men have said that these pictures are beautiful, they must be nice things! As soon as one sees these pictures one is astounded and asks : "What is this? Is this oriental art? Or is it any art at all?" I strongly object to this grant. Let them paint better pictures and not spread such ridiculous ideas like that about Oriental Art and then we would gladly pay.

Babu Fanindralal De said

I should say that I fail to understand why Dr. Haridhan Dutt wants to reduce the grant to the Society of Oriental Art.

This institution is one of the few which every Indian should be reasonably proud. It has as its only aim, the revival and the regeneration of India's past glory arts, as represented by the immortal works of our master-minds at Ajanta and elsewhere. The work is beginning to find international recognition and it is extremely dis-appointing that my friend, an Indian, wants to handicap its activities by refusing the much-needed help at this stage.

I cannot too strongly insist on the fact that the institution deserves all possible co-operation and consideration and so I oppose this amendment for reduction.

Sir Asutosh Chaudhuri vigorously criticised Mr. Mallik. Said he :

I do not quite understand the objection made by Babu Surendra Nath Mallik. I am sorry he is not here, for I should have liked to ask him what his standard of finger measurements was. There are matters which sometimes require cultivation, and art culture is not a matter of instincts; one has to acquire it by careful training, and that is what the Society of Oriental Art is endeavouring to do. It has struck Mr. Mallik that the fingers which the painters of this society paint are longer than their hands and the nails longer than the fingers and their eyes in pictures are always half shut, but I do not know what he would have said had he seen a Cubist horse. The Oriental Society's portraits are perhaps less open to criticism than what Cubist painters produce. Whatever that may be, the society is endeavouring to educate our people in matters of art, and they ought to be encouraged. As regards their methods of education, I do not know very much, but I know that instructive lectures are delivered there with regard to art and their progress has made a name for them in different parts of the world. Last night I had the honour of listening to a lecture there by Dr. Stella Kramrisch. I should like to see the Calcutta University produce a man to deliver a lecture like that. I do not think we have a single individual like that in the whole of India who could deal with the subject in the way this young lady did. I learnt from her many things which came to me as absolutely new, and I am sure Mr. Mallik would have appreciated the educa-

tive value of that lecture if he had heard her. I am sorry he was not there.

I support this grant and do not think there should be any objection to it.

Rai Jogendra Chunder Ghose Bahadur, who perhaps considers himself an authority on most mundane and supramundane matters, made a brief reference to the subject in keeping with his role :—

Then, regarding the other things, I must say a word about the grant to the Indian Society of Oriental Art. I am one of those men who have repeatedly told this Council here and also to the public outside that I do not recognise racial or local standards for Science, Mathematics, Philosophy, and even for Art. There is only one standard of beauty. I know in England, pictures and figures supposed to be Indian are purchased because of their ugliness. The ugliest pictures and figures are the most in request, the uglier the better. If the Society of Oriental Art exists for that purpose, I certainly think it to be a degradation.

The Rai Bahadur evidently knows much more of England than we do. But the reproductions of Indian pictures, from the public and private British collections, published by British firms, which we have seen, do not support his dictum that "the ugliest pictures and figures are the most in request, the uglier the better."

Mr. F. A. Larmour observed :—

Speaking on behalf of the Society of Oriental Art, as one of the founders thereof and one who has the honour of having been one of its Vice-Presidents, I do not think I shall be wrong if I were to go into the history of the Society and tell the members the immense amount of good that it has done; but this would take too long a time. I have done a great deal of traveling over a considerable part of India and I have seen Oriental art at its best in many places. I would ask how many of the members here have seen the magnificent temples of Saranath, Halkhede, Puri and Bhubaneswar. There are many other places in Southern India where beautiful Oriental art can be seen. In Rajputana, particularly, there are paintings from which European art can learn much. Unfortunately, for want of support and sympathy that money alone can give, these arts have been lost to us to a great extent. In Rajputana you can see the very finest art of over four, five or six hundred years ago. Nothing that we have here can touch the magnificent pictures produced in Rajputana, Northern India and Persia, and it is simply the wish and aim of this Society to encourage its young students, even if they at present produce figures with fingers longer than hands and nails larger than fingers, and semi-closed eyes seeming to ask for sympathetic treatment at the hands of the purchasers of those pictures. I think we ought to encourage Oriental art in every way. Would anybody deprecate a society encouraging the weaving of cloth and would anybody oppose us if we started small factories for teaching the

manufactures of Dacca muslin and other fabrics which are famous all over the world? I do not doubt but that even my esteemed friend Mr. Mallik would help us in a matter of this kind. The Society of Oriental Art, although its present activities find expression only in pictures and bronzes, is quite open to the assistance of sympathetic Indians to extend its usefulness in other spheres. In these circumstances, I would support the moderate grant made in the Budget for the Indian Society of Oriental Art.

Rai Dr. Haridhan Dutt Bahadur withdrew his motion.

### **Expenditure on Public Education.**

It is stated in the *Philippine Press Bulletin* for June that "about one-fourth of the total revenue of the Philippine Government is spent for public education." What proportion of their total revenues do the Governments of India and the Provinces spend for public education? Is it even equal to the 12½ per cent which the Baroda state spends for the education of its subjects? *The Indian Year Book* and similar books of reference do not contain such useful statistics.

### **Relief of Distress from Floods.**

Thousands of people in the Midnapur, Faridpur and Bankura districts of Bengal have been rendered homeless and destitute by floods in the local rivers. There has been some loss of human lives. Crops and cattle in many villages have been destroyed. Official and non-official agencies are at work in these districts to relieve the distress. We have received the following appeal :

The Bankura Sammilani has already commenced relief-work for alleviating the distress of the flood-stricken people of the district at different centres. Immediate help for giving homeless and destitute people food, cloth and shelter during this rainy season is urgently needed. Contributions from the generous public will be thankfully received by Emergency Funds Treasurer, Vice-president, Bankura Sammilani, Rai Hemanta Kumar Raha Bahadur, Deputy-Director General of Posts and Telegraphs, at No. 1, Council House Street, Calcutta.

R. N. SIRCAR,

Hon'y. Secy., Bankura Sammilani.  
20, Sankaritola East Lane, Calcutta.

### **Education in Germany.**

We have received a communication on the above subject from India News Service and Information Bureau Limited of 27 Burgstrasse, Berlin C 2, from which we make the following extracts :—

To avoid unnecessary delay in future, we advise students who are *seriously* planning to come to Germany for purposes of study and training not to engage in unnecessary correspondence. Such students should proceed immediately to Germany, without even waiting to secure the visa of the German consul in India. Visas can be secured in France or Italy, through which countries students should travel. They should bring certificates and credentials regarding their educational career in India. The India News Service and Information Bureau, 27 Burgstrasse, Berlin, will do all that is necessary to find for new students rooms and board, teachers of German, entrance into universities, factories, etc., as required.

Those students who have not definitely planned to come to Germany, but who desire general information, are requested to apply to the Students Information Bureau in Poona, Bombay Presidency, which has been provisionally appointed our representative, and which we keep regularly informed about educational conditions in Germany.

Those who do not intend to proceed immediately to Germany would find it profitable to learn German before leaving India, so as to be able to begin their work as soon as possible after their arrival here. Otherwise they must be prepared to spend at least three to four months of concentrated study of the German language. There is a School of Modern Languages in Poona and teachers of German in several other Indian cities. It is not necessary for students intending to come to Germany to know English. The Bureau has German teachers at its disposal who give instruction through the medium of Hindi.

In our last bulletin we stated that the living expenses here would be between three and five thousand Marks per month, the rate of exchange at that time being 800 Marks to a Pound. We find that this has given rise to a misunderstanding, as students have, on the strength of this statement, provided themselves with no more than three thousand Marks a month, instead of calculating according to the rate of exchange. In future it would be safer to make all calculations in Pounds sterling. We should advise students to provide themselves with approximately one hundred Pounds sterling a year, which would cover all living expenses, clothing, teachers, and ordinary university fees. We wish to draw attention to the fact that for factory training a premium has very often to be paid, varying according to the nature of the factory. The fee generally amounts to from Fifteen to Thirty Pounds a year. The fees for *special schools* are much higher. For example, the special Textile and Dyeing Schools demand 125 Pounds a year

from Indians, because they are British subjects; the Tanning school, 60 Pounds for the year; the Sugar school, 20 Pounds, etc.

Besides, students of science, who wish to study at the Technical or Agricultural Universities, must have their own apparatus and should allow for an additional expense of three to five Pounds per term on this account. The total amounts to one-third of the expenditure in England or America. In Germany, furthermore, students acquire very real factory training, which is often denied them in other countries.

We repeat that no one should buy Marks in India, but should change money (Pounds) only when needed, in Germany, from time to time. Indian banks pay much less than German banks, and students lose heavily by converting their funds in India.

### Appropriate Lines from Shelley.

In these dark and unsettled days, when it becomes difficult even to hope, the last lines of Shelley's "Prometheus Unbound" would be found uplifting.

To suffer woes which Hope thinks infinite,  
To forgive wrongs darker than death or  
night,

To defy Power which seems omnipotent.  
To love and bear; to hope till Hope creates  
From its own wreck the thing it contem-  
plates.

Neither to change, to flatter, nor repent.  
This like thy glory, Titan, is to be  
Good, great and joyous, beautiful and free.  
This is alone Life, Joy, Empire, and Victory.

### "Blame the Government and Yourselves."

Mr. Arnold Lupton has written a book entitled "Happy India—as it might be if guided by Modern Science" (*Allen and Unwin*, 188 pp., 6s.), in which he regards India as the most wonderful country in the world, and ventures to say to its people,

"Blame the Government by all means, but blame yourselves as well; exercise your great intellectual faculties to work out your own advancement, and you will gain not only material wealth, but intellectual joy, and the respect of all the other peoples of the earth."

### Bengal's Drinking Water.

At the August sessions of the Bengal Legislative Council Sir Surendranath Banerjea informed that body that eight municipalities had applied to the Sanitary

Engineer to the Government for the purpose of framing schemes for the sinking of tube wells within their jurisdiction. He also said that

It was the intention of Government to convene a Conference at an early date for the purpose of discussing the water supply problem. His Excellency the Governor—he was authorised to state—would open that Conference and representatives from the rural and urban areas would be invited and they would have an opportunity of discussing the matter and laying their views before the Conference.

The following two motions of Rai Radhacharan Pal Bahadur and Rai Jogendra Chunder Ghose Bahadur respectively were carried and accepted by Government :—

This Council recommends to the Government to consider the question of sinking tube-wells and renovating, restoring and re-excavating tanks for the supply of drinking water by giving such loans to District Boards and making such grants to local authorities for the purpose as may be necessary and practicable.

This Council recommends to the Government that a sum of Rs 2,00,000 be allotted in grants or loans as the Government may think fit and practicable to the District Boards during the next cold weather for the supply of drinking water in the villages.

### University Reconstruction.

At the last meeting of the Calcutta University Senate

Sir Nilratan Sircar moved for the appointment of a committee to consider a letter from the Government on the subject of the reconstruction of the Calcutta University. The letter was sent by the Government in pursuance of a resolution of the Bengal Council recommending the following changes in the constitution of the University :—

(a) That at least 80 per cent of the fellows of the university should be elected; (b) that all persons who have taken degrees of doctors and masters in any faculty not less than seven years, before the date of election should be entitled to elect 80 per cent. of the fellows; (c) that no fee whatsoever be charged any graduate who is entitled to take part in such election.

We agree that at least 80 per cent of the fellows should be elected. But the electorate should certainly be larger than that suggested in the Bengal Council resolution. We do not see any reason why, among graduates, only those who

have got the degrees of doctors or masters in any faculty should have the vote, nor why they should be of seven years' standing at the date of any election. We think *all* graduates—whether Bachelors, Masters, or Doctors in any faculty, should have the vote, provided that at the date of election they have ceased to be in *statu pupillari*, and that no fee whatever should be charged any graduate who is entitled to take part in such election. Considering that at elections of members of provincial legislative councils the voters may be quite illiterate and that the representatives of such voters may and do discuss university problems, among other things, we think our suggestion is not too democratic. But should it be so considered, we would formulate our minimum demand thus :

That all Masters and Doctors in any faculty, and all Bachelors in any faculty of five years' standing at the date of election, should have the vote,

Provided in all cases that the voter is not in *statu pupillari*; and

That no fee whatsoever be charged any graduate who is entitled to take part in such election.

We have no doubt that the vast majority of graduates will agree that we have understated rather than overstated what is due to them.

### Unnecessary and Suspicious Secrecy.

We take from the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* the following question asked and answer given at the Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council :—

RAI BAHADUR DWARIKA NATH  
ORDERS AND CIRCULARS TO JAIL  
SUPERINTENDENTS RE POLITICAL  
PRISONERS.

Q. Will the Government be pleased to lay on the table copies of all orders and circulars issued to superintendents of jails in 1921 and 1922 with regard to the political prisoners and those convicted under the Criminal Law Amendment Act or imprisoned for failing to furnish security under sections 107 and 108 of the Criminal Procedure Code?

A.—Mr. M. G. Hallet: Government are not prepared to lay copies of the orders referred to on the table.

As the question did not relate to the foreign relations of the British Government or to military movements and matters, etc., the secrecy observed would naturally give rise to the suspicion that the orders and circulars contained things which would not bear publicity.

### Official Enquiry on Civil Disobedience.

Most people, says *The Behar Herald*, have heard of the enquiries which have been instituted by the Congress and the Khilafat regarding the advisability of starting civil disobedience. It may not be equally known, however, that a similar enquiry has been started by the Government of Bihar and Orissa, as the following letter circulated by the Publicity Bureau to selected gentlemen will show :—

Ranchi,

The 11th August, 1922.

Dear Sir,—You are no doubt aware that a Committee of the Indian National Congress is touring the country collecting opinion on the desirability of starting civil disobedience, and that the Committee is shortly expected to visit this Province. It is apprehended that men of sober views may not either like to appear before this Committee or may not be sure that their views will carry that weight with the Committee to which they are, by their place in public life, entitled. It is possible that in this way the opinions of an extreme minority may be published as the considered judgment of the Bihar and Orissa public. In order to guard against this contingency and to give public men and politicians an opportunity to express their views, the Bihar and Orissa Publicity Board will be glad to collect the opinions of leading and representative men of this Province on the subject of starting civil disobedience. I am desired to request you to be so good as to favour the Board with your views on the subject.

Yours faithfully,  
B. K. SEN,  
Publicity Officer.

The spirit of Non-co-operation must have pervaded Bihar to so great an extent as to have necessitated the circulation of the letter printed above.

### Critical Position in Egypt.

*The Statesman* of August 18 published the following special telegram from its London correspondent :—

London, Aug. 16.

In view of the critical situation in Egypt the Government has been strongly urged to follow the Irish precedent, release Zaglul and other Nationalists from exile in the Seychelles, and allow the Egyptians a free hand to elect their own rulers.

Zaglul is reported to be dangerously ill, and if he dies all Egypt will again be ablaze.

The *Manchester Guardian*, supporting the proposal, declares that this is the only way out of the Government's muddled policy, which has created an absolute deadlock.

The Egyptians want independence of the genuine brand, but the British Government insists on giving them something like a protectorate camouflaged to look like independence. That will never do.

### Compulsory Destruction of Water Hyacinth.

In Sir J. C. Bose's illustrated article on the Menace of the Hyacinth, he has shown conclusively that none of the methods hitherto suggested or tried has been or can be effective in exterminating the pest. He has thereby prevented the wasteful expenditure of large sums from the public treasury in Bengal and other affected countries, for which they ought to be grateful to him. For the present his suggestion is that the plant should be collected and burnt simultaneously in any area.

### Sympathy of the American Federation of Labour.

Mr. Robert M. Buck, editor of "The New Majority" the official organ of the Farmer-Labor Party of America and Chicago Federation of Labour, has sent us a communication on the subject of the sympathy of the American Federation of Labor for the just struggles and aspirations of the people of India, from which we gather that the American Federation of Labor, at its 1922 annual convention held last June at Cincinnati, with its President Mr. Samuel Gompers in the chair, adopted the following resolution ;—

"Whereas, The American Federation of Labour stands for self-determination, self-government, justice and democracy for all peoples ; and

"Whereas, The people of India are striving to attain a full measure of self-government ; and

"Whereas, It is claimed that forty thousand of the people of India have been put into prison during the last nine months for the alleged offense of voicing their aspirations; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That the American Federation of Labour hereby expresses its sympathy for the just struggles and aspirations of the people of India."

The accuracy of the figure "forty thousand" may be disputed; but the exact figure is comparatively unimportant, for the number of political prisoners has been unquestionably very large.

One might think that the American Labor Movement would, as a matter of course, adopt almost any resolution asked in behalf of suffering people and welcome a statement of the facts; and so it might have been, had it not been for the attitude of "fraternal delegates" from the British Trade Union Congress. The original resolution was similar to the one finally adopted, except that it referred to Mr. Gandhi and the non-co-operation method.

Mr. Gompers seemed to be afraid that such references would prove offensive to the two "fraternal delegates" from the British Trade Union Congress, towards whom, it was asserted, no "discourtesy" would be tolerated. So, if Indians want to be free and for that purpose adopt methods which they consider effective, it is "discourtesy" to the representatives of British labour! Whatever that may be, the fact is that the two men representing the labor movement of England were so thoroughly imbued with imperialism so far as their attitude towards India was concerned that although they were for recognition of Russia and for other liberal policies, they would not move an inch for India. Hence all references to Mr. Gandhi and non-co-operation had to be omitted. •

Pressure on our space compels us to omit many edifying details.

Mr. Buck concludes his communication with the following observations:—

"The labor movements of all peoples should have fraternal relations and the labour movement of India should have such relations with the labor movement of America; but the advisability of this

step certainly is emphasized and made clear and specific instead of general, by the occurrences herein described. If 'courtesy' to fraternal delegates is to have a determining influence on what one labor movement is to say of the struggles of the workers of another, then the All-India Trade Union Congress should, without delay, carry on negotiations with President Gompers to the end that it may send fraternal delegates to the American Federation of Labour conventions, which delegates then would have the right to present India's cause as a matter of course. By the exchange of fraternal delegates also, American delegates would visit India and learn the facts which then they would have the duty of reporting to the American Federation of Labor."

#### Lloyd George on Britain's Everlasting Trusteeship for India.

Mr. Lloyd George's speech in apotheosis of the Indian Civil Service need not either elate or depress us. As, humanly speaking, the future of India rests mainly with Indians, we do not much care how the premier's speech is interpreted.

*The Times* has declared that the Reforms in India are not an experiment, but law. That way of putting the thing does not, however, mend matters. For a law which the British parliament has made, the British parliament can also mend or end. It may be bad form in civilised countries for a private individual to take the law into one's own hands, but in the civilised world as a whole only those nations can remain or become free which can take the law into their own hands, in the sense of making, maintaining, or mending it according to their need and will. If the "law" which *The Times* speaks of were *our* law, a law made by us, then even the Moderates would laugh Mr. Lloyd George to scorn for being a busybody. But as he is the leader of those who got the British parliament to pass the Government of India Act, and as section 41 of that Act provides that after the Act has been in force for ten years a commission of enquiry shall be appointed "for the purpose of enquiring into



the system of government, the growth of education, and the development of representative institutions, in British India, and matters connected therewith, and the Commission shall report as to whether and to what extent it is desirable to establish the principle of responsible government, or to extend, modify, or restrict the degree of responsible government then existing therein,"—he is entitled to call the Reforms an experiment. The words of the section are very clear. The Commission is to report "whether .....it is desirable to establish the principle of responsible government," and if it thinks it desirable to do so, then it will report "to what extent it is desirable to establish the Principle of responsible government."

It is abundantly clear from Mr. Lloyd George's speech that in his opinion India will never be and will never deserve to be entirely self-ruling—she must ever remain in the leading strings of Englishmen. Though there are other passages, having this import, we will quote only one, and that in spite of its offensive tone of condescending patronage.

I approach this question from the point of view of one who believes in getting Indians to assist us in discharging the very great trust and obligation which we have inherited and which I hope, we shall transmit to our descendants in generations to come.

#### THE INDIAN LEGISLATURE.

From that point of view, I should like to say this. The success of our efforts in securing the attachment of Indians to the service, recruitment of Indians in the service, the embodiment of Indians in the service, will depend, not upon the quality of the speeches delivered in the Legislature by Indians (although I do not despise that contribution in the least; because that is what Parliament means: It means a place for speaking), but rather by their efficiency in the discharge of their ordinary hum-drum tasks as members of the civil and other services. I think it is important that Indians themselves should get that well into their minds. They see speeches reported in the papers and they see that a great deal of importance is attached to those speeches, and they say, "this is the art of government." Well, it is part of the art of democratic government and people who try to govern without it have generally failed. Unless they supplement it by showing that they are able

to do their work as civil servants, then the experiment of inviting them to co-operate with us will be a failure.

What I want specially to say is this, that whatever their success whether as Parliamentarians or as administrators, I can see no period when they can dispense with the guidance and assistance of a small nucleus of British Civil Servants—of British Officials in India. They are the steel frame of the whole structure. I do not care what you build in to it, if you take that steel frame out the fabric will collapse. It is, therefore, essential that they should be there, but not for their own sakes.

This passage in Mr. George's speech reminds us of Lord Morley's declaration that as far as he could look into the future by the power of his imagination, he could not discern any period when India would be self-ruling. How British politicians, whose political opinions differ widely, hold identical views in relation to India!

The Premier says:—

India has never been governed on these principles before. The Native States are not governed on these principles now, and it remains to be seen whether a system of this kind, adapted to Western needs, perfected by centuries of experiment, and marked at many stages, in fact at every stage, with repeated failures—a system which the West has perfected for its own conditions and its own temperaments—is suitable for India.

Here the speaker is guilty of making a statement which is doubly incorrect. For what are the principles on which, he says, India has never been governed before? He evidently means the principles of representative, popular or democratic government. But it is unhistorical to say that India has *never* been governed on those principles before. The other inaccuracy involved in his speech is that India is being governed on those principles now. Is dyarchy of the kind now prevailing in the Provinces, combined with the absence in the Government of India of even this fractional and nominal "responsibility," equivalent to democracy? Is it even an approach to democracy?

The nauseating piece of hypocrisy that England holds India in trust was repeated again and again by Mr. George. And he said:—

One thing we must make clear—that Britain will in no circumstances relinquish her responsibility to India. That is a cardinal principle, not merely of the present Government, but I feel confident that it will be the cardinal principle with any government that could command the confidence of the people of this country. It is important that that should be known not so much in this country, for there is no doubt about it here, but in India where, for many reasons there seems to be doubts disseminated, sometimes fortuitously, sometimes quite intentionally and sometimes from facts which seem for a moment to justify conclusions of that kind.

It is right that not merely here but in India it should be thoroughly understood that that is a fundamental principle which will guide every party that ever has any hope of commanding the confidence of the people of this country. We stand by our responsibilities. We will take whatever steps are necessary to discharge or to enforce them.

#### Again :—

We have invited the co-operation of the people of India in the discharge of this trust. We have invited them in increasing numbers and perhaps in increasing proportions. That was inevitable evolution, but I want to make it clear, if it is not already clear, that that is not in order to lead up to a final relinquishment of our trust but with a view of bringing them into partnership in the discharge of that trust within the British Empire. To discharge that great trust it is essential to have the aid of Indian Civil Servants, Indian soldiers, Indian Judges and Indian Legislators. But it is vital that we should have the continued assistance of British Officials. There are not so very many of them. I marvelled when I looked up the statistics. There are only 1,200, governing 315,000,000 people with all sorts of physical difficulties of climate and special difficulties for men brought up in temperate climates like ours.

Sir Donald Maclean : Does that include all the British officials ?

The Premier : That is the total simply for the Civil Service. It does not include the Police and Medical Service. The figures are 1,200 British Civil Servants, 700 British police officers and 600 British Medical officers. That is a total of 2,500 governing that gigantic Empire with its hundreds of millions of population.

So we have no natural right to manage our own affairs. We *assist* the Britishers (who are, of course, our divinely appointed natural trustees and exploiters) in governing and exploiting India, only at their kind "invitation"! And the Britishers have been so efficiently and conscientiously doing the duties of trustee-

ship that they do not expect and intend to finally relinquish their trust : For our good, they mean to remain our guardians for ever.

Mark how the Premier deliberately gives a false idea of the number of Europeans employed by Government in India. They are only 2,500 ! It may be said in defence of his statement that he was speaking only of those who *govern*. But that is not true. For he mentions Indian soldiers among those whose aid is essentially necessary for discharging Britain's trust ; and he includes 600 British Medical officers, who certainly do not "govern" in the ordinary sense. Why then, did he not include in his statistics the thousands of British army officers in India and the tens of thousands of British privates ? Why did he not include the British officers of the various imperial and other services—the agricultural, archaeological, educational, chemical, commercial, excise, industrial, customs, botanical, civil veterinary, financial, forest, geological, irrigation, postal, pilot, railway, salt, sanitary, engineering, telegraphic, etc. ? There are some British officers in the provincia' services, too.

Having thus performed this two-fold task of *suppressio veri*, and *suggestio falsi*, Mr. George pretends that England's task was to find jobs for—not even 2,500 but—only the 1,200 civil servants ; for he asserts :—

Finding jobs for 1,200 is really too trivial. I see comments—and unworthy comments—about our finding avenues and jobs for our young men. There is not one of this 1,200 that could not easily find a much better job in this country and a much better-paying one. The difficulty is to get men to go there. It is not the difficulty of finding places to put them into.

Like the clever controversialist that he is, Mr. George takes advantage of the small number of British candidates competing this year at the I. C. S. examination to suggest that it has been always so—that it has been always difficult "to get men to go there" (India)! But in fact, this was *never* true in the whole course of British-Indian history. On the contrary, there has always been a scramble for getting into the Indian services.

India has been the salvation of Britain in the way of finding jobs for those who would otherwise have been the unemployed educated of that country. This is so patent and well-known a fact that no proof of it is necessary. Still, to leave no room for doubt, we will quote an authority. Sir Edward Sullivan, Bart., wrote in 1858 :—

"India opens out an almost exhaustless field for the educated labour of Great Britain, or, in other words, it maintains at a higher level than that existing in any other country, the reward of the labour of educated men.

".....to men who weigh well the crowded condition of every outlet for educated labour in this country, and remember how dangerous to a State the want and desperation of the educated unemployed has always been, it will appear an ample reason for striving to the utmost to retain, if not all, at least a sufficient portion of our Indian possessions. It is no use of hyperbole to say that the marked tranquillity of England, when all Europe was tottering, was owing, not a little, to the outlet India had given to her educated masses." *Letters on India*, p. 29.

The same authority adds :—

".....For fifty or sixty years India has been to the brains and intellect of this country what the Western States have been to the thew and sinew of America—the safety-valve that has yearly afforded an escapement for the surplus energy or ambition of our educated population. There is no mob, however numerous and violent, half so dangerous as an educated middle class, irritated with want, and conscious of deserving more than the crush and competition of the multitude enable them to acquire.

"If we consider the price that is paid for educated labour in India, we shall see that it is at least twice as high as that existing in any other country." *Letters on India* by Sir Edward Sullivan, Bart., pp. 51-52.

In an article published in the present issue Mr. Edward Delgado of London explains why on account of the shortage of men caused by the war even half-educated students have found employment in Britain and how, therefore, there is a temporary decrease in the number of candidates for employment in India. Moreover, in order to increase the emoluments of Europeans employed in Government service in India, the service men and their friends, relatives and advocates have created a scare. They have filled the minds of the British public with the

alarming idea that Europeans in India are living as it were on the top of a volcano, that the honour of women was not safe, &c., &c. And it is these same scaremongers who are now filled with apprehension at the result of their campaign of creating a false alarm. They wanted that those of their countrymen who went out to serve in India should have very high salaries and allowances, etc. They did not want that nobody should go out to India to serve there. But they are taken aback at finding that their false description of conditions in India has been taken to be literally true and that in consequence fewer men than before are willing to serve in India. But there is no doubt that it is only a temporary state of mind of the British public. For, we find it stated in the memorandum sent by the Hon. Mr. S. P. O'Donnell, secretary to the Government of India, to all local Governments and administrations, on the question of the Indianisation of the All-India services, dated Simla, May 30, 1922 :

"It is not impossible that if difficult conditions as regards employment continue to be felt in England, the Dominions and the colonies, the time scale of pay and the pensions of the Indian services may prove an attraction sufficient to induce the right stamp of man to expatriate himself from England for a considerable portion of his life and elect for service in India."

The importance of this statement lies in the fact that it is written by a man on the spot, one who is in Government service and who knows the advantages and disadvantages of service in India from personal experience. There is also an unconscious admission in it of the fact that a present "difficult conditions as regards employment" are "felt in England, the Dominions and the colonies", which Mr. Lloyd George would deny.

Mr. Lloyd George has never been wanting in brass and audacity. So it is not surprising to find that he has the audacity to assert that the people of England "have made a great sacrifice for India". This is entirely and absolutely false. The question here is not whether British rule or the British connection has

been of any advantage to India, or whether the advantages have outweighed the disadvantages. Let an assumption be freely made which is favourable to Britain, and then let the question be asked, "Has not Britain fully paid and more than fully paid herself in wealth and prestige and power for whatever services she has rendered to India?" We have not the least doubt that every impartial historian and economist will give an emphatic answer in the affirmative.

It should be understood that here we are concerned with what the people of England have done for India, not some individual Englishmen and English women here and there. There have been and still are individual Englishmen and English women who have made and are making sacrifices for India, to whom we are grateful, but the people of England as a whole "have [not] made a great sacrifice for India." Sacrifice means the giving up of some desirable thing in behalf of a higher object. Let Mr. Lloyd George say what desirable thing the British people have willingly given up for advancing the real welfare of India.

Let us examine the following passage in the light of Mr. George's declaration that the British people are trustees and that they will never relinquish their trust in India :—

We had no right to go there unless we meant to carry our trust right through. There is a great variety of races and creeds in India, probably a greater variety than in the whole of Europe. There are innumerable divisive forces there, and if Britain withdrew her strong hand, nothing would ensue except divisions, strife, conflict and anarchy. India would become a prey either to strong adventurers or to a strong invader. That had been the history of India up to the very time that we took India in hand. There has always been historical play between these two alternatives. What has happened before would ensue again if Britain withdrew her might and strength from the guidance of that great Empire, in fact if we were to do so it would be one of the greatest betrayals in the history of any country.

*"What has happened before would ensue again if Britain withdrew,"* &c. If in India of the present and of the future that alone can happen which happened

in India of the past throughout her history (Mr. George's description of our past is not correct but we assume that it is), then what has been India's real and permanent-gain from Britain's trusteeship? If India has not changed and does not in future change for the better under British rule socially, morally, intellectually, spiritually, politically and materially, what does the stinking word trust mean after all? Does it mean that Mr. Lloyd George and men of his way of thinking are determined to maintain or produce or aggravate such conditions as would necessitate the perpetual presence of Englishmen here with a big stick to keep the peace and that in the meantime they are equally determined to derive all the advantage that they can from their position of trustees? One meaning of 'trust' given in dictionaries, e. g. in Webster, is, "a combination formed for the purpose of controlling or monopolizing a trade, industry, or business, by doing acts in restraint of trade." Perhaps Mr. Lloyd George was sub-consciously influenced by this meaning of the word 'trust'.

The premier concluded his speech with the following peroration :—

We cannot keep a continuous eye upon what happens in India, and that is right. You cannot do it. It depends upon the kind of government that you have there. It is essential that that should be strengthened; but, whatever you do in the way of strengthening it, there is one institution we will not interfere with, there is one institution we will not cripple, there is one institution we will not deprive of its functions or of its privileges, and that is that institution which built up the British Raj—the British Civil Service in India.

We have undertaken responsibility for India. We have undertaken to guide India. We have undertaken to establish and maintain law and good government throughout its vast dominions. We have undertaken to defend its frontiers and to protect its peoples against internal foes and external foes. The British Empire means, at all costs, to continue to discharge that sacred trust and to fulfil that high destiny.

This in plain language means :

"We are determined that Indians shall never undertake responsibility for India : That Indians shall never undertake to guide India : That Indians shall never

undertake to establish and maintain law and good government throughout their vast country : That Indians shall never undertake to defend the frontiers of India and to protect its peoples against internal foes and external enemies : and that the British Empire means, at all costs to continue to discharge this its sacred trust and to fulfil this its high destiny."

### **The Viceroy on the Premier's Speech.**

We have read the Viceroy's reply to the deputation received by him at Simla last month, which protested against the Premier's speech on the Indian Civil Service in the House of Commons, without our opinion on that speech being modified in any respect. Mr. George's speech may or may not "imperil" the Reforms, such as they are, but his meaning has been quite clear all along. Mr. Lloyd George's two nods cannot outweigh the drift of his whole speech.

He wanted to give confidence to the members of the Indian Civil Service. Indians do not want these public servants to be panicky, and so it would be good if they were reassured. The Premier's second object was said to have been to warn that section of politically-minded Indians "who are avowedly hostile to the Reforms" and who "advocate the plan of becoming members of the Legislature in order that they may destroy it and the reformed constitution." We do not think that this section of Indian politicians and their object in seeking to enter the legislative bodies have been quite correctly described. But of this we are sure that the Premier's and the Viceroy's warnings will be lost on them, as they do not consider the British and the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy to be as omnipotent factors in determining India's future as the bureaucracy, who have a good conceit of themselves, think.

We do hope that even the Moderates will continue not to be pliable. We rather expect that they will adopt a stiffer attitude than they have hitherto done.

### **American Women Candidates for High Political Office.**

*The Detroit News* says :—

More women will seek high political offices in the elections this autumn than ever before in the history of the country, a survey made by the National woman's Party shows.

Already reports have been received that four women are candidates for the senate, 20 for the House and two for governors of states.

In addition there are scores of "the early enfranchised voters" in the race for minor offices.

Miss Alice Robertson, Oklahoma, the only woman member of Congress, believes she will have "considerable company" in the next Congress. She thinks probably half a dozen women will be elected to the House.

Although the National Woman's Party is vitally interested, it has decided not to campaign for the women candidates as an organization. In other words, it will not seek the election of women, simply because they are women.

"We are not a political party in the sense of having a political ticket or party of our own," said Miss Alice Paul, head of the party. "We merely hold to the policy of acting as a balance of power group to secure action from the party in power."

### **"Tainted Money" Refused.**

The Bishop of Rangoon has sent the following letter to the press cancelling his decision to accept "tainted money" :—

As a result of inquiries I have made I am clear that the diocese must not accept the money so kindly offered, or now even actually given, by the Turf Club to institutions under our care. If it were accepted the spiritual work of the Church would, I feel sure, be seriously hindered, and that being so there is nothing for it but—with my own sincere apologies to any to whom they are due—to say, we must get on as best we can without this money.

*The Statesman* gives the following summary of the "tainted money" controversy :—

The Rangoon Diocesan Conference discussed until the early hours of the morning on July 28, the propriety of accepting a donation to Church funds from the Rangoon Turf Club. A member of the conference urged the refusal of the donation, as the money was the product of gambling. The Bishop in the course of a speech said that he had hesitatingly decided that there was no reason why the money should not be accepted, and the conference decided on

the acceptance of the contribution. Considerable feeling was aroused in Rangoon and also in Calcutta as a result of this decision and a number of letters on the subject have appeared in the *Statesman* during the last few weeks. The Bishop of Rangoon, writing to the press in reply to his critics, declared that the Turf Club's contribution was not for the Church but for helping orphans, the blind, deaf and dumb. Referring to the blind school he said: "Is it worse to close it or accept the offer of the Turf Club, which would bring it relief?" The Bishop declared that if he could stop gambling he would, but "as this money exists, is not this (the charities referred to) the best way of spending it?"

The Bishop's final decision has been quite correct. His former argument, viz., "as this money exists, is not this (namely, some charities) the best way of spending it," would be easy to use for accepting help from robbers, *goondas*, women of ill fame, &c., in support of philanthropic and educational institutions. If any person who has made money by vicious or sinful means repents and gives up his evil ways, his money may be accepted by the conductors of such institutions; otherwise not. Not that any money can be literally "tainted." It is only the effect on society of acceptance of help from those who make money by evil means that makes their money "tainted" in a figurative sense.

On the principles on which the Bishop of Rangoon has finally decided not to accept help from the Turf Club, gifts should not be accepted from certain theatres and cinema houses also.

#### **Proposed Abolition of Precedence of Barristers on Appellate Side of Calcutta High Court.**

It is said that after the long Puja vacation the distinction that now obtains between Barristers and Vakils with regard to pre-audience would be abolished so far as only the appellate side of the Calcutta High Court is concerned. If this information be correct, the decision, so far as it goes, is welcome, whatever motives or causes may have led to it. But the Chief Justice and his colleagues ought to go a step farther. The Vakils should no longer be excluded from the original side. They should be allowed to practise there on

equal terms with the Barristers. It cannot be said that the legal knowledge and training which the Barristers receive in England make them unquestionably better fitted to practise the profession of law in *Indian courts* than the legal knowledge and training obtained by the Vakils fit them for their profession in India. Originally, the distinction between Barristers and Vakils might have owed its origin in part to considerations of race and colour; but now that there are numerous Barristers of distinction who are Indians by birth and race and who have not hesitated to admit that some Vakils have been their equals and superiors as lawyers, they should be the first to advocate and welcome the abolition of an artificial distinction, which is not based on undoubtedly superior ability or training.

#### **Legal Education in India.**

But if the legal education obtainable in India be bad, faulty, inferior or defective in any respects, it should not be impossible to improve it to the standard required. The subject of legal education has been elaborately dealt with in chapters xxii and xlv of the report of the Calcutta University Commission, 1917-19. There more defects have been pointed out. We, as lay men may be permitted to suggest for the present that greater attention should be paid to the practical side of legal training, which should be self-sufficient. We have heard the complaint made that there is a sort of professional jealousy existing between experienced seniors and callow juniors in the legal profession which leads to a kind of guarding of "secrets of the trade". This should not exist so far as the teachers and the students of law are concerned. The teachers should make it a point of honour to be wholeheartedly devoted to the work of teaching and to impart to their students whatever they know. There is absolutely no reason why conveyancing, the preparation of briefs, the getting up of instructions, writing out instructions, inspection of titles, interpretation of documents, &c., should

not be practically taught to students of law. Knowledge of the important branches of commercial, company and banking laws should form part of the law students' equipment. They should be made to study some topic of general interest every year concerning capital, labour, international law and the like and offer an essay on it. During the last year of their college career they should attend courts regularly and watch cases and write out their experiences and opinions for submission to their teachers.

### **Reduction of Pay and Abolition of Allowances in All-India Services.**

The scale of pay in all the All-India services should be substantially reduced and all put on the basis of what prevails in self-governing countries. Salaries should be proportionate to the income of a nation and to the average income of the individuals of whom the nation consists. The present scales of salaries of some of the Imperial services are higher than those of corresponding services in the richest countries of the world. However vehement may be the protests of the European members of the All-India services against Indianisation, such a state of things cannot last. For years, the Government of India has kept itself solvent only by raising huge loans. If retrenchment be not resorted to, a time is sure to come, and that at no distant date when loans would not be easily obtainable and when borrowing might be necessary even for the payment of interest on debts already incurred. Economic laws are inexorable. In obedience to them, retrenchment is necessary. In the case of the services, retrenchment may be effected by making the salaries such as would suffice to get competent public servants who are Indians. If competent Indians cannot be secured for any post or posts, foreigners may be imported for the same at somewhat higher salaries by advertising the vacancies. There is no necessity any longer for keeping up the so-called European services with

large salaries and fat allowances for all.

There are too many allowances of various sorts; e.g., T.A.s, P.A.s, C. A.s, &c. Most of these should be abolished, and the rest greatly reduced. Quarters should no longer be provided free or at nominal rates of rent to highly paid officials. Touring officers should be paid consolidated salaries and should pay for their travels from their salaries. Unnecessary travelling of all officers should be restricted.

### **Death of Two Irish Leaders.**

Mr. Arthur Griffith, the Irish leader, died of heart failure some time ago. And now Mr. Michael Collins, another prominent Irish leader who had accepted the treaty with England, has been killed in an ambush. Up to the conclusion of the treaty, the fighting which was going on in Ireland was between the British and the Irish. After the signing of the treaty, the guerilla warfare has assumed the internecine character of civil war. How long this civil war will go on, nobody can tell. Ireland has trod the path of strife and bloodshed for centuries. For this, of course, she alone has not been to blame. There is a party of Irish irreconcilables bent on winning independence. In the world's history there is not a single example of a conquered nation, held in subjection by an imperializing power, which has won independence except by fighting or at least partly by fighting. And Mr. Gandhi's plan of winning internal freedom—not complete independence, by means of non-violent non-co-operation, is still an experiment which has yet to be pushed to its logical conclusion. Therefore, though it is easy to criticize the Irish, it is not so easy to suggest an effective alternative to fighting, taking it for granted that independence must be achieved at all costs. At the same time, it is plain that fighting, too, has not proved an effective means, nor is it likely to, in the near future at any rate. There is, no doubt, the path of compromise, the acceptance of as much freedom as can be obtained by negotiation and

then working for more. But irreconcilables would none of it.

There are followers of the doctrine of *ahimsa*—non-killing and non-violence, who would adhere to non-violent non-co-operation, whether freedom can be had by this means or not. We are convinced that there are some persons who are prepared to follow this principle to the death and are fit for doing so. But whether a whole people or the majority of a nation can so follow the principle, particularly when their opponents are prepared and eager to follow the path of violence and provoke violent retaliation, has yet to be seen. Nevertheless, we firmly believe that, failing intellectual and moral suasion and failing negotiation, non-violent non-co-operation is the only humane and civilized means of winning independence. And we must also add that, though bloodshed is utterly repugnant to our feelings and we condemn it therefore, we cannot but respect those who stand out for absolute independence and will not be satisfied with anything that falls short of it.

#### The Late Sir Vitthaladas Thackersey.

Bombay and the whole of India are losers by the untimely death of Sir Vitthaladas Thackersey at the age of 49. He was a great captain of industry, a financier and a leader of the Liberals in politics. His public services, rendered with energy and enthusiasm, have been varied and many. But what most attracted us in his career was his philanthropic spirit, which led to his princely benefactions in the cause of social progress, amounting to millions of rupees. In the warm and loving tribute to his memory which Mr. K. Natarajan, a personal friend of the deceased, has paid in the columns of *The Indian Social Reformer*, it has been stated :—

The personal and domestic life of Sir Vitthaladas, especially in his later years, was greatly influenced by a keen recognition of woman's place and part in progress. His munificent help to the Women's University, to the Seva Sadan and other institutions having the educational and social amelioration of the condition of women for their object, was obviously

motivated by the same conviction. He was not given to speak about motives, either his own or others', but there is a significance in the fact that much of his thought and liberality were directed in recent years to institutions for the improvement of the position of women. His great reverence for his mother was, of course, the main source of his inspiration. This interest was greatly stimulated by Sir Vitthaladas' close contact with Mr. G. K. Devadhar, whose eager enthusiasm in the cause of women's progress could not but impress one so open-minded as he.

Mr. Natarajan further observes :—

In whatever he undertook, Sir Vitthaladas displayed gifts of immense brain power, application and faculty for details. He worked night and day on his subject : revised, recast and often re-wrote his speeches ; and made himself a perfect master of it. The remarkable thing about him was that while an immensely hard worker, he never worried or lost his temper. Always calm and collected, his was one of the most equable temperaments I have come across. I have watched him closely in moments of high success and of great calamity, and I can truthfully say that I have not seen another man who bore himself so utterly in the spirit of the Gita precept not to be exalted by success or depressed by calamity.

The late Rai Bahadur Lala Baijnath collected various facts and data regarding the bad health and early death of educated Indians, and Colonel Kanta Prasad wrote a book on the subject based largely, we believe, on them. On various occasions the subject has engaged the attention of Indian public men. Mr. Natarajan writes :—

When the late Mr. Telang died, there was an interesting controversy as to why our educated men die prematurely. Ranade laid the blame on the crushing burden of University examinations, while Sir Ramakrishna Bhandarkar attributed it to evil social customs which robbed us of our vitality. Sir Vitthaladas' death at the age of 49 would seem strongly to confirm Sir Ramakrishna's opinion. Sir Vitthaladas was not a victim of the crushing burden of examinations. He is said to have attended the Elphinstone College but it must have been for a short time. He did not, so far as I know, go through any regular University course. He was also exempt from the early struggles of poverty which leave so many of our bright graduates a prey to disease and early death. He had high ideas of comfort and stinted nothing in giving effect to them. He was a man of powerful build, unlike some of the younger Bhattias. He was



fond of horses and rode every morning—Lady Vithaldas accompanying him.....He was not a sedentary man but of very active habits. Apart from destiny, to what are we to attribute the premature death of such a man who had everything which might have helped him to live a longer life? So far as I can see, to nothing except the social environment, in which I include customs such as child marriage, quantitative ideas of comfort and happiness, erroneous dietary, want of religious freedom and so on. I do not say that any of these had an effect on Sir Vithaldas' health. But it is a mistake to think that an individual can escape from the evil consequences of a bad social environment, if he has himself done his best to avoid its worst incidents. Whatever we tolerate, we follow, and we must endure. Unless he totally cut himself off from it, the social environment tells, whatever may be the extent in which it has directly influenced a person's own particular case. Sir Vithaldas' tragically early death is a warning to the Bhattia community to emerge from their medieval notions of caste and religion, if they would use their commercial talents to the best advantage of their community and their country.

### **The late Principal Tawney.**

Though the late Mr. Charles H. Tawney rose to be Director of Public Instruction in Bengal, he is best remembered as Principal and Professor of English Literature at the Presidency College. We were among those who had the privilege of sitting at his feet. He was respected by his students for his great scholarship, his dutifulness, his sense of justice and his scrupulous literary honesty—he would, in his annotations, acknowledge even the meaning of a word taken from an ordinary dictionary. He was a noted orientalist and had translated many Sanskrit and Pali books into English.

### **Enver Pasha.**

The death of Enver Pasha, the great soldier and patriot of the Young Turk party, has been announced and contradicted. We hope he is still alive, and will be blessed with a long life to promote the cause of freedom of oriental races.

### **The late Mr. Barendra Krishna Ghose.**

The late Mr. Barendra Krishna Ghose was well known to Bengalis on the

Bombay side as a successful man of business. At the memorial meeting held in Calcutta to express sorrow at his sad and untimely death, Sir P. C. Ray said that the deceased "spent his whole life in the advancement of the industrial and commercial interests of his country, and was the founder of the Ahmedabad Sri Ramkrishna Mills, the Vivekananda Mills, the Bombay Merchants Bank Limited, and other industrial concerns. His charity was large and unostentatious, and many indigent families, destitute widows and helpless orphans used to receive regular and substantial help from him."

### **Ovation to the Released Leaders.**

Mr. C. K. Das, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, Mr. B. N. Sasmal, Pir Badshah Mian, Dr. Suresh Chandra Banerji, Dr. Abdur Rahaman, Mr. Taqi and other leaders have received ovations on being released from prison. They deserve such welcome. It is, however, greatly to be desired that the vast multitudes of men who have displayed such zeal in welcoming them back to freedom would give evidence of equal and steady enthusiasm in promoting the cause for which the leaders have suffered.

### **Flogging Prisoners in Jail.**

What has been recently said in the Bengal Legislative Council on the official and non-official sides on the flogging of Non-co-operation prisoners in Barisal jail, in the course of the debate on Mr. Indubhusan Datta's motion for adjournment, applies to similar and worse barbarities in other jails. The official plea is that the prisoners must obey orders and observe the rules of jail discipline; if they do not, their contumacious spirit must be broken. Well and good. But by what means? Must they be flogged until either they yield or die? If flogging does not serve the purpose, must some more barbarous means of inflicting pain and indignity be adopted? True, in England even school-boys are whipped on the posterior parts. But in India such a punishment is looked upon as a very great indignity, and should not, therefore, be inflicted, if it is

to be inflicted at all, on any prisoner who is not guilty of any heinous offence involving great moral turpitude. We are for its total abolition.

As Non-co-operators are sent to jail because they do not obey some law or some official order, would it be right, in pursuance of Mr. Stephenson's line of argument at the Bengal Council, to go on flogging these prisoners or torturing them in other ways, until they died or agreed to obey the laws or the orders they had disobeyed? As jail orders and rules of discipline are not more august and majestic than the ordinary laws of the land and the orders of Government and of magistrates, logically that which is officially held justifiable to secure obedience to jail rules and observance of jail discipline, should be considered more justifiable in order to produce a spirit of obedience to laws and to Government and magisterial orders. Will Mr. Lloyd George and Lord Reading make a pronouncement on the subject, or indulge in a few nods at least?

#### M. L. C.'s Allowances.

Newspaper readers are acquainted with the scandal caused by some revelations connected with the travelling and residential allowances drawn by some members of the Bengal Legislative Council. It is a truism that those who have been elected to assist at law-making should themselves obey the elementary laws of ethics.

The report of the committee appointed in accordance with Kumar Shivasekharewar Ray's motion to deal with the subject of these allowances will be awaited with interest.

#### Indian Olympic Association.

The Governor of Bengal has been pleased to give his patronage to the Bengal Branch of the Indian Olympic Association. The association sent Mr. P. C. Bannerjee as a runner to represent Bengal in the International Olympic Games held in Antwerp in 1920, and it is now intended to select competitors for the Olympic Games to be held in Amsterdam in 1924. The Bengal Branch has opened a swimming section in the Wellesley Square Tank, Calcutta, where a swimming competition is

to take place by the end of October 1922. The records and timing of the competitors in these sports will go to qualify them for the Olympic Games in 1924. It will be a definite attempt to get India worthily represented at the International Sports.

#### Indianisation of Services.

There is one sentence in the Government of India's memorandum to the local Governments on the subject of the Indianisation of the All-India services which deserves to be picked out for special notice. It has been sometimes said that if British India obtained Home Rule, Indians would become masters in their household, and, in consequence, Europeans would refuse to serve under Indian masters. Such fears are unfounded. For, Europeans do serve as subordinates in some of the self-ruling countries of Asia. And the racial feeling at present observable in India is sure to pass away. Even under present conditions, those Europeans who do not openly show that they are the masters of India, receive courteous treatment from even the most courageous and spirited Indians.

The Government memorandum referred to above, observes :—

"Europeans employed in Indian States, it is understood, do not find the atmosphere inimical to them and many occupy in these administrations a position of peculiar privilege and regard."

#### Unrest in the Punjab.

It is greatly to be regretted that the unrest in the Punjab, instead of subsiding, has received fresh impetus from some recent incidents. We are not in a position to say just now who are the parties to blame for this state of affairs and in what proportion; but the facts as appearing in the dailies are given below.

The wood-chopping affair in the shrine of Guru-ka-Bagh, a small village about five miles south of Techail Ajnala in the district of Amritsar, which has culminated in the arrest of a large number of Akali Sikhs, including Sardar Bahadur Mehtab Singh, a prominent member of Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee, appears to have originated under the following circumstances :—

On August 10 Mr. Jenkidas, Asst. Commissioner, Amritsar, sentenced five Akalis of Guru-ka-Bagh to six months' rigorous imprison-

ment each having convicted them under Section 379 I. P. C. for cutting trees from the estate of Mahant of Gurdwara, which they alleged were meant for the use of free kitchen. This prompted the Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee to issue a long communiqué contending that the Gurdwara at Guru-ka-Bagh has been taken possession of by the Akalis and was therefore under the management of the Shiromani Committee.

In the same communiqué the Committee appealed to the Sikhs to stand by the Panth that the Akalis should come forward to offer resistance in this matter. It appears that the Akalis of the place have actually come forward to obey the hints of the committee. Another batch of five Akalis chopped Gurdwara wood and were charged under Section 379 I. P. C. More batches of the Akalis were coming forward to offer themselves for arrest and the total number of arrests according to the Gurdwara Committee are more than two hundred.

A Press communiqué, dated the 23rd August last, states :

The arrest and conviction of five Akali Sevadars for cutting fire-wood for Guruka-Langar (kitchen) from Gurdwara lands has already been reported. Batches of volunteers have been continuing the cutting and storing of wood unmolested by the police. Now again the reports are pouring in that several more batches totalling about 60 volunteers have been arrested and taken away in seven motor lorries. More batches of volunteers are arriving on the spot, vying with each other in continuing the Guru's service. So far the 65 men arrested belong to Amritsar, Gurdaspur, Lyallpore, Sheikhpura and Jullundur Districts.

A Press communiqué dated the 24th August, 1922, states :—

Batches of Sevadars storing fuel for Guru ka Langar, (the Guru's free kitchen), weeding Guru's garden, repairing roads, etc., are being arrested. Four Sevadars in actual attendance on Guru Sahib were called out and arrested under sec. 107 Cr. P. Code. So far 110 arrests have been made. Large numbers of volunteers are pouring in from the surrounding "Ilaqua" and from districts far and near, to earn merit by being arrested while serving their God and their Guru. There is a great deal of rivalry between both black and white turbanned Akalis in claiming precedence in being arrested. Those with black turbans claim priority owing to previous services, which is causing a great deal of heart-burning to those with white turbans, who claim their first chance in their Guru's service. A compromise is being suggested by fixing some share of white turbans in each group. The situation is calm and quiet. A "Jatha" of ladies has been persistent in claiming equal rights and

privileges with men, but their case remains still under consideration, owing to obstinate opposition by men, who declare that they shall not allow a single woman to fall into the hands of the police, as long as there are men enough to do the work.

A correspondent of *The Tribune* explains the origin of the movement thus :

I give a brief account of the occurrence at Guru-ka-bagh, a place about 6 miles north of Amritsar, a Sikh shrine dedicated to the 5th Guru of the Sikhs, which has taken place on the last Amavas festival.

A few days ago, some Sikhs cut off a few branches of some trees belonging to the shrine for the purpose of "langar" (kitchen). 5 Sikhs were arrested on a charge of theft and sent up by the police and sentenced by the Magistrate to 6 months' rigorous imprisonment each. The land on which these trees stand is entered in the name of the Gurdwara in revenue papers and the Gurdwara itself is in the possession of the Sikhs. It is said that the Mahant made the complaint in this case under pressure.

As the branches were cut off under a *bonafide* claim as belonging to the Gurdwara, under the present law it is a very clear case for the civil courts to decide ; and there was absolutely no justification, whatsoever, for taking criminal action against these selfless workers, who are now rotting in jail. This unnecessary interference with the Sikhs gave rise to provocation and further trouble and as a protest against it Sikhs have launched what is known as "passive resistance". Within the last 3 days up to 23rd instant 130 Sikhs in all have been arrested by the police and arrests are still going on.

Batches of 5 Sikhs go to the place, where a few branches of trifling value are lying in the garden of the Gurdwara. As soon as they reach the spot, they are being arrested and shuffled off in lorries to headquarters. Soon a new batch follows and is likewise treated. And so the cycle goes on.

On the morning of the 23rd two European officers visited the spot, showed great promptitude, and having arrested 3 persons who are inside the Gurdwara, sentenced them to one year's R. I. each. This whole affair of judicial procedure did not take more time than it takes me to write it out. This extra-judicial way was apparently adopted to nip the movement in the bud. But they have added fuel to the fire.

I have learnt on very good authority, that the officials on the spot give it a different colour. They consider the movement as an outcome of the bad characters of the *ilaqua*. It is quite the reverse of the truth ; and it is difficult to imagine the state of the official mind, when they will readily believe the above story and will turn the selfless workers into bad characters.

Some attempt is also being made to make the affair look more serious by cutting some larger trees from the roots by interested parties.

The following is from a communique of the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee :—

Things have now become even worse and many of those just arrested were belaboured with fists, kicks and butts of guns by certain policemen at the time of their arrests. Many persons have been injured—some of them seriously; amongst these are Seva Singh, Indar Singh, Kartar Singh, Amar Singh and Gurdit Singh. Some of them were dragged by the hair of their heads. A bundle of pulled hair gathered from the scene, has been received in the office of the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee. Persons with injuries are being kept apart from others under arrest and it is stated, are being forced to go away. Previously, the arrested persons were allowed bread and water, which was taken to them from Guru-ka-Langar, but now this has been stopped. On Thursday night no food or water was permitted them. There is a small dirty pond close by and the arrested persons had to drink such muddy water as they could find therein.

*The Tribune* has published the following from an eye-witness :—

On the 25th August, in the afternoon, two officials visited the spot. Since their departure, things have taken a different turn. Instead of the batches being arrested as they approached the garden, they were systematically assaulted by some policemen. Batch after batch submitted to this assault, which was carried out with greater vigour in the case of each new batch. Altogether 44 Sikhs have been injured with rifle butt-ends and lathis. One named Kartar Singh of village Luliani, District Lahore, has been so very severely beaten that up to the time of writing, he has not regained his consciousness and his condition is precarious. After this assault commenced no more arrests were made, and all the arrested and injured persons numbering about 75 are now lying in the garden, round which a police cordon is drawn out. They have been told by some police officers present, that they were now free to go away, but they have persistently refused to listen to any such inducement; and to compel them to leave the garden they have been refused food and drink and it is 18 hours that this body of organised workers is going without anything, even water, in this hot season. Yesterday a Mahomedan passer-by, while passing his way, close to where a Gurkha constable was picketed, was given a lathi blow. The blow resulted in severe injury to his head. Two other Gurkha policemen have approached the Sikh *langar* and they are being fed as willingly as anybody else.

### Overcrowding among Third Class Railway Passengers.

The Director, Central Bureau of Information, Home Department, Government of India, has attempted to explain the causes of overcrowding among third class railway passengers in India and has described what is being done to meet the situation. All that he says may be accurate. But it cannot be gainsaid that for more than half a century the third class passenger has not been treated as from a business point of view, if not for the sake of humanity also, he had the right to be; for he has all along contributed the largest share of railway income from passenger traffic. Therefore, improvement in the conditions of third class railway travelling must take precedence of all other kinds of railway expenditure.

### Wanted Direct State Management of Railways

The existing contracts between the Secretary of State and the East Indian and Great Indian Peninsular Railway Companies will expire in 1924 and 1925 respectively. Management of these State-owned lines by companies with London boards of directors should then be ended. The State should then undertake their direct management, thus giving the Indian public some chance of influencing railway policy and management.

### Assam's Woos.

When about a month ago Pandit Madanmohan Malaviya and Babu Rajendra Prasad went to enquire about repression in Assam, the little known province which Mahatma Gandhi after his visit described as a beautiful land where the average men and women had taken to khaddar with a religious zeal, they were horrified at the relentless repression that was going on there. *The Hindu's* Bombay correspondent wrote on August 4, that their report was going to be soon published. It may have been published; but we have not seen it yet.

### Visvabharati Union.

A very useful centre of culture, named Visvabharati Sammilani, has been established in Calcutta in connection with the Visvabharati University at Santiniketan. Its members and the public have been already greatly benefited by the celebration of the festival of the Rains with songs and recitations, by Pandit Kshitimohan Sen's exposition of Kabir, by Mr. Elmhirst's lecture on the robbery of the soil, by the Poet Rabindranath Tagore's address on the occasion of bidding farewell to Prof. Sylvain Levi, &c.

### Railway Purchases.

According to *Hansard's* report of a statement made by Earl Winterton, £355,500 worth of railway materials were purchased for India in England and only a few thousands sterling worth of such articles in other countries, though they are much, in some cases 50 per cent., cheaper in the latter. The fruits of trusteeship?

### The Late Mr. Karunakar Menon.

The late Dewan Bahadur Karunakar Menon was a very able leader-writer. He was successively sub-editor, assistant editor, and editor of *The Hindu*. After giving up his connection with that paper, he edited *The Indian Patriot*. After giving up that paper, he led a retired life.

### Date of Publication of Our October Issue, And Changes of Address.

As on account of the Puja Holidays our office will remain closed from the 24th September to the 8th October next (both days inclusive), the October number of *The Modern Review* will be published and despatched to our subscribers on the 22nd September. Letters notifying changes of address should reach our office on the 20th September at the latest. Such letters should contain the subscribers' serial numbers.

### Research and Cant of Research.

Research, when genuine, is good and necessary, the cant of research is bad

and intolerable. According to *Nature*, July 22, 1922, Prof. Alexander Mair, writing in the Bulletin of the Association of University Teachers, says:

"Research.....is the fashionable cant word of our generation." He deplores "the fact that so many men and women.....are induced to spend one or two important years in doing pedestrian work that could equally well be performed by an intelligent mechanic or clerk" owing to the fallacy that free creative activity can be commanded by a mere fiat. A similar warning is embodied in an article on Medical Research in the report for 1920-21 of the president of the Carnegie Foundation for the advancement of teaching. "Every College and University," he says, "covets the reputation of being a centre of research.....The result of this striving is that the thing which ought to be the greatest inspiration toward good teaching has become only too often an excuse to escape the primary duty of teaching."

### Income of Calcutta University.

A writer in *The Calcutta Review* charged us with making a misleading statement, because we had said that the income of the Calcutta University was about fifteen lakhs. If the following extract from *The Indian Daily News* is accurate, it is plain that we understated its income:

The Hon'ble Mr. P. C. Mitter: (a) A statement supplied by the Calcutta University is laid on the table.

(b) No. Government have no information.

Statement referred to in the above reply.  
1920-21.

	Rs.
Total expenditure of the Calcutta University	21,49,254
This amount was met from—	
(1) Fees paid by candidates	13,17,204
(2) Tuition fees paid by students	2,90,988
(3) Income derived from other sources	2,00,844
(4) Endowments	1,77,030
(5) Government grant	1,63,189
Total	21,49,255

### Errata.

P. 285, 2nd Col., 19th line from the bottom—For *steed* read *stud*.

P. 285, 2nd Col., Footnote 44—For अनवधि read आवधिति।

In the last *July* number, page 85, first column, 8th line, for Nalini Mohan Basu, B.Sc., read Nalini Kanta Basu, B.Sc.

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## HINDU AND BUDDHIST IDEALS

MANY years ago, when I was with Mahatma Gandhi at Phoenix Asram in South Africa, he expounded to me his celibate ideal of life, which I traced back to the influence upon his mind, at that time, of Count Leo Tolstoy's writings. How strong that influence had been may be judged from the name of Tolstoy Farm, which he had given to his first Asram outside Johannesburg. A complete set of Tolstoy's works with different biographies were valued treasures in the Asram Library. He had corresponded with the Russian writer and had received a striking letter in reply. It seemed to me therefore not unlikely that his ideas with regard to abstinence in the married life and the pre-eminent excellency of celibacy, as a means to increase soul force in man, were chiefly gathered from Count Tolstoy himself. When, however, I talked over the matter, during many conversations, I found that the ideas had reached him long before his study of Tolstoy's writings. He regarded them as essentially present in Hinduism. They were prevalent also in the Jain and Buddhist cultures.

I had met with the same conceptions of the spiritual value of celibacy and also of abstinence in the married life in medieval Christianity, and there were traces of these ideas still remaining in the north of Europe which had broken away from the medieval tradition. In the

Roman Catholic and Greek Churches there were certain traditions, with regard to celibacy in the priesthood and episcopacy, which had been unbroken for many centuries. To me, they had become repugnant and unnatural, and my mind at once reacted against them in South Africa, when Mahatma Gandhi brought them forward. It was for this reason, that I argued long and strenuously against them and tried to convince him of the unnaturalness of such conceptions, having regard to the physical nature of man and woman. But I found it impossible to move him from those fixed ideals, which, he told me, were founded on his Hindu religion itself.

This led me to a closer and deeper study of Hinduism on my return to India and I had the advantage of many conversations with leading Hindus, whose moral judgment I valued. These studies confirmed my original opinion, that Hinduism in its central line of development had placed the marriage ideal, and not the celibate ideal, at the basis of the religious life, on which all the superstructure was built. On his return to India, at the end of the year 1914, I had further talks with Mahatma Gandhi, and at a later time he wrote to me enclosing a schedule of his new Asram regulations at Ahmedabad and asking for my serious criticism of his proposals.

I found, on examination, that the

same ideas of celibacy, which had been present in his Asram in South Africa, reappeared in his new Asram regulations at Ahmedabad. A vow of celibacy might be taken after a certain age by any student who felt called thereto, and it was held up as an ideal before the students. I have no longer a copy of the regulations, but, if my memory is right, the vow might be taken when the student had reached the age of eighteen years.

I asked the question, whether the vow of celibacy was commended merely as a political expedient, or as something inherent in the conception of Hinduism itself and compatible with its principles. I was told, in reply, by Mahatma Gandhi, that it was not merely recommended as a political expedient, but also as a desirable state in itself, if perfection were to be reached for the higher work of humanity. He also believed that it had its true place within Hinduism in its many-sided and infinitely complex structure, though he agreed at the same time that in Hindu religion the ideal of marriage was prominently present as a religious sacrament. At this point I brought before Mahatmaji an argument, which had appealed to me greatly, that from the historical point of view any general advocacy of the celibate life and any depreciation of the married life in comparison were in reality aberrations in Hinduism, which never truly belonged to Hinduism itself. He told me in answer, that it was difficult for me fully to comprehend his meaning, but that he could clearly see that my historical view of Hinduism differed from his own. The advocacy of celibacy was not an aberration, but a legitimate expression of Hinduism.

After leaving Mahatma Gandhi at the close of this discussion, I wrote to him at length upon the subject, and I have kept the rough copy of what I wrote in the form of notes. It has appeared to me, that it might be of interest if I copied out and set in order the notes that I then made. I would like to know whether, on the whole, they would receive the approval of those who have been born

and brought up in Hinduism, and therefore have the right, which I cannot have, to speak from their own inner experience. The notes run as follows :—

"A very important issue arises at once, when I study your plans for the future. Are you, in building your new Asram, trying to sow a seed deep in the ground, which shall grow into a tree : or are you merely training men, who shall be free from all family ties, in order to meet the present political needs of the country ? In the latter instance, I might think of celibacy, but not in the former. I should hasten to add, that in any case I object to the taking of vows in such a matter, when people are young and inexperienced concerning the nature of life.

"You ask me how your new Asram can be made to represent the best in Indian life. Then, when I study your programme, I find this advocacy of celibacy put in the forefront as an ideal ; and herein I find a contradiction, which I must try to explain. It will be well to set down my views in writing, though you know them already.

"I would put it in this way. You wish to follow in your Asram the central development of Hindu religion, the catholic idea running through it,—not any sectarian aberration, however noble its history and origin. I have often talked over with you the central facts of Hinduism, and if I understand you rightly you feel that it is a greatness, not a weakness, that Hinduism absorbs for a time everything entering into it and then raises it to a higher level. Herein lies its catholicity, its wholeness. You would prefer to keep in closest touch with the religion practised by the multitudes of simple village people, rather than follow the book-learning of the modern Scribes and Pharisees, who despise the common herd. I value that conception, and I want to point out to you how Hinduism historically has as certainly rejected celibacy as Buddhism has adopted it. Here all my instincts are with Hinduism, though I know full well that in the development of Christianity this same

ideal of celibacy had a prominent place for many centuries.

"In what follows, I shall be giving my own personal reading of history, which must necessarily be incomplete and imperfect, as I am not a Hindu and only came out to India when I had nearly reached middle age. More and more clearly, amid a maze of seeming contradictions, I have traced three elementary and primary factors in traditional Hinduism, as practised by the common people and embodied in their religion. I can only call them by the three terms, Marriage, Caste, and Incarnation, and explain my terms afterwards. It will be easy for you to follow me because we have talked these things over before.

"The Hindu religious genius, at a very early date indeed, came to regard marriage and the married life and the propagation of children as altogether sacred and sacramental. This, to me, is one of its very greatest achievements, and also one of its noblest gifts to the world. It has made the women of India among the most devoted to their husbands and the most religious in their domestic life. It has enshrined religious worship in the centre of every Hindu home, and in every Hindu woman's heart. India can never lose its idealism and become materialistic, so long as the married life holds this place of worship among Hindu women and also among Hindu men. I know that there have been penalties to pay, and that gross injustices are as yet unresolved. Child widowhood, enforced by social custom, where the boy husband dies, is one of these; and there are many others. I am not upholding these evil customs for a moment. As you know, my whole heart revolts against them. But all the same, I can see that they are those human exaggerations, which have grown up along with a great ideal.

"I may be wrong in my historical estimate, but I have come firmly to believe that Buddhism lost its hold on the Hindu mind chiefly because of its comparative lack of appreciation of the married life as an inspiring human ideal

and because of its substitution of the celibate ideal as higher and purer and more spiritual.

"Again, the genius of the Hindu religion absorbed at a very early date indeed that somewhat strange element of mutual association called 'caste', which represented at the time a certain natural grouping of men for racial and social purposes. It transformed this natural phenomenon into a religious practice, according to the general tendency of those early times which made everything religious. But the extraordinarily interesting point in this process in India was, that the social grouping of caste became, from the very first, most intimately and closely associated with marriage. Even today a modern writer, like Sir Herbert Risley, if I am not mistaken, has said in an epigram, 'Caste is marriage, and marriage is caste.' He was referring to this distinctive and peculiar feature of Hinduism.

"Caste in India, when thus transformed by religion and intimately connected with marriage, offered a social life with a wider range than the family, but of one and the same texture as the marriage ideal itself, fortifying that ideal and keeping it religious. For caste became, as it were, a larger religious 'marriage family'. Within the caste marriage was possible and therefore blood relationship. That these boundaries of caste have to-day become far too narrow, and from a eugenic point of view, well nigh intolerable, is generally admitted. There has been also the accumulation, century after century, of the wrong done to those who are outside the caste altogether,—the 'untouchables'.

"It is easy of course to criticise the short-comings and bigotries and cruelties of caste, as it is practised to-day, and I have been among the critics. But it has also to be remembered what it was in origin and how it preserved, as perhaps nothing could have done at the time, the sanctity of the marriage ideal. Furthermore, although caste has been one of the most conservative forces in the world, it has been by no means static. It has moved



forward with the times again and again, and it is still moving. New forms of caste,—especially those created by religious movements,—seem to point the way to some still more comprehensive future advance. We may, perhaps, look forward to the time when the present boundaries of caste will be broken down without demolishing the fundamental Hindu conception of the religious sacrament of marriage.

"It should be noted here again that Buddhism, while attempting to substitute the *Sangha*,—the religious association of celibate monks,—for the religious and domestic association of caste, did not set India free. The castes, in spite of all their inconveniences and burdens, were felt to be more human than the *Sanghas*.

"This life of celibacy, which both the Buddhists and the Jains practised, never deeply affected the simple village people of India in their domestic relations. The peasants tilled the soil and sowed the seed and reaped the harvest. Meanwhile the great and noble conception, that no domestic sacrifice of religion was complete without the wife taking part in it, became more and more firmly established and gave strength and stability to the home.

"Thirdly, in the worship of the Divine, the trend of Hindu genius among the common people has ever been towards the personal and the concrete,—towards God as revealed in form. This has incessantly led to the idea of God as incarnate and as also to be worshipped through images. Such incarnation and image worship has often been mingled with crude and grotesque idolatry, but the warm concrete intimacy of the Hindu religion of form has had a wonderful persistence, and its love and devotion has often shone brightest, even through idolatry itself,—like a vein of purest metal running through the clay. It has been said truly that the Hindu religious heart among the people shrivels up in an atmosphere of dry abstractions. It may be able, in the future, to eliminate grosser forms of divine representation. But to eliminate divine representation in and through

form, would appear to be disastrous in the long run to Hindu faith. For at the centre of all, from the time of the Upanishads onwards, the instinct has ever grown deeper that the Divine Spirit and the human spirit are intimately one, and that all nature is included in that union.

"But when all this is said concerning Hindu religion, only half has been said ; for perhaps the greatest thing of all is this, that marriage, caste, incarnation,—all these three,—are not regarded as the end, but rather as the preparation for that which is beyond. A further stage is always contemplated ( hardly to be attempted without due self-discipline first ) —a stage which is beyond marriage, beyond caste, beyond incarnation, beyond all forms and human associations. But this final worship can only be truly offered by the man who has known to the full, both the warmth and glow of human love in all its natural human relationships, through marriage, and the warmth and glow of divine love in all its simple, intimate closeness. Only the man, who has experienced life's fullness, can, at the end, in the truest sense, abandon all so as to enter even before death comes into the great beyond.

"But this must be noted quite clearly : Such a man takes with him no empty, attenuated, emasculated, life-experience. Only after the realisation of God through form, can he worship truly and fully the Formless. Only after living the married life, can he live truly the life of the Sannyasi.

"We can see that this is the real trend of Hindu faith, because all the sporadic attempts to reverse this order, scattered up and down Indian history, have proved failures. Exaggerated ideas of the sanctity and superiority of celibacy have again and again appeared, but they have never gained ascendancy. Furthermore, the abandonment of the world for philosophic contemplation has frequently become with individuals an absorbing Hindu practice. But even this has not to any great extent broken through the primary claims of Hindu married life, so as to throw

a slur upon marriage as an inferior state. The true development has kept close to that most remarkable and profound conception of the four stages of life, wherein the human soul passes through its period of rigorous chastity in order to enter the stage of the married householder. Then the householder detaches himself from the concrete love of home with its closest intimacies, in order to become first of all partially free and gradually weaned from attachment, in the 'vanaprastha' stage, and finally to become wholly unattached in the stage of the ascetic or 'sannyasi'. The central light of that great conception of the four stages, or Asrams, of human life has been like a pole star round which the religious experience of Hindus has revolved. This, at least, is my own reading of Indian History.

"You will see, therefore, that I cannot easily believe that the celibate ideal is really and fundamentally 'Hindu'. Rather it appears to me to be just such an aberration from normal Hindu practices as Buddhism was in the past. It certainly does not seem to be in line with Hindu religion as it has naturally developed from time immemorial in the popular village life of India. There have been all kinds of variations in Hinduism, as I know full well, but this stress upon

marriage, as of the very essence of human life's fulfilment in the spiritual as well as in the temporal sphere, has never seemed to me a secondary matter within Hinduism at all. Rightly or wrongly, I have regarded it as a primary factor, admitting only of the rarest exceptions in special emergencies."

This was the substance of the letter that I wrote many years ago to Mahatma Gandhi. I have revised my notes before publication, but they remain practically and substantially as I wrote them. I have hesitated slightly about publishing these ideas now, because Mahatmaji himself is in prison and I cannot myself represent fully his own position; but he has abundantly stated his views in different articles and speeches, and the method in which I have dealt with the subject is historical and academic, rather than controversial. The theme of my letter has for twenty years possessed the deepest interest to me as a student of Hinduism and Buddhism. If this article of mine provokes any discussion with regard to these conceptions of Hindu and Buddhist religion, as I have stated them, I shall be most thankful. Behind all the vital and immediate questions of the present national struggle, these age-long, fundamental issues remain.

C. F. ANDREWS.

## CRIMINAL LAW AND JUSTICE IN THE MUGHAL EMPIRE

BY JADUNATH SARKAR.

### I.

ACCORDING to Muslim ideas of jurisprudence crimes fall into three groups, namely,

- (a) offences against God,
- (b) offences against the State, and
- (c) offences against private individuals.

Punishment for the first of these classes is "the right of God," while for the other two classes of offences the injured party

may forgive or compound with the wrong-doer. Thus, curiously enough, manslaughter is not a violation of God's law nor of the king's peace, but only a damage to the family of the murdered man, which can be settled by paying money compensation (called 'the price of blood') to the next of kin of the victim, without the Executive Head of the State or the Judge of Canon Law having to take

any further notice of it. It was only when the relatives of the murdered man refused to accept money damages and insisted on retaliation, that the Qazi had to pronounce and the executive to enforce the sentence of death.

There were, thus, two entirely different classes of authorities for the trial of offences,—the king and the Quazi, and their jurisdiction did not clash, so long as neither of them encroached upon the work of the other, the *Quran* having clearly distinguished the two.

*The Institutes of Timur* puts the matter with great clearness and force. He writes :—

"Robbers and thieves, in whatever place they might be found, or by whomsoever detected, I commanded to be put to death." [Note. This, however, was a violation of the *Quranic* law.]

"And I ordained that, if any one seized by violence the property of another, the value of that property should be taken from the oppressor, and be restored to the oppressed.

"Concerning other crimes,—the breaking of teeth, the putting out of eyes, the slitting and cutting off of the ears and nose, wine-drinking and adultery,—I ordained that whoever should be guilty of these, or other crimes, they should be brought into the courts of the ecclesiastical and lay judges,—[the exact terms being *Qazi-i-Islam* and *Qazi-i-Ahdas*,—*ahdas* meaning 'ritual impurity,' probably an error for *azab*, 'torment'] : that the ecclesiastical judge should decide on those causes which are determinable by the sacred laws (*Shara*), and that those which did not fall under his cognisance\* should be investigated and laid before me by the lay judge." (Davy's *Institutes of Timur*, pp. 251 and 253, corrected by reference to the Persian text.)

In strict legality, the death sentence for highway robbery could be pronounced only by a Qazi and not by the king or any of his civil officers independently. Aurang-zib, soon after his accession, beheaded five hundred robbers as a warning to all lawless men. (*Storia*, ii. 4.) But towards the end of his reign he changed his opinion about his powers and regulated his conduct in strict conformity with the *Quranic* law. He, therefore, severely censured one of his highest generals, who had put a highway robber to death, and

\* *Urfi bashad*, are public, i. e. pertain to the public law.

urged him to place all such cases before the Qazi in future. (*Ahkam*, § 34.)

The Mughal Emperors used to reserve Wednesday every week for holding courts of justice, in addition to trying a few cases on other days in the course of the public *darbar*. On that day no *darbar* was held but "the Emperor came direct from the *darshan* window to the *Diwani-i-khas* or Hall of Private Audience at about 8 A.M., and occupied the throne of justice till midday. This room was filled with the law-officers of the Crown, the judges of Canon Law (*Qazis*), judges of Common Law (*adils*), *muftis*, theologians (*ulema*), jurists learned in precedents (*fatawa*), the superintendent of the law-court (*daroghah-i-adalat*), and the *kotwal* (or prefect of the city police). None else among the courtiers was admitted, unless his presence was specially necessary. The officers of justice presented the plaintiffs one by one, and reported their grievances. His Majesty very gently ascertained the facts by inquiry, took the law from the *ulema*, and pronounced judgment accordingly." (Abdul Hamid's *Padishahnamah*, I. A. 150 ; cf. *Alamgirnamah* 1102.)

## II.

This division of judicial work is noticed by the early European travellers. William Finch writes in 1611,

"The castle of Agra has four gates,...one to the west, towards the Bazar, [is] called the *Kachari* gate, within which, over against the great gate is the Qazi's seat of chief justice. Over against this seat is the *kachari* or Court of Rolls, where the king's wazir sits every morning some three hours, by whose hands pass all matters rents, grants, lands, farnaus, debts, &c...Tuesday is day of blood, both of fighting beasts and justified men, the king judging and seeing execution [carried out in the plain on the river bank, below the *darshan* balcony]." (Purchas, iv. 72, 73.)

Five years later, Terry observed,

"The Emperor himself moderates in all matters of consequence which happen near his Court, for the most part judging *secundum allegata et probata*. Trials are quick and so are executions. The governors in cities and provinces proceed in like form of justice. I could never hear of law written among them; the king and his substitutes' will is Law." (*Ibid*, ix. 47.)

Aurangzib's manner of doing justice is thus described by Bernier, an eye-witness :

"All the petitions held up in the crowd assembled in the Hall of Public Audience are brought to the king and read in his hearing; and the persons concerned being ordered to approach are examined by the monarch himself, who often redresses on the spot the wrongs of the aggrieved party. On another day of the week he devotes two hours to hear in private the petitions of ten persons selected from the lower orders and presented to the king by a good and rich old man. Nor does he fail to attend the justice-chamber, called *Adalat-khanah* on another day of the week, attended by two principal *Qazis*." (Bernier, 263.)

Manucci describes the scene of royal dispensation of justice :

"The king holds public audience in the *Am-khas* [meaning the *Diwan-i-am*], and there it is usual for aggrieved persons to appear and make complaint. Some men demand punishment for murderers, others complain of injustice and violence or other such like wrongful acts... The king ordains with arrogance, and in few words, that the thieves be beheaded, that the governors and *tujdars* compensate the plundered travellers... In some cases he announces that there is no pardon for the transgressor, in others he orders the facts to be investigated and a report made to him." (Storia, ii. 462.)

### III.

The *Qazi's* business, in strict theory, was to play the part of a jury : he was to take the Law from others and pronounce a verdict in the particular case on the basis of the evidence adduced. This expounder of the law was the *mufti*, whom we may rather loosely call the advocate general. "The *mufti* is the officer who expounds and applies the law to cases, and the *Qazi* is the officer who gives it operation and effect." An illiterate man may legally act as a *Qazi*, according to all the schools of Muslim law except that of Shafi, because

"A *Qazi's* business may be to pass decrees merely on the opinions of others. The object of his appointment, moreover, is to render to every subject his just rights, and this object is accomplished by passing decrees on the opinions of others." (*Hedayat*, translated by Hamilton, 2nd edition, 334-335.)

Though many of the *Qazis* were very learned lawyers, yet the primary and indispensable qualifications of a *Qazi* were, in theory at least, honesty impartiality virtuousness and pure detachment from

the society of the place. (*Hedayat*, also a Persian MS quoted in my *Mughal Administration*, page 37.)

In practice this high ideal was seldom attained,\* though there are some noble exceptions in the history of Islamic lands. To take one example only, Abdul Wahhab Borah, the first Chief *Qazi* of Aurangzib's reign, was so corrupt that during 16 years of office he amassed a fortune of 33 lakhs of Rupees in cash, besides much jewellery and other valuable things. But his son and successor, Shaikh-ul-Islam, was an exactly opposite character. He did not touch a penny of his father's ill-gotten riches, but gave away his share of them in charity. Not only did he decide all cases without the faintest suspicion of corrupt influence or bribery, but he even declined the customary presents and gifts from his nearest friends and kinsmen. [*History of Aurangzib*, iii., (2nd edition) 74-76.]

But in the Mughal empire the *Qazis* were not sufficiently supported by the executive. As Bernier noticed,

"The *Qazis* or judges are not invested with sufficient power to redress the wrongs of these unhappy people [*viz.*, the peasant artisan or tradesman oppressed by the jagirdars, governors and farmers of the revenue]. This sad abuse of authority may not be felt in the same degree near capital cities... or in the vicinity of large towns and seaports, because in those places acts of gross injustice cannot easily be concealed from the Court." (p. 225.) And, again, "Of what advantage are good laws when not observed, and when there is no possibility of enforcing their observance? The governor is absolute lord, in the strictest sense of the word. He is in his own person the intendant of justice, the parliament, the Presidial Court, and the assessor and receiver of the king's taxes... In eastern countries, the weak and the injured are without any refuge whatever; and the only law that decides all controversies is the cane and the caprice of a governor." (Pp. 235-236.)

But Bernier must be here referring to revenue exactions and executive oppression, and not to cases which could be

\* Aurangzib, when old age had deepened his pessimism, ordered that in future the court of justice (*diwan-i-adalat*) held by him should be officially designated "Court of injustice or oppressions" (*diwan-i-musallim*). 18th February 1702. [*Masir-i-Alamgiri*, 400.] We find this new name in use in his correspondence in the *Kalimat-i-Taiyyibat*.

clearly brought under the Canon Law, for the Quazi's jurisdiction over the latter was unquestioned and universally exercised in practice. Though the provincial governors were jealous of the Qazi's power, they durst not openly defy him, because he could always appeal to the Emperor in the name of the Sacred Law.

According to Muslim jurisprudence, the Qazi must discharge his duty in a mosque or some other public place, the Jama Masjid of the town being specially recommended. As a concession, however, he was permitted to hold court in his house occasionally, but in that case the public were to have free access there and the two parties were to be placed by him on an absolutely equal footing as regards seats, conveniences and general treatment. (*Hedaya*, 337.)

We possess the imperial regulation about the office-work of the Qazis. About 1671 the Emperor Aurangzib learnt that the judges of the province of Gujrat used to sit in their offices (*muhakuma-i-adalat*) on only two days in the week, while on two other days (*viz.*, Tuesday and Wednesday) they attended the subahdar's *darbar* and treated the remaining three days of the week as holidays. The Emperor wrote to the diwan of the Province, "This way of doing work is not the practice at the imperial Court nor in any other subah, and therefore there is no reason why it should be so in Gujrat. The diwan is ordered to urge the judges to sit in their offices on Saturday, Sunday, Monday, Tuesday and Thursday *i.e.* five days, while on Wednesday they should attend the subahdar, and Friday alone should be a holiday. From two *gharis* (about an hour) after daybreak to a little after midday (*i.e.*, when the sun has begun to decline), the judges should sit in the Court room and do justice, and go to their homes at the time of the *zuhar* prayer." (*Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, 291.)

#### IV.

The punishments\* were of four classes:—

\* *Encyclo Islam*, i. 123, ii. 187; Abu Yusuf's *Kitab-ul-Kharaj* tr. by Fagnan, 230-290 (different); Hamilton's *Hedaya*, 2nd ed., 175-196; Hughes, 153.

(a) *Hidd*, (b) *tazir*, (c) *qisas* and (d) *tashhir*. To these we may add detention in prison without trial, somewhat like our *hajat* (lock-up), but more severe.

*Hidd* (its plural being *hudud*), means a punishment prescribed by Canon Law and considered as 'the right of God,' which, therefore, no human judge can alter. The original design in the institution of *hidd* is determent, *i.e.*, warning people from the commission of certain offences. The absolution of the person punished is not the original design of it, because *hidd* is inflicted equally on infidels and Muslims.

*Hidd* must take certain prescribed forms of punishment, *viz.* :—

(i) Stoning to death for adultery; scourging for fornication [100 stripes].

(ii) Scourging for falsely accusing a married woman of adultery [80 stripes].

(iii) Scourging for drinking wine and other intoxicating liquors. For a free man the punishment was 80 stripes for wine drinking.

(iv) Cutting off the right hand for theft (*sarik*).

(v) Highway robbery. For simple robbery on the highway, the loss of hands and feet; for robbery with murder, death either by the sword or by crucifixion.\*

(vi) For apostasy, death.

*Tazir* is discretionary chastisement or a species of correction not specified or determined by any fixed rules of law but left to the discretion of the Qazi. It was not the 'right of God.' It could take one of these four forms:—

(i) Admonition (*tadib*).

(ii) *Jiri*, or dragging the offender to the door [of the Court house?] and exposing him to public scorn; somewhat like putting a man in the pillory.

\* "If a man or woman steal, cut off his hands;.....this is an exemplary punishment appointed by God." (*Quran*, V. 37-38.) To this Jalaluddin Al-Bedavi adds the commentary: "For the first offence, the criminal is to lose his right hand which is to be cut off at the wrist; for the second offence, his left foot at the ankle; for the third, his left hand; for the fourth, his right foot; and if he continue to offend, he shall be scourged at the discretion of the judge." [Sale.]

(iii) Imprisonment or exile.

(iv) Boxing on the ear; scourging. The stripes must not be less than 3, nor more than 39 (or 75 according to Abu Yusuf).

We are told in the *Hedaya*, a Persian compilation of Islamic law according to the Hanafi school of jurists drawn up by Mulla Tajuddin, Mir Muhammad Husain, and Mulla Shariatullah about 1780, that the above punishments should be inflicted according to the offender's rank, and that imprisonment and scourging were to be confined to the third and fourth grades of the people,—the petty traders and common labourers, respectively, or as Manu would have put it the Vaishyas and Shudras,—while the lighter forms of punishment were reserved for the nobility and gentry! (*Hedaya*, 203-204; full details in Hughes, 632-634.)

As for *tazir-ul-mal* or 'chastisement by means of property' i.e., fine, only Abu Yusuf pronounced it to be legal, but all other learned men reject it as opposed to the Quranic law. (*Hedaya*, 203.) Anrangzib, who was a strict Hanafi and himself well-read in Canon Law and the literature of precedents (*fatawa*), issued an order to the *diwan* of Gujrat and also of other *subahs*, in 1679, to the effect that as fine was not permitted by Canon Law, every civil official (*amal*), zamindar or other person found guilty of an offence, should, according to the nature of his act, be imprisoned or dismissed or banished, but not punished with fine. (*Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, 310.)

#### V.

*Qisas* or retaliation: This was the personal right of the victim or his next of kin, in the case of certain crimes, notably murder. If he demanded the legal punishment, the Qazi was bound to inflict it, and neither he nor the king could exercise the royal clemency by modification or abrogation of the sentence. If, on the other hand, the next of kin of the deceased was satisfied with the money damages, called 'price of blood' (Arabic *diya*), offered by the murderer, or pardoned him

unconditionally, it was his look-out, and neither the Qazi nor the king was to take any further notice of the crime. For minor offences, the retaliation was, as laid down by the Mosaic law, "a tooth for a tooth and an eye for an eye," with certain exceptions. (Hughes, 481.)

*Tash-hir* or public degradation was a popularly-devised punishment of universal currency throughout the Muslim world and even Hindu India and Mediæval Europe. It is neither recognised nor condemned in the law-books of Islam, but was inflicted by all Muslim qazis, and kings, and even by the lay public, as it was a mild form of lynching. In India, the offender's head was shaven, and he was mounted on an ass with his face turned towards its tail, covered with dust, sometimes with a garland of old shoes placed round his neck, paraded through the streets with noisy music, and turned out of the city. "The judge may blacken the face of the culprit, cut his hair or have him led through the streets, &c." [*Encyclo. Islam*, i. 132.] This last refers to Arabian practice.

#### VI.

As for offences against the State, such as rebellion, peculation and default in the payment of revenue, the Sovereign inflicted punishment at his pleasure, because the Quranic law gives no guidance here. Among the prevalent modes of putting an offender to death were having him trodden to death by infuriated elephants, burying alive, causing to be stung to death by cobras, or pressing him to death [the last being also sanctioned by mediæval English law]. Tortures of various degrees of ingenuity were resorted to.

We may here conveniently deal with the law of civil imprisonment. When a creditor establishes his claim before the *qazi* and demands the imprisonment of his debtor, the *qazi* must not precipitately comply, but should first order the debtor to render the right. But if he neglects to comply with the decree and his capacity to discharge the debt is proved, then he must be imprisoned.

When the two parties voluntarily resort

to an arbitrator (*Salis*), his award is legally valid, and it is the qazi's duty on a reference to him to give effect to the award if he approves of it. (*Hedaya*, 338, 343.)

## VII.

Penal code in the reign of Aurangzib.

Apart from the *Fatawa-i-Alamgiri* or digested code of Islamic case-law, which Aurangzib caused to be compiled by a syndicate of theologians under Shaikh Nizam at an expenditure of two lakhs of Rupees, he issued a *farman* to the diwan of Gujrat on 15th June 1672, which gives his penal code in a short compass. I translate it below, using the word 'chastise' in the sense of *tazir* or infliction of corporal punishment at the discretion of the judge.

"The Emperor has learnt that local officers delay in disposing of the cases of those who are cast into prison on any charge. To prevent imprisonment without just cause, the following rules are laid down :

1. When theft has been proved against any man by legal evidence before the Qazi, or the accused by his confession satisfies the conditions necessary for the imposition of *hidd*, the qazi should inflict the punishment in his own presence and keep him in prison till he manifests signs of penitence for his crime.

2. When theft is rife in the town and a thief is captured, do not even after proof behead him nor impale him, as it may be his first offence.

3. If a man has committed theft only once either less than or only up to the amount of the *nisab*\*—i. e., in such a way that punishment (*hidd*) is not legally due, then chastise (*tazir*) him. But if he repeats the offence, then after *tazir* keep him in prison till he repents. If he is not cured by *tazir* and imprisonment, but commits theft again, then sentence him to long-term imprisonment or *siasat* and execution, and restore the stolen

property to the owner, after legal proof of ownership, if he be present. Otherwise, deposit the property in trust (*amanaut*) in the *Bait-ul-mal*.

4.

5. If a man is arrested for exhuming a corpse, reprimand and release him. But if he takes to it as a profession, then banish him or cut off his hands by way of *siasat*.

6. If a man is convicted of highway robbery before the qazi, or confesses to the offence with the details required as a condition for the imposition of punishment,—the qazi should carry out the appropriate punishment in his presence. But if his offence does not deserve death or [ but ? ] some other punishment, and the opinion of the governor of the *subah* and the officers of the *adalat* is for his execution, then do him *siasat*\* (execution).

7. If an arrested thief speaks of his booty as lodged with another man, and it is discovered there, and the man is on investigation proved to be an accomplice of the thief,—then, in the case of this being the first offence of the accomplice, *tazir* him ; but if it be habitual with him then after *tazir* imprison him till he reforms. But if these do not reform him and he commits the offence again, keep him permanently in prison. Stolen property to be restored is in 3. Innocent purchasers of stolen property were not to be punished, but it should be delivered to its original owner, on proof, or deposited in the *Bait-ul-mal*.

8. On habitual malefactors who commit dacoity in the houses of others and do injury to their life and property, the sentence is [ *siasat* ]. (Text defective here.)

9. In the case of *Grasias* and *Zamin-dars* [of Gujrat] who are habitual robbers and usurpers, and whose death is required in the public interest,—after proof inflict *siasat*.

\* According to Quranic commentators, if the value of the thing stolen is less than four *dinars* or forty shillings, mutilation should not be inflicted.

\* The text here is confused and seemingly incorrect. Similarly the following sentence coming at the end of 5, would be more properly placed at the end of 6,—“Whatever is demanded by the superior decision of the governor of the *subah*, you should execute with the help of the officers of the *adalat*.”

10. A [suspected] strangler (*i.e.*, thug) whose act of strangulation has [not] been legally proved, should be chastised (*tazir*) and confined till he repents. But if he is habituated to the work and the fact is proved, by legal evidence, or if he is well-known to the people and the governor of the province [for such deeds], or traces of the strangulation and the property of the [murdered] man are found on him, and the subahdar and the officers of the *adalat* feel a strong probability that he is the doer of such deeds, then execute him.

11. If a man suspected of theft, highway robbery, strangulation, or the felonious killing of people, is arrested and from indications (*lit.*, signs) the subahdar and the officers of the *adalat* consider it most probable that he has often been guilty of the deed,—then imprison him that he may repent. If any one charges him with any of the above offences, resort to the qazi [for trial.]

12. Wicked men, who having set fire to the houses of other people take advantage of the gathering of a crowd to rob the property, or who administer *dhatūra*, *bhang*, the nut of *nux vomica* (?) and such other narcotics to people in order to render them insensible and rob their effects,—should, after proof, be severely chastised and confined, so that they may repent. If they repeat the offence after having shown penitence and been released, do them *sinsat*. If any one claims any property found with such men, refer the matter to the qazi, who will cause it to be restored to the rightful owner on proof and pay compensation for the property burnt [out of the malefactor's own property].

13. If a body of men rebel, collect materials for war, and prepare for it, though they have not yet taken up a position (stronghold) for resistance,—seize and confine them till they repent. If they have occupied a position for fight, attack and extirpate them, slay the wounded and defeated among them so long as they do not disperse. But after their dispersion, do not attack or kill them. If any one among them is captured, slay or imprison

him so long as their party organisation is not broken up. Whatever property of the party is seized, restore to them after they have repented and you are reassured about their future conduct.

14. A counterfeit-coiner for the first time should be released after *tazir* and reprimand (*tahdid*); but if it be his profession, then *tazir* and imprison him till he repents. But if he does not give up the practice, detain him in long captivity.

15. If a man buys false coins from a counterfeiter and utters them as good money, same punishment as in 14 except long term imprisonment.

16. Innocent possessors of false coins are not to be punished, but the coins are to be destroyed.

17. If a man pretends to be an alchemist and thus takes away other people's property, *tazir* and confine him till he repents. The property, as in 3.

18. If a man deceitfully administers poison to another, with fatal effect, *tazir* and imprison him till he repents.

19. If a man deceitfully takes away another's wife, son or daughter, then after proof imprison him till he restores the wife to the husband, or the child to the parent, or till he dies in prison. If the wife or child has died [in the meantime] do the offender severe *tazir* and release him, or make *tash-hir* and banish him. Go-betweens to be chastised and imprisoned.

20. For gambling with dice, *tazir* and confinement are the punishment. For repetition, long-term imprisonment. Property won, to be restored to owner or kept in trust.

21. For selling wine in a city of Islam or a village the offender should be chastised with severe blows. For repetition of the offence, imprisonment till reform.

22. If a man takes a distiller into his service and sells the spirit distilled, then chastise him with blows and confinement, if he is not a person having entry to the Emperor (*ru-shinas*). But if he is, then report the facts of the case to the Emperor and severely beat and reprimand the distiller.



23. The vendors of *bhāng*, *huza* and similar intoxicants should be chastised. and if habitual, offenders kept in prison till they repent.

24. If a man kills another by drowning him in water, throwing him into a well, or hurling him down from a hill-top or roof, chastise and imprison him and cause to be given [ to the heirs of the murdered man ] the *diya* or exculpatory fine which the Canon Law lays down. If he repeats the offence, do him strict *siasat*.

25. If an adulterer enters another man's house for committing the offence, severely chastise and confine him till your mind is composed about his future conduct.

26. If a man falsely accuses another before the governor and thus causes waste of property, he should, on proof, be subjected to *siasat* if it be his profession. Otherwise, he should be chastised and confined till he repents. He should pay compensation to those whose property he has wasted.

27. If a *zimmi* ( male or female ) takes a Musalman ( male or female ) as his or her slave, or a *zimmi* takes a Muslim woman or a Musalman a *zimmi* woman other than "the people of the Book" ( i.e., Jews and Christians ), place the offender before the qazi to act according to Canon Law.

28. When courtesans,..... drinkers of distilled spirits and other intoxicants, whisperers ( i.e., seducers ), apostates, rebels against the qazi's orders, and servants and slaves escaped from their masters, take refuge with the *mahajans* ( merchants ) and appeal to the diwani officers in the name of the Holy Law, you should act according to the order of the qazi.

29. When murder has been proved against any man according to the Holy Law or is close to certainty, keep the offender in prison and report the facts to the Emperor.

30. If anybody castrates another's son, chastise and imprison him till he repents.

31. If any leading man (*rais*) of schismatics instigates others to innovations in religion (*bidat*), and there is a strong probability of the spread of *bidat* (heresy) through his instigation, do him *siasat*.

32. As for the captives that the faujdars and others send to the subahdar, immediately on their arrival inquire with all diligence into their cases, and if the cases relate to the revenue of the Crown lands deliver them to the revenue officers, urging them to dispose of the cases promptly. Otherwise apply to them any of the above sections that may be appropriate to their respective cases. Once every month inquire into the cases of the prisoners in the *kachari* and police *chabutra*, &c., release the innocent and urge the quick trial of the others.

When a man is brought to the *chabutra* of the *kotwal* ( prefect of the city police ) under arrest by the *kotwal's* men or revenue collectors or on accusation by a private complainant,—the *kotwal* should personally investigate the charge against him. If he is found innocent, release him immediately. If anybody has a suit against him, tell the former to resort to a Court. If there is any case of the Crown-land revenue department against him, report the fact to the subahdar, take a *sanad* as suggested by the subahdar and act accordingly. If the qazi sends a man for detention, take the qazi's signed order for your authority and keep the man in prison. If the qazi fixes a date for his trial, send the prisoner to the *adalat* on that date: otherwise send him there everyday so that his case may be quickly decided.\*

[ Patna University Readership Lecture, February, 1921. ]

\* *Mirāt-i-Ahmadi*, 293-299. The author adds, "Many words in this *farman* have perished through the passage of time and the damage done by worms, and the text is incorrect." There are many gaps in it and some passages yielding no sense. I have translated it as it is. It gives a good picture of the social manners and judicial ideas of the age.

## DIARY OF SATISH CHANDRA ROY

[ Satish Chandra Roy, from whose Diary these few extracts have been translated, was a brilliant student of great promise who gave up all worldly prospects in order to teach at Santiniketan when the Poet Rabindranath Tagore first started his School there. He was a poet himself of great possibilities, but he died after serving the School for one year, and of his writings only a small volume of poems and a few fragments of prose have been published. His Diary reveals one side of his character and show his intense devotion to the poet, referred to as "Gurudev". ]

**S**ELF-REALISATION is the aim of life, for otherwise life would be vain.

Why should I wander about foolishly a slave to traditions and conventions of society? Why should I make my spirit dull by worshipping a God preached by others but unattainable, unrealised and imaginary to me? I must know by my own efforts, for the more I am able to realise God for myself the more satisfied I shall be. May he who is the life of my life, my soul's charioteer, awaken in me moment by moment. Then with no-one between us, I will seat myself alone at his feet and offer to him all my inmost thoughts. I will explain myself to no man, for why should I entangle myself in a network of falsehood? The God who has made me so great and surrounded me with such joy, beauty and peace will surely protect me!

I will reveal the innermost truths of my heart only to the God of my heart. I feel with an intense certitude that He is, and that He is none else than the goal of my life, for the attainment of which I have been born into this vast world of beauty. This life certainly has some central purpose.

I pray God I may never forget the majesty of man in me, and never scorn to realise my spiritual nature even in the midst of a world of moral stagnation. My God I will realise myself, for even in my short life I have had some taste of genuine happiness. What peace Nature has spread around me in the dusk of moonlit eventides! And, at mid-day, the sun lighting its fire of sacrifice has filled my life with unutterable joy. But God's touch can never reach the heart except through the affections of man. When I think of all this beauty of

nature I wonder what is at the root of this madness which has taken possession of me. How did I get this power of feeling life? It is by human affection.

I do not know whether Mother Nature exercises any influence over orphan children or not—I imagine she does—but it seems to me (for I have seen this in my own life) that if you are brought up in childhood amidst the tender care and affection of parents then the full beauty of Nature is revealed to you. It is the magic of the human love of living men which makes the shadow-play of life take such a variety of forms.

And that love I have experienced. God too I shall find, and boundless peace. I will open my whole heart to the deity of my inner life and then life itself will blossom before my eyes and the tune of its harmony will sound in my ears. Even now it seems as if some tune were coming nearer and nearer though still there are many false notes in my life. The predominant one is I think the pretence of learning. But as I banish further and further away all that is false, the tune of life's harmony will ring more clear.

Gurudev has told me not to become morbid through too much introspection. But why should I become morbid? Is my nature so utterly bad? Can I quench the joy which is so natural to me and become morbid? Have I never felt the happiness of life?

Ah! Everyday I seem to be approaching nearer to some beauty! Everyday I am gaining new consciousness and awakening to the realisation of some new truth! And the joy of this experience is unquenchable. Gurudev's affection fills my whole life

with sunlight, shedding its rays on every part of it, heart, mind, thought, imagination and even its daily duties. I can understand a little of what a flower feels when the morning sunlight falls upon its opening petals. Browning's poem "Rudel to the Lady of Tripoli" is now clear to me. If only I had the power of song I could express that feeling in some degree, for in music the pure and tender fragrance of the dawn can be made coherent. Why then should I become morbid when I am the possessor of such affection? There can be no question of becoming morbid, for I have only to think of how the sunshine of that love has come to me and all morbid thoughts vanish. The heart is filled with wonder when it realises the magical meaning of the inner life.

The beauty of life is opening wide its fragrant petals. These broad open spaces round Bolpur help one to understand the burning fierceness of the sun, and reveal in the storms the power of the wind. The clouds and rain remind one of Indra himself while the moon and stars with their light decorate the darkness with a language that speaks of Aswini-kumar. To live in such a tranquil place deepens day by day the peace of one's heart. It seems as if I were standing apart a little and watching,—a spectator of my own life. And yet, although I know myself, I still have to bear many blows and go through many new experiences before complete self-knowledge is possible. I understand quite clearly exactly where I have failed and where my life reveals beauty. I am tender-hearted, a lover of beauty, and devoted to peace and quiet, and further I have the power of describing beauty, for I am a poet.

I am beginning to understand clearly the self of my childhood when I had some kinship with Nature herself. On a rainy day no-one could keep me indoors. And how I revelled in a stormy day! How my heart thrilled with joy at the sound of thunder and the sight of sudden lightning flashes in the rainy season! Outdoor life was dear to me, and it would vex me to be kept indoors. In the affection of my mother, aunts, brothers and sisters I had a beautiful shelter for my childhood. In their companionship, and in the reading of the Ramayana or the hearing of Jātras

there was a sense of security. My father only was restless. But how kindhearted he was and how deep was his affection! I had many sorrows, but they were outward. To-day even my heart thrills at the remembrance of the beauties of our village life. That lake, that banyan tree! They seem to me like gods. The moment my memory awakens to those scenes such an indescribable joy takes possession of me that my heart is too full for words.

But even in that abode of happiness there lay hidden the seed of ruin. Through overmuch praise pride took birth in my heart unseen even by myself. And when I went to School and College this vanity increased. Over, and above this at the Barisal School a sort of external morality was imposed upon us. Without giving any inward assent we used to acquiesce outwardly in this imposition. Further at that time we acquired bad habits the effect of which I feel even now. But in the meantime I became acquainted with Gurudev's noble poems. Even before that time I had a taste for poetry, for reading verse had been my chief delight from childhood. In Barisal I had the great advantage of studying under such teachers as Aswini Babu, Jagadish Babu, Pandit Mohashoi, Paresih Babu, whose deep affection helped me much.

But the poetry of Gurudev took complete possession of me, and floating on its current I seem to-day to have reached the very shore where the sun rises. The sunshine of his songs has filled my heart with sweetness, and coloured its expanding petals. What sweet rays! Why am I not myself inspired to sing or to write poetry? In "Chitra", which I have been reading, Gurudev describes how, on first seeing Arjun, Chitra's heart filled with such love that she wondered why, at that very moment, her whole body did not thrill into an unsurpassable beauty. So I too ask myself why at the joyous touch of these rays my whole heart does not sing to the rhythm of the infinite. But one day the gift of song will be mine and with it my whole being will sing in harmony.

Just at present my life has to be purged of much that is false, and my mind has to be enlightened by means of much suffering. I must study not only my own country but the whole world and plunge into a deeper and deeper peace. I still have to get rid of a

tendency to indolence and purify my powers of observation.

Shall I never be able to experience the intense pain of creating poetry? I know not, but of one thing at any rate I am sure and that is that the still and beautiful current of prose which flows through the literature of the future is mine. This current, by dint of imagination and appreciation of beauty is wide and varied, though it may not be very deep in intensity. Roaming over the field of my consciousness when will these ardent images find their ultimate expression? I am essentially Indian, for the rich joy of India courses through my veins.

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When I read Astronomy my mind wanders through the vast courtyard of the solar system with its lights and shadows. Across the blue ether I make my pilgrimage towards Uranus and Neptune leaving Jupiter far behind me. Even at midday the sun's rays become gradually cooler till I reach the margin of Neptune itself. By my watch it is just half-past one but the sun shines mildly as in late afternoon, although Neptune's sky is pure and cloudless. I become a *devata* like Kartika (Mars)! My body has become vast and as I sit on the slopes of Neptune dangling my feet in the blue depths of space I can trace the motion of the planets. How wonderful! Perhaps Neptune has not the green mantle of our earth, and possibly it has no solid ground being composed of material of another kind, but there also are the ever familiar sunbeams and blue sky. Unless one becomes a *devata* one can see nothing, and yet to be so vastly alone fills one's mind with unutterable longing. Even in this world I cannot express what I feel when I stand alone at evening in the midst of wide open spaces.

What darkness there would be if, at night, one could follow in the path of the earth's shadow! Through the gloom the distant regions of the stars would be revealed. Perhaps the light of some neighbouring planet would cut through the darkness here and there just as when you plunge under the water on a bright day the rays of the sun are broken up on its surface and form a chequered network of light and shade. How beautiful it would be!

here are still more wonders in store,

for as I advance little by little fancy will whirl me round the void for hours at a time.

Well, after all, why are we so anxious to reveal our souls? Is it for getting a name? Never! It is in order to attain oneself. It is the desire to bring into the harmony of a complete life all the varied images which we are getting through the beauty of existence. Gurudev has said that we have come into this world in order to create ourselves. And really it seems as if this were the original impulse in us, there is no joy until we have consciously realised ourselves.

What is it that is thwarting my creation of beauty? My own indolence and restlessness, and these come from a lack of seriousness which in turn comes from a lack of the feeling of deep love. We need culture, but when we get that, our mind, soul and intellect long for the touch of love. Life has its harmony only if the lovelight of one who can give us peace rests on our soul.

Oh! may such love cleanse my life from all impurity and indolence. It is from lack of "brahmacharya" that we are all so weak!

\* \* \* \*

14th Baisak, (1st May).

Whether the thermometer registers 107°, 105°, or 103° I do not know, but I know it is very hot. I'm not afraid of the heat, nevertheless I have shut myself indoors and am lying on my bed. When I go out into the fierce heat which fills the surrounding plains I feel as Saturn must have felt when the rings of fire were placed round his head. I don't know whether I have made my meaning clear or not, but it seems as if in a less intense light I could not have seen the images of the sky, bright and burning like molten gold, or of the lonely plain with its distant red road gleaming across its widespread fields. Grey, like the bed of a dried-up river, the slightest unevenness can be seen distinctly—so far away and yet every smallest inequality standing upright as though to compel attention and as if saying, "To-day you must see me!"

But when I turn away from the plain and look towards Shantiniketan I see how beautiful the trees are. In the midst of the burning heat how exquisite are those dense heaps of

tender green leaves ! Like the soothing hand of a mother on the fevered brow of a sick child ! I feel that I want to stand with my head amongst their branches. I am not speaking of single solitary trees, for they do not move me so deeply,—I am speaking of those veiled clumps of foliage which cast such shadows in the sunlight. An imaginative person could easily fancy that those trees grew around some special place—the habitation of beautiful youths and maidens. But simple thoughts are better than fanciful ones which worry the brain into saying,

"Scare away this mad ideal,  
Spare me thou the only real."

But really it is as natural for the imagination to claim its right over the mind as it was for Browning's hero to row his beloved through the evening lights of Venice. Yet even at evening one's imagination has to confess defeat in the presence of the beauty of the real. As I watch the trees in the sunlight at first I want to exercise my imagination but after a time I resist that temptation and gazing at the only real earth I feel how beautiful is the tender shade of the trees. As I gaze, the fever of my eyes and of my body is cooled, for trees are very dear to me.

If once you step out of doors into the burning heat it is impossible to think of anything else. But when I shut the door and, lying down, absent-mindedly read some book, the sound of the wind brings many thoughts of other middays readily to mind.

I get such intense joy at these inner recollections which come to my mind as I think to myself. The wide expanses round Bolpur ! How wonderful they are ! Not like your village of Ujirpur. There you have that huge ruined mansion—even now I seem to hear the wind blowing through it. Here, at Bolpur, it comes across a vast plain, panting and seizing in its embrace like a drunkard the tall Sal trees that add beauty to the wideness of the plain, but there it comes in playful gusts through the bamboo clumps and the groves of ashwattha and supāri, and its sound rises amongst the young saplings that grow from the cracks of the ruined houses. In place of the vast dry desert-like plains there is

the grass-grown courtyard with scattered bushes growing amongst the ruins. It is midday, and while all are sleeping I am sitting alone in a room overlooking a tank tangled with weeds. I am probably reading out of some volume of Sanskrit poetry, or rather a Sanskrit book, for in those days I did not much appreciate poetry, although there is no doubt my imagination was stimulated. In those days there was romance for me in the unconscious feeling aroused by the liquid light of the sun resting on the leaves of the trees. Then my old uncle would call me from outside, for he loved me much. How sweet are the ties of blood ! My uncle had a poetic mind, and even at the age of 55 or so the beauty of those solitary middays appealed to him. He would call me out of my room to watch the flight of a flock of birds, for had I not also the "poetic mind" as he called it ? I also was unable wholly to disregard the beauty of Nature—I used to feel in my breast the immensity of the blue sky filled with sunlight, and my lungs seemed to be like heaps of white clouds. "Dream on, dream on, not fancies not weak shapes of Elves and else"—only the pure bright sky, the contented clouds, the sap-laden trees, the silent ruined house, the love of my uncle—and now, in these present days, with that uncle withdrawn from this deeply tragic life, his unfading memory—with all these is a little sadness, and thoughts of sorrow cross my mind. That village home of mine, my father and mother and sisters fallen on poverty, my brother uncouth from lack of culture and yet so handsome, these all come to my mind and with them the remembrance of a certain dark village maiden.

In the meantime just watch how that line of woods on the horizon has become veiled in mist. The face of the sky is sullen and although there is no sign of clouds the sun's rays are obscured by a thick grey covering. The stream of those sun's rays flows through my life even from my distant boyhood, and floating on its current I have reached this beautiful island of the present.

*Translated by*

W. W. PEARSON.

## THE ROBBERY OF THE SOIL

BY L. K. ELMHURST.

*( Director, Agricultural Department, Viswabharati University.*

SOME eighteen months ago, while studying in America, I received a wire from Dr. Tagore asking me to see him in New York. During the few minutes we were together he did me the honour of inviting me to come out to India and to initiate at the new University some kind of Agricultural work. At that time our ideas of the form which such work should take were probably equally hazy. Eight months later, when we discussed our plans in detail at Santiniketan, we discovered that they were almost identical. Since January last we have been very busy trying to put those plans into action. In placing before you the nature of the problems with which we have had to deal and some of our experiences in the course of our attempts to deal with them, I am going to beg beforehand for your criticism and your help. Whether you are students of Arts or Science, these are problems which concern you deeply in your lives, as individuals, and as members of a community. But let me warn you from the start that, like Don Quixote, we are setting out to tilt at those windmill theories and fictions which the popular imagination delights to set up. For this reason, and in order to get a firm basis upon which to form conclusions, I am going to ask you to examine a few of the facts about the basis of our activity, the soil,—the soil of your Motherland.

Some of you may have heard that it was the custom of the great pianist and composer, Chopin, to carry round Europe, wherever he went, a bowl of Polish Earth, the last gift of his friends

before he was driven out of his own country, a wanderer and an exile. It is to such love of your native soil that I wish to appeal in this opening lecture. For, whether you have considered it or not, you are not merely the inheritors, but the actual product of the soil around you. Less attention perhaps has been paid to this fact by historians, scientists and statesmen in the past than it has deserved. The farmer, however, is never able to take his eyes off the soil for long with impunity. When Dr. Tagore handed over to us his farm at the village of Surul in the Birbhum district, as the basis of our operations for the founding of a School of Agriculture and the study of village economics, we were compelled to examine, not merely the condition of the soil around us, but the history, social, economic and political, which lies behind that condition.

The Surul farm stands on what is by rail the nearest rising ground to Calcutta. The ocean of green paddy fields which covers so much of Bengal, finds its limit at our door, and behind us stretches a rapidly increasing area of red laterite desert, which to-day supports neither man nor beast, but which once was covered by thick forest and jungle. The changes which have taken place in our neighbourhood during the last hundred years are not unlike the changes which heralded the downfall of most of the great empires of the world, which nearly wrecked England, and which certainly helped to break Rome. This historical aspect I propose to discuss in a subsequent lecture and will not detain you with it now.

A journey through the district of Birbhum will show even to the casual observer that all is not well. The press is constantly giving you statistics showing the increasing death rate, the all powerful sway of malaria and disease, the grinding poverty and the frequency of famine in this area. The Press is not misinformed as to the facts. Before we talk about them I shall make one generalisation. At the bottom of the trouble lies the treatment of the soil. In a rural country such as India the soil must be the main source of wealth, yet for some reason or other the people in this part of Bengal are not succeeding in extracting sufficient wealth from the soil for their subsistence. You may object that the district is notorious for its poor soil, and that the wealth is not there. But in this, history is against you. The Birbhum area was once the richest district of Bengal, and supported upon the cultivation of the soil a large and flourishing community.

It is not difficult to rebuild the past from the relics that are still to be seen. In the days before there was any Calcutta, when there were no railways and few roads, when imports and exports were small, a large population lived and flourished in this district. The evidence however goes to prove that the whole basis of their life was different from the basis of life to-day. Go to the District headquarters or to one of the more wealthy villages and you may find monuments erected during the last fifty years to this merchant prince or to that administrator. But the monuments of the ancient inhabitants were of a different nature and give us the secret of their life as well as the secret which, I firmly believe, will give a solution to the troubles of the country to-day. In the ruins of their ancient temples, and the remnants of their irrigation systems there is conclusive proof of an elaborate community life. The temples of old maintained by worshippers were the symbols of community life. The well-kept tanks were the symbols of community agriculture, the hall mark of the proper treatment of the soil, but in

no village to-day will you see bunds in repair or a tank in good order. Without exception the beautiful old temples, on which so much devoted workmanship was lavished, are falling into ruin; in the villages I have visited I have failed to find a new temple built or an old one repaired. The community life is gone, the competitive life has come in and has brought death with it.

Do not imagine that the day of the old village community was the Golden Age or that such a community was a kind of Paradise on earth. In its way it was perhaps happier and better than anything that we have worked out in this modern age, but that it was narrow and confined and easily upset there is no doubt. Some people crave to return to this community life in its old form. In these miserable days that may be a very natural craving, but is it possible of satisfaction? Are we willing to sacrifice our roads, our railways, our universities, our cities and our commerce and intellectual communion with the outside world? Even if we are, such a course is hardly practicable. May I offer an alternative?—That instead of going back we should go forward, and using these tools of the modern world,—the modern chaos if you like,—rebuild therewith that old community life of the villages on a surer, a firmer and a sounder basis. If we are not willing to do this, but persist in using modern science, business and law to exploit and destroy our neighbours, the soil will revenge itself upon us, as it has begun to do already.

The facts speak for themselves. Fundamental among nature's laws is that which allows no race of farmers to take more out of the soil than they put in. I am not referring to those delta areas which are each year refreshed with a new soil through the erosion of the high lands. Robbery of such soils may go on, to a large extent, with impunity. But, where scientific farming has to be carried on, men succeed in so far as they repay the soil generously for that which they have taken from it. You remember the old rhyme—

Old Mother Hubbard went to the cupboard  
 To fetch her poor dog a bone,  
 But when she got there, the cupboard  
 was bare,  
 And so the poor dog got none !

The soil is like a cupboard and its condition to-day is reduced to that of old Mother Hubbard.

In the olden days only enough land was cultivated to give the village population the food it needed. Firewood came from the common grazing grounds and forests, and slack times were spent in manufacturing from raw products articles for household use, or for export, only if there was a market near, to which safe export was possible over the bad roads, perhaps infested with robbers. The production of food was a community enterprise and the proper treatment of the soil with irrigation and manure was a community responsibility. But with the insatiable demand of the modern city, with the coming of easy means of communication, all that is gone. He who can steal most from the soil and ship it off in return for money survives, and his less fortunate neighbour perishes.

For the sake of convenience we may divide the foods for which we are dependant upon the soil into those that maintain life and those that give energy or power. It is a rough division but it will serve our purpose. Into those which give energy fall the fats, the starches and sugars or carbohydrates largely manufactured from the air, the water in the soil, and the sun. Into those that maintain life fall all those foods which rebuild the living cells of which our bodies are made. For all living matter is cellular and all living cells contain Nitrogen and are in some manner dependent upon those peculiar substances known as vitamins. Without these there can be no life and the soil is the only available source of Nitrogen. Iron, lime, potassium, sulphur, phosphorus and magnesium, and the other elements which compose the animal and human body must also be drawn by plants from the soil. To continue indefinitely taking

any of these life-forming elements from the soil, without adequately replacing them, is robbery, not merely of the soil itself, but of the future generations which have to live upon it. Thus the damage done, as in the District of Birbhum, and over large parts of India today, is irreparable. It is well to remember that everything you see around you, your friends, your animals, your clothes, your books, your furniture, the food you eat and the fuel you use, all represent a drain upon the soil of your country, or of some one else's.

In the olden days enough pulse and sugarcane was grown in Birbhum to satisfy the needs of the community. No food was exported. Now rice is, with a few exceptions, the only crop. The growing of a *rabi* crop demands community effort in irrigation, except where one man is rich enough to do things for himself. Of this rice little or nothing finds its way back to the fields. Ease of communication enables the middleman to purchase the bulk of it and to ship it off to Calcutta, or to the coal fields, and the waste products which the soil needs pass in the form of dung and urine down the sewer into the river. Even of that portion which remains in the village and is consumed there, the waste is deposited round about the houses, or is thrown into the tanks and, in any case, is, for the most part, lost to the soil. Of the straw some is sold for thatch, some is eaten by bullocks and the waste is either burnt or littered in open pits in the village in such a way that it becomes of little use to the soil even when it is returned. The urine is lost inside the village residential area. The very mode of cooking and eating the rice is one which the Chinaman rightly does not tolerate, the rice water being thrown away or given to the cattle. At death neither man nor cow returns to the soil whence they came. The hides of the cows find their way to the West and the bones to Japan. Both contain valuable soil constituents. Each man digs a pit where he likes, from which he takes the earth to build his house, and leaves it to be filled with rejected, decaying matter,



which properly treated would have gone to enrich the soil.

Of all thieves the cities are the most ruthless. In the race to satisfy their demands the present individualistic type of Society, with its enslavement of the uneducated masses, its lawsuits, its lack of culture and of all finer feelings and ideals, has completely obliterated the old common life in which all, from the Brahman at the top to the labourers at the bottom, were servants of the common welfare. Now-a-days, in the scramble for gold and power, nutritious food, sanitary considerations and civic amenities are sacrificed. The soil is given no chance to do its part, and poverty and disease, famines and fighting in law-courts, complete the dismal picture. When the diet is incomplete and insufficient, the life and energy of the people is sapped, and community effort comes to an end, then malaria, mosquitoes flies and harmful bacteria have free play. The uncleared tanks form death traps and railway embankments are allowed to assist the work of the Anopheles. Rivers that were once easy flowing, navigable streams have silted up. The trees, that once held the soil to the uplands which were not fit for cultivation, found a value in the towns when the railways and roads made transport feasible, and were cut down mercilessly. Thereupon the heavy rains quickly washed the upper soil away, filled up the streams with the underlying sand and only the raw, red, baking desert is left. Worst of all, perhaps, is the continual drain of the best brains and bodies, all products of the soil, from the villages into the cities, leaving only the idlers, the aged, or the enslaved to quarrel, to oppress, or to starve, according to their position.

I have drawn a grim picture. But any of you who are students of history will be able to point to many parallels in the past. The breakdown of rural community life in England and in Rome, with the growth of the big city, was naturally followed by tenant farming and absentee landlordism. Such tenant farming is always disastrous for the soil. The tenant has no permanent

interest in its fertility and only carries on those activities which will give him a living without bringing on a rise in his rent. The city takes all and returns little or nothing of real value to the soil. But worst of all, that spirit of independence, of good fellowship, of common suffering and service, of common recreation, rejoicing and worship disappears, and a far more primitive life, not unrelated to that of the cave man in spite of what are called the amenities of civilisation, takes its place.

I cannot do more than sketch the remedies for the present situation. That there are remedies, and that it is possible to rebuild the old community life on a broader basis, I am firmly convinced. It is not a case of going back, except to draw on the old experience, but rather of going forward. First of all, there is no need to wait for Government initiative. The spirit of freedom, which is the spirit of community life, springs from the demand of the people themselves. Outside agencies can stimulate that demand, they can encourage its growth, they can water the tender plant and fertilise the soil, but they cannot dictate freedom. Secondly the problem is an all round problem. There is no one solution, though, once the right spirit has been quickened, solution of all problems becomes possible.

Let me give you some instances. Once we tried a temperance campaign. When I asked a Santal why he went nightly to the toddy shop for his drink, he answered that, if I could suggest any other way of giving him the feeling that he had had a belly-full for such a small sum, he was ready to adopt it. "How else," he said, "can I forget my hunger and my troubles? After a good drink I feel like a Raja." The charka was tried, together with the growing of cotton, but neither the soil nor the present methods of cultivation admit of cotton growing. Nor can a man fill his belly on the charka, and the chief trouble in Birbhum is empty bellies. On the other hand, the community spirit is there and only waits

for development. "Show us how to co-operate in our irrigation," say the *chashas*. "Will you help us to improve our dairy cattle?" say the *gwalas*. "We gather the raw hides and send them to Calcutta and have to buy back the finished leather if we want to make anything," say the *muchis*. "We cannot get good medicine or treatment for our sick," or again, "We are willing to supply the labour and the carts if you will help us to put our road in order." "We'll gather Rs. 500 tomorrow for a Co-operative Store if you will provide us with a storeman whom we can trust," said the panchayat in a Muhammadan village. You see it is that element of mutual trust which is being destroyed and which must be revived as the basis of all community endeavour.

How were we to help all these people to help themselves? Some warned us against using Government Agencies. But could we let the villagers go on starving and die? We decided to apply for help wherever willing help was forthcoming. For the weavers we received it from a private agency. For the *muchis* and the *chashas*, the Research Tannery in Calcutta, the Veterinary Department, and the local Agricultural Officer gave us invaluable assistance. In the Hindu villages, where once the community spirit was strongest, there is most opposition to combined effort. Somehow perhaps owing to their comparatively varied diet, more social habits and greater adaptability, the Muhammadan and Santal are seen to be surviving where the Hindu is rapidly dying out. Nevertheless I feel there is still hope for all. "Give me the small children and in ten years I will turn your traditions upside down," said a great educator. Our experience shows that in the matter of sanitation of villages, whilst the older boys scoff and the parents are cynical, the small boys, once their imagination is touched, will carry out a given programme and eventually win their own elders to community activity.

Let me repeat again, there is no

universal panacea, no catchword cure. Agricultural advance alone is not necessarily beneficial. Improvement in method may mean no more than improved exploitation of soil or neighbour for selfish benefit. Elementary education of a kind which the people will welcome and which they can afford, must go hand in hand with community organisation for buying and selling, for manufacturing and irrigation, for cultivation and sanitation. Nor is it merely a matter of forming co-operative societies, though it is quite true that there is a close relation between the spirit in which a successful co-operative society is started and that which must lie behind any genuine community life.

If only the right spirit is there, or if the right spirit can be infused, there need be little difficulty. And for the young man of to-day there is no higher calling than that of a trained village worker. But, we should remember, there is no calling which demands such rigorous training, or so much self-discipline. First of all, the village worker should be able to support himself by his own hands as well as to be of all round service to the people. The day has gone when people imagined that boys fresh from school or college could revolutionise village life without any attempt to study the villager's point of view, to sympathise with his sufferings, to bind up his wounds and to enter into his most intimate life. Progress must be from the bottom up, and such a worker must be willing and able, as Mahatma Gandhi has pointed out, not merely to do the sweeper's job himself, but to show the sweeper how to do it better. And above all it is for him to hold up before the villagers the standard of a pure and selfless life.

Denmark has its co-operative production; Yorkshire has its co-operative consumers' associations; and in America co-operation in the accumulation of wealth is making rapid progress; but it should be for India to lead the way towards co-operation for life, for a fuller and more abundant life, both spiritual and material, because the memory of such a life in the past is not yet dead and

the will to sacrifice material acquisition for the pursuit of high ideals and spiritual gain, is perhaps more alive in the soil of India to-day than anywhere else in the wide world.

#### EDITOR'S NOTE.

This Lecture was delivered under the auspices of the Viswabharati Sammilani, as one of a series of extension lectures of the Viswabharati University, at the Rammohan Library, on the 28th July last, Rabindranath Tagore presiding.

The President, in introducing the lecturer, said that Mr. Elmhirst had first graduated in history at Cambridge, then he went to work on a farm in America in order to acquire a practical training in Agriculture, and was now come to dedicate his talents to the service of his fellow men where they were most needed. He has settled down amongst the *chashas* of Surul as one of themselves, not with the idea of bringing down his life to their level, but of raising them to his. In spite of all the declamation we hear about the dignity of labour, there is no dignity in the dull, grinding routine which reduces the rustic intellect into an object of scorn all the world over. The Art of Agriculture must be rescued from her present plight and raised to the honourable position she had attained in the days of Janaka, the saintly King, who was equally assiduous in his cultivation of the Brahma-vidya on the one hand, and the ploughing of the soil with his own hands, on the other. Pursuing his quest, Mr. Elmhirst came, not to show how to make more money out of crops, but to put Agriculture in its proper place in the scheme of Indian community life.

In summing up at the end of the lecture, the President referred to the cycles which characterise the processes of world life. There is the cycle of the rising of water as cloud and its descent back to the earth as rain; the cycle of the inspiration of oxygen and expiration of carbonic acid gas by the animal, supplemented by the opposite plant action which returns the oxygen to the air. These keep air and water fresh and pure

and fit to sustain life. The Lecturer had impressively pointed out how vitally necessary is the cycle of drawing out and putting back, in the case of the soil, in order that life may continue to find its sustenance therefrom; and not only that but in the case of human life how essential it is that there should be the cycle of accepting benefit from and rendering service to the community. The President observed that, in the case of the animal, whose range is confined within space, its relations of give and take with the soil are automatically regulated. Man, however, ranges over time as well, and has behind him the accumulations of his history. His towns and cities, the growth of time, have interposed artificial barriers between him and the soil, both material and spiritual, on which he lives, so that the cycles which concern his life have been interrupted. It is no use discussing whether towns and cities are good or bad,—they are inevitable. But unless civilised man can find methods and take steps to restore these cycles to their natural completeness, it will mean death.

Mr. Elmhirst, the President went on to say, has experienced how the lack of proper means of satisfying physical hunger drives the Santal to drink. The same is true in every department of the starved life of India. Because the village life has become dismally deficient in healthy recreation and festivity, the unsatisfied cravings of the villager are leading him into every kind of immoral indulgence. In our National life, also, because we are wanting in the determination and discipline requisite for rendering true service to the motherland, we are impelled to drown the pangs of our unsatisfied conscience in the intoxication of political outcry and agitation.

Young men, who left their studies with the avowed intention of devoting themselves to village work, have been to Surul before. But, the President had to say it with shame, their enthusiasm mainly took the form of getting up excited meetings and lecturing others of their duty, and lasted only so long as they could continue to imagine that sor-

mysterious influence would bring about the realisation of their political dreams, while they waited. Mr. Elmhirst, on the other hand, loved his fellow men, not abstract ideas. He was to be found at the village fields, in the villager's cottages, helping them with their work, studying their vital needs, ministering with his own hands to their wounds. He did not hesitate to accept help

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wherever it was available because in these Birbhum villagers he found men at death's door, and it was to help to save them that he was here. He belonged to the world of humanity, not to any particular nationality, and the President exhorted his countrymen to accept him and his work as their very own.

## "PRISON REFORM IN INDIA"

BY AUGUSTUS SOMERVILLE.

**W**HEN I state that I have given this question my earnest consideration for the past five years, studied closely its influence on the criminal mind and its effect, in particular on the juvenile offender, I trust I will be understood when I state candidly, that the present Prison Administration in this country, as far as its reformatory influence lies, is a total failure.

What are our Prisons? They are a makeshift at the best. Colossal buildings of stone and iron which we have erected to shut out temporarily the evidence of our own weakness. But the Prison is an open grave. It returns what we would conceal behind its grim grey walls. Its misery and its isolation only foster the sins we would hide and later return them to stalk in our midst more potent for evil than before. I say again, it is a failure and a sign of our own weakness and cowardice. We strive to cover up our sins of omission by adding to them sins of commission. Having failed to straighten the lives of criminals in childhood,—to bring sweetness and comfort, understanding and light and good-will where it was most needed, we strive to justify our weakness by torturing the spirits we have neglected, by breaking the bodies we have bent.

It is but a puerile and primitive attempt to shift the burden of responsibility from our own shoulders. But the prison is reflex. It mirrors our passions. It portrays our ignorance of human nature, our harshness, our brutality, our hate against our fellowmen,—everything in fact but our love and sympathy, our understanding and forgiveness. We boast to-day a wider understanding, a more sympathetic outlook, but the Prison stands out as a milestone on the path of our civilisation, a sure and certain indication of our social advancement.

And yet the Prison, properly conducted, should be our special means of redemption. It should be an asylum for both spirit and body, where the weak should be strengthened and the criminal reformed. It should be a place of rejuvenation, where a kind of resetting takes place. It should enable the criminal to reconstruct his social outlook and to return to the irresponsible, the stability they have lost. A place in fact where the joy of living and labouring for higher nobler ideals is born anew.

We must destroy the existing prison system in this country. Punishment is destructive. Education reconstructive. If we accept the theory that crime is a consequence, not a cause, we must accept

responsibility for its existence and our efforts towards its elimination should be reconstructive not destructive.

When I refer to the Prison, I refer to its present mechanical structure, its technique. Its forms of labour and punishment. Its oil-mills and presses, its flogging triangle and fetters. All these must go the way of the ancient stocks, the gibbet and rack. As long as these remain, the Prison far from solving the penal problem, will only serve to aggravate it. Let us substitute something more humane. Almost anything will be a reformation. A school, a farm, a factory, all these tend in some way to mitigate the evil,—they are reformatory, reconstructive.

To go a step further. The responsibility for the imposition of corporal punishment should be solely in the hands of the State. In India where this power is in the hands of Superintendents of Jails and where the attitude towards the criminal population is distinctly belligerent, the need for control is acute.

Please do not misunderstand my attitude on this question of punishment. It is not pure sentiment. It is the result of years of careful and discriminate evidence, selected from various reliable sources. Punishment, corporal punishment in particular, is immoral. It is weak and productive of more evil than good. It engenders bitterness in those punished, callousness and self-complacency in those who impose it. To justify punishment we develop false standards of right and wrong. We caricature and distort both our victims and ourselves. We blind ourselves to the fact that the difference between the criminal and ourselves is often relative and accidental, and where real, the direct result of hereditary ill-health, a deformed mind or irregular temper. It is more often the result of a neglected childhood, a poor education and abject poverty, and it is both the duty of the State and the Citizen to rectify the evil not to aggravate it, to educate, to reconstruct, not to punish.

This question is too vast to deal with justly in the limited scope of such

an article. But in order that the question may be better understood, I call attention to three factors which make Prison Administration in India so non-productive of any good results, so far as the reconstruction of the criminal himself is concerned. The first is—

#### GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

In India there are three distinct classes of officials in whose hands practically the whole administration of the Jails lies. The highest official is the Superintendent.

This officer is usually selected from the Indian Medical Service and is generally also the Civil Surgeon of the District. His selection to this post appears to be based entirely on his ability as a medical man to administer to the health and general well-being of the prisoners. The personal factor, temperament and suitability for such a post, are all minor considerations, and so also is that vital question of previous experience and that peculiar ability, so essential in all prison administrations,—to inspire respect and demand instant and whole-hearted co-operation from his subordinates. The recent mutinies and outbreaks in various Jails in this Presidency, have shown that the Superintendent is merely a figurehead, and that practically the whole administration lies in the hands of the Jailor and Warder Establishments. This brings me to the actual question at issue.

Jailors are selected at present on the grounds of education and physical fitness and the selection is usually inspired by the amount of influence that is brought to bear on the officer who selects the candidate. There are no other qualifications required.

With the Warder Establishment the selection is still more grotesque. Any and every man of fairly good physique, be he literate or not, is eligible to become a Warder and the selection is left to Jailors who in turn are influenced by various considerations.

The prison problem looked at from the administrative point of view is a

problem of education, of reformation and health; complex and intricate and one needing expert professionalised education and experience. It involves a deep knowledge of human nature, an insight into the complexities and oddities of the various aspects of social life presented by the motley population of the average Jail, and a keen appreciation of the possibilities of personal growth and of human motives. There must further be a willingness to face question of sanitation, personal habits, hygiene, workmanship and co-operation, in a careful, scientific and deliberate fashion. It is not merely a position requiring firmness and a rigid adherence to discipline and Jail routine, but rather one consisting of a thousand problems, each requiring a special analysis, examination and experiment. A man to be fitted for such a post must be a man who has been previously trained and prepared for the task before him and must possess a broad basis of human insight and sympathy. Where, I ask, does the present method of selecting Jailors and Warders justify such a selection?

The average Warder is expert in nothing,—least of all in education and health, nor does he possess an imagination active enough to embrace any of the thousand opportunities that are continually presenting themselves in the ordinary course of his routine duties, to do good, to elevate, ever so little, the criminal tendencies of his charges.

A college education is not necessary,—scarcely one per cent of the Warder Establishment in the Bengal Presidency is literate,—but previous training is essential, both for Warders and Jailors. A special college should be instituted where candidates, eligible for admission to the Jail Department, should be trained in the principles of prison administration, in hygiene and sociology, so that they may be more productive for good and more potent to influence the criminals entrusted to their care. No man should be permitted to hold the post of a Jailor or Warder unless he is a certificated and trained professional, just as no man is

placed in charge of a hospital unless he is a graduate of a recognised medical school.

#### PRISON LABOUR.

Suitable employment has been and is likely to continue an acute problem of prison administration. The principal Jail industries are,—weaving of cloth and gunnies, manufacture of police and excise uniforms, blankets, durries, articles such as are at present sold at the Jail Depot, and a few minor industries such as mustard oil, etc. In comparison with the average Jail population these industries are insufficient and it is no exaggeration to say that about one-third of the total population is idle. Even those who work are actually idling,—there is no incentive to labour. The machinery, with a few exceptions, is old and antiquated, the supervision poor and the product proportionately bad. The work being prison labour is necessarily unpaid for, is done under compulsion and consequently the attitude of the average prisoner is one of fear and brooding, an attitude, it must be admitted, least likely to inspire any thoughts of a reformatory type.

The very character of our present Prison Administration is negative. It takes all. It gives nothing. It takes from the inmate every interest, every ambition, every hope. It severs him from his work, his family, all that he loved and cherished, and gives nothing in return. It encourages indolence, craft and cringing, and returns him to the world less fit for an active useful sphere in life than before. We call a certain type of criminals, "habituals," "confirmed old offenders," and strive by repeated incarcerations to force them into the narrow paths of honesty, blinding ourselves all the while to the fact that it is our present system of punishment that is at fault, that our prisons far from being the houses of reformation we fondly believe them to be, are hot-beds of vice and schools of training to which the first offender comes to be instructed in the ways of vice and receive his passport

to that underworld of crime that exists in every large city.

If we are ever to escape from this unfortunate condition of things, we must reorganise our prison industries, provide work that may become the basis of a like industry outside and pay men for this labour while in jail, so as to enable them to support their families and take an active interest in their social and domestic life. There seems no justification in depriving a man of his earning capabilities, just because it has been found necessary to deprive him of his liberty for a short while. It serves no purpose but to kill ambition, to engender laziness and destroy skill and workmanship.

Work in prisons should be made to have an educational value. Indian jails are remarkably fortunate in this respect. There are means of learning weaving, clothing, printing, and various other industries and it is to the credit of our penal department that such forms of labour have been introduced. But for the majority of prisoners such skilled trades are barred. It is for these that new forms of labour should be devised. Work in a prison should be so organised as to provide a professional interest and knowledge of the work done.

Take any trade, for example the manufacture of Mustard Oil. Professionalise the work. Give it an intellectual and scientific setting. Organise a course of instructions in the various methods of mustard oil manufacture. Explain first the machinery. The method of production. Next select the various grades of mustard seeds, their cultivation, outturn of mustard oil per maund of seed, the quality of the oil. Its various properties—medicinal or otherwise. Method of calculating cost from outturn. The marketing of the oil. Profit and loss, etc. In this way convicts will be instructed in the manufacture and sale of a household commodity and will, on release, be in a position to start a small oil industry of their own. The same may be said of various other trades which at present come under the cate-

gory of "Hard Labour" and as such are understood by the convicts to indicate a system of torture invented by the State to expiate some petty crime, committed, perhaps, in ignorance and more often under the influence of a stronger and more capable mind; and the resentment, the bitterness and the determination to "get even" is proportional to the kind of labour imposed. Such an unhappy state of affairs can easily be avoided by the exercise of little imagination, a little good will and a little sympathy. This brings me to the next consideration.

#### AFTER-CARE ASSOCIATIONS.

Next, most important to reforming the criminal is the well nigh impossible task of providing him with suitable employment and the means whereby to maintain himself on his release from prison.

In this country it is customary to blame the Government for everything we consider wanting, with a fine disregard to that all important question of the part played by the individual in the affairs of State.

We denounce openly and in no measured terms the various Reforms introduced by the Government, and then quite complacently refuse to see the great lack of reform in ourselves. It will avail us nothing to shout from the house-tops that the Prison Administration in this country is a farce, when we will do nothing to assist the criminal once he leaves jail. If it is the work of the State to provide prisons and keep offenders there, surely it is the duty of every self-respecting citizen, who has at heart the interests and well-being of his fellowmen, to use every means in his power to prevent them from going there. As I said before, the majority of prisoners who are today incarcerated in our various jails, have got there through the sheer indifference, the lethargy and callousness of the average man towards his fellowmen. I am perfectly well aware that it is not possible for every man to be a philanthropist, but I am equally certain that it is well within his sphere to assist in some small way the Associations already existing

for this purpose, to lend his active support to the many existing projects for a wider and more comprehensive scheme for the education of the depressed classes, and last, but not least, to see that his own children are educated properly, that they are taught to reverence authority and imbued with those high ideals that make men worthy Citizens and an honour to the class they represent.

We have two Associations in Calcutta whose chief duty it is to provide for the released criminal, and Government, recognizing the general excellence of this principle, have a special Fund from the revenues of which prisoners are assisted on release. I refer to the Claude Martin Fund. But it must be admitted that these associations scarcely meet one-tenth of the tremendous demand for assistance, and unless those interested in the question of the reorganisation of the Prison Administration in India can devise better means or at least help the existing Associations, this question will remain in the same hopelessly inadequate condition it is at present.

#### OTHER REFORMS.

I cannot conclude this article without drawing attention to what I consider a most excellent means of enabling a prisoner to regain his former status in life, I refer to the system of Intermediate Sentences.

Parole or Intermediate Sentence is essential to prison reform. It is ridiculous to assume that a fixed sentence consisting of so many years' rigorous imprisonment is the best way of settling the question of crime. Prisoners are of

various classes, grades and conditions and different degrees of punishment are required to meet various classes of crime. The Intermediate Sentence solves the problem. If it is assumed that a prisoner should be released when he is fit to return to society, the present system of a fixed sentence may be modified to a period extending over a smaller number of years, during which time the prisoner's reformation is watched, and when he is considered fit his release is sanctioned on parole, so many years prior to his actual date of release.

Frank Tannenbaum writing on the results of the Intermediate Sentences in American Prisons, says that on an average 75 per cent of the prisoners released on parole have "made good." If this system is such a success in America, why not give it a trial in this country. The results would justify the continuation of the system, and, on humane grounds alone, it seems cruelty to detain any man in prison one single day longer than the interests of the community demand.

I have dealt very briefly with the various aspects of Prison Reform in India, omitting any reference to the political question and the treatment of political prisoners, as I feel that this question does not materially affect the larger question of Prison Administration, but I trust that those who have the social welfare of our native land at heart will find in this article the seeds of a nobler, purer and more humane system of dealing with the criminal class in this country.

## JANE ADDAMS, AN AMERICAN SAINT

BY DR. SUDHINDRA BOSE,

LECTURER, STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA.

**I**T is not as it used to be in the old times—a generation ago. Then charity, for instance, meant giving free bread and soup, and even pecuniary help. Now

that has been set aside for the era of progressive, scientific charity. It does not aim to give alms right out. It is concerned primarily with social redemption and social



elevation through social prevention and social education. This newer conception of charity is the fruit of labors of earnest social thinkers and workers, of whom Miss Jane Addams is the most distinctive pioneer. If Henry James has put philosophy on the American map, Jane Addams has done that much for social service.

Miss Addams was about five years old when Lincoln died. Her father, John H. Addams, was a personal friend of the martyred President. And because her father spelled his name with double "d's", Lincoln's letters to him would always begin: "My dear Double-D'ed Addams." Mr. Addams was a useful and forthright citizen, having been an Illinois State Senator for over a decade and a half. Jane Addams was deeply influenced by Abraham Lincoln, whose healing doctrine of "charity toward all" the world stands more in need of now than ever before. The democratic personality of Lincoln, which despaired of no human soul, has been an unfailing source of inspiration to her. She considered him as the man who cleared the title to American democracy. "Lincoln made plain," writes Miss Addams in her self-revealing *Twenty Years at Hull-House*, "that democratic government associated as it is with all the mistakes and shortcomings of the common people, still remains the most valuable contribution America has made to the moral life of the world."

Jane Addams was born in 1860 at Cedarville, in the state of Illinois. This little village, as the writer knows from a delightful visit, is nestled among wooded hills at the foot of which meanders a small stream. The country about Cedarville is full of beauty spots. It was here in this little corner of the world that Jane had her first introduction to the haunts of poverty.

When scarcely seven years old, Jane happened to be in the poorest quarter of a neighboring town. The ugly little houses, dirty and dull, and crowding one another in the shabbiest back streets, offered her the first sight of real poverty. Before this time she has imagined that everybody lived in houses as large and comfortable as hers.

"Father," asked the puzzled little girl, "why do people live in such horrid little houses so close together?"

The father explained as best as he could; but this did not satisfy the daughter.

"When I grew up," declared Jane with much firmness, "I should, of course, have a large house, but it would not be built among other large houses, but right in the midst of horrid little houses like these."

"The horrid little houses" etched a picture in her mind which was never obliterated. They made her long to aid and befriend the poor who live in the city slums. Gradually, this feeling developed into a passion to help other people. Even when she was a student at Rockford college, surrounded by every comfort and luxury, she was fond of quoting Carlyle to the effect, "This is not to taste sweet things, but to do noble and true things that the poorest son of Adam dimly longs."

After her graduation from college, she went to Europe. She saw for the first time the slums of London at midnight. Here is the gripping picture as she told it in *The Ladies' Home Journal*:

"On Mile End road, from the top of an omnibus, which paused at the end of a dingy street lighted by only occasional flares of gas, we saw two huge masses of ill-clad people clamoring around two hucksters' carts. They were bidding their farthings and ha-pennies for a vegetable held up by the auctioneer, which he at last scornfully flung, with a gibe for its cheapness, to the successful bidder. In the momentary pause only one man detached himself from the groups. He had bidden in a cabbage, and when it struck his hand he instantly sat down on the curb, tore it with his teeth and hastily devoured it, unwashed and uncooked as it was. He and his fellows were types of the 'submerged tenth', as our missionary guide told us, with some little satisfaction in the then new phrase, and he farther added that so many of them could scarcely be seen in one spot save at this Saturday night auction, the desire for cheap food being apparently the one thing which could move them simultaneously. They were huddled into ill-fitting, cast-off clothing, the ragged finery which one sees only in East London. Their pale faces were dominated by that most unlovely of human expressions, the cunning and shrewdness of the bargainhunter who starves if he cannot make a successful trade, and yet the final impression was not of ragged, tawdry clothing nor of pinched and sallow faces, but of myriads of hands, empty, pathetic, nerveless and workworn, showing white in the uncertain light of the street, and clutching forward for food which was already unfit to eat."

After five years of travel in Europe, she returned home. She was dissatisfied with life. She wanted to be a doer rather than a dreamer. She longed for real work in a real

world. And so Miss Addams and another young woman established in 1889 Hull-House in a congested industrial center of Chicago, the second largest city in America. It was called Hull-House after the name of its original owner—Mr. Charles J. Hull, one of Chicago's pioneer citizens. True to her faith that "the things which make men alike are finer and better than the things that keep them apart," Miss Addams put the best of everything in the house, just as she would wish to do in her own home. The tables and chairs and books and pictures are of the finest quality. Nothing is too good for human beings—even though they may be denizens of slums.

When Hull-House first opened its doors, it represented no association. It was the handiwork of two women, backed by many friends. At the end of the first five years, Hull-House was incorporated with a board of trustees. As stated in its charter, the object of Hull-House is as follows :

To provide a center for a higher civic and social life, to institute and maintain educational and philanthropic enterprises, and to investigate and improve conditions in the industrial districts of Chicago.

There are in Hull-House over fifty "residents", mostly college men and women. They pay their own expenses, and live on the plan of a co-operative club. They carry on the activities of the settlement, and become the real friends of the neighborhood. The residents endeavor to share in the life of their "neighbors" by taking an active interest in their individual joys and sorrows. No lines are drawn. All neighbors are friends alike—the sons of the poor immigrants from England are treated just exactly as the daughters of down-trodden Jews from southern Russia.

The scope of this article does not allow a detailed analysis of everything that is being done at the settlement. I shall here refer only to the most important phases of its organized work.

Let us begin with education. There are Adult Classes which meet for three terms a year. In these classes, courses are offered in languages, literature, history, mathematics, drawing and painting. There is also a class in Advanced Literature. The program of the class is similar to that of a literary society. Members prepare half a dozen essays on some work

of literature, and read them each evening before the class. In this connection mention should be made of the Current Topics Class, which discusses issues of earnest interest—economic, political, legal, and philosophical.

Then there is a Printing Class, where boys, under a competent director, assemble news of the various activities of Hull-House, set the type, read the proof, and publish a monthly paper entitled *Hull-House Boys' Record*.



Miss Jane Addams.

Of no less interest is the Cobbling Class. A practical shoe-maker gives lessons in shoe-repairing. The boys learn to mend their own shoes or those of any member of their family. The tuition is free ; but the budding cobblers have to purchase the leather they use.

Hull-House has always made use of dramatics as an effective method of education. The Hull-House players give regular performances in their well-equipped Hull-House Theatre, which has to-day earned an enviable place for itself in the life of Chicago. Among the notable produc-

tions staged at the Hull-House Theatre in recent years are the following: Arnold Bennett's *Milestones*, Galsworthy's *The Eldest Son*, Lennox Robinson's *The Lost Leader*, and Shakespeare's *Midsummer Night's Dream*, and *Twelfth Night*.

The Hull-House Labor Museum, where women are given an opportunity to spin and weave, is an inspiration to lovers of handicrafts, especially to Indian Non-Co-operators. Foreigners who come to machine-made America with no other knowledge except that of weaving and spinning, are enabled here to earn a decent living. As a rule, most of the finished work is sold even before the piece is completed. Five looms, one run by electricity, are in use. The textile shop includes spinning and weaving, both in flax and wool, the products including woolen blankets, drapery, towels in patterns, and rugs. The Museum contains exhibits of flax, cotton, wool, silk, and various textile implements.

Closely identified with the Labor Museum is the department of arts and crafts. Classes are organized in pottery, metal work, enamel and wood-carving.

Hull-House, as stated in its *Year Book*, early realized the importance of affording "protection to the children of the city" and of removing "as far as possible the temptations and dangers that carelessness and greed place about them." Formerly Hull-House dealt directly with juvenile delinquents; at present it works in co-operation with the Juvenile Protective Association whose central office is located in one of the Hull-House buildings. During the last year the Association handled nearly five thousand cases in which the welfare of children was concerned.

It is not possible to detail all the agencies engaged in civic, social, and philanthropic work at Hull-House. A mere list of clubs, concerts, illustrated lectures, game rooms, public health work, day nursery, musical work, gymnasium work, and neighborhood work is likely to be bewildering in their variety to the uninitiated. All the manifold activities, however, are unified around a central purpose, which is the uplift of man.

Hull-House represents an advanced humanitarian movement. It has insisted on social reforms based upon firsthand knowledge. Realizing the need of practical contact with actual conditions, Miss Addams

herself became a Chicago garbage inspector in the early days of Hull-House. One of her neighbors, a foreign-born woman, thought it was not a "Lady's Job." That was not, however, the way Miss Addams regarded the work.

She said, "the spectacle of eight hours' work for eight hours' pay, the even-handed justice to all citizens irrespective of 'pull', the dividing of responsibility between landlord and tenant, and the readiness to enforce obedience to law from both, was, perhaps, one of the most valuable demonstrations which could have been made." She added, "The careful inspection combined with other causes brought about a great improvement in the cleanliness and comfort of the neighborhood, and one happy day, when the death-rate of our ward was read before the Hull-House Woman's Club, and the ward was found to have dropped from third to seventh in the list of city wards, the applause which followed recorded the genuine sense of participation in the result, and a public spirit which had made good."

Hull-House has ever tried to maintain the ideals of wholesome democracy—democracy which means "equality in the means of life, in work, and in heart and mind." Under Miss Addams as the Head Resident, Hull House has consistently striven to improve the social and economic conditions of the working people. In her efforts to secure the passage of the first factory legislation in the State of Illinois, Miss Jane Addams tells of the following incident, which is perhaps characteristic of the ugly morality which social reformers have to face time and again. The representatives of an association of manufacturers called upon Miss Addams and assured her that if she "would drop this nonsense about a sweat shop bill of which she knows nothing," certain business men would agree to donate fifty thousand dollars [about two hundred thousand rupees] to the settlement which would make it the largest philanthropic institution in Chicago. "We have no ambition," gently explained Miss Addams, "to make Hull-House the largest institution in Chicago, but we are much concerned that our neighbors should be protected from untoward conditions of work, and if to accomplish this the destruction of Hull-House is necessary, we would cheerfully sing a Te Deum on its ruins."



A Group of Wrestlers—Hull-House Gymnasium.

Hull-House could not be bought or sold. It has always been conducted in the interest not of dollars, but of high social ideals.

In spite of every subtle opposition, Hull-House has grown to be the most successful and most famous of all settlements in the United States. To-day it is the centre of a great civic welfare; to-day its portals are open to the representatives of thirty-six different nationalities of the neighborhood. "That old age finds itself not abandoned, that youth finds itself appreciated, that sorrowful find comfort, that the discouraged find inspiration, that the weak find strength, that the sick find health, that the misunderstood find toleration, that the immigrant finds his place in the new world,—these are the real achievements of Hull-House."

To hundreds and thousands Hull-House means simply Miss Jane Addams. It is to her, more than to anyone else, that the settlement is indebted for its steady growth and continued success. Miss Addams is considered not only as one of the foremost citizens of Chicago, but of America. Her views on social problems may be gleaned from the following books, which are among

her best-known writings: *Democracy and Social Ethics*, *Newer Ideals of Peace*, *The Spirit of Youth and City Streets*, *Twenty Years at Hull-House*, *A New Conscience and an Ancient Evil*. From these one gathers that she is a convinced believer in the superiority of moral over physical force. She holds that in all races and nations there are immense reserves of moral power which are never fully utilized in times of crisis. Had they not been lost sight of, much hatred and bloodshed could have been avoided. Yet it cannot be said that she is either an avowed socialist or a thorough-going Tolstoyan, although she is hospitable to both those ideas. "Her emphasis is upon the ethical side of the social movement, coupled with an insistence upon the democratic organization of industry, largely on socialist and trade union lines," comments a writer in *The Encyclopædia of Social Reform* in a cold matter of fact way—also with truth.

In the early days when I was preparing to be a social worker in the former Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy, I heard Miss Addams speak at public meetings, and I also met her at Hull-Hous

The sum-total of those impressions is that hers is the life dedicated to the gospel of neighborliness. Hers is the joy of finding the spirit of God which "lieth in each man but which no man can unfold save in fellowship." I never knew what particular creed she subscribed to—never cared to know. I am, however, dimly conscious that she belongs to the consecrated church of human brotherhood—the church which believes in the religion of freedom, tolerance, good will and service, but more of service than all else put together.

Recently I have had the pleasure of coming in contact with Miss Addams again. I found that my earlier impressions have suffered nothing by lapse of years. She is the same as ever. There may be a few slight wrinkles on her face, but there is none whatever in her heart. Ex-president Wilson has often been described as a thinking machine, so cold that one could skate all around him. Jane Addams, the kind and gracious sister of mercy, is not like Woodrow Wilson, the astute practising politician. She radiates light and warmth and good cheer. I never look upon Miss Addams without thinking of Sister Nivedita (Margaret Noble) whom I met a number of times at her home in Calcutta. Jane Addams, upon whom the English labour leader John Burns once conferred the title of "the only saint America has produced" has something of the same spirit of Sister Nivedita, the spiritual mother of young

India—both gifted to an eminent degree with a keen penetrative understanding and a God-intoxicated love of humanity.

Naturally Miss Addams has great admiration for Mahatma Gandhi, who has since his incarceration been pronounced by Dr. John Haynes Holmes of New York Community Church as "the creative spiritual genius of the first order," "incomparably the greatest man now living in the world." It is a rude shock to Miss Addams that the gospel of Gandhi, which is at its best the gospel of Buddha, of Lautze, of Seneca and of Christ should come in for rancorous denunciation at the hands of English bureaucrats and English missionaries. "Mr Gandhi is a very great man," said the leader of Hull-House, with a real social vision. "He has made a deep impression upon the West. Non-cooperation has not yet been given a complete trial. It will succeed where nothing else will. Violence, at any rate, is not the wise solution of the Indian problem."

As I sat by her and listened to her quiet words, I felt that somehow the sunny side of the world was up. Those who are poetically inclined may describe her as one possessing soul-alchemy. A prosaic, but just as good, way to state it is that she is endowed with an all-pervading sympathy, and a personality generous as the air. Well could she say with the noble American poet Walt Whitman:

"When I give, I give myself."

## SHELLEY

DROWNED OFF VIA REGGIO, JULY 8th, 1822 )

**A**LL art is at once the reaction and criticism of experience, the character and tone of which must depend upon the artist's particular psychological build and the phase in spiritual evolution which he is momentarily traversing. This dependence upon psychological impulse enables us to classify artists very conveniently, often into types which must be studied and understood in a way peculiar to themselves, for

example Otto Weiningers' distinction "Bei Shakespeare hat die Welt Keinen Mittelpunkt, bei Beethoven hat sie einen," presupposes two definite types of artists, which can perhaps be best described as the perceptualist and conceptualist types. When we listen to a Sonata of Beethoven, we are ever aware of a personality, the music is born of a conflict between the incompatibilities inherent in the artist, and those of his

environment, we become acquainted with an individual "Weltanschauung", we listen to Beethoven wrestling with his destiny. Now the opposite type of artist, the perceptualist, Shakespeare-Mozart type, has no "Weltanschauung"; it eschews theories about life, it evolves no metaphysical system to explain away the unrest in the artist's soul, for it, art and religion are one, "Weltanschauung" poetry or music, as the case may be. In terms of personality, with the one, we see the page of life with Beethoven's individual existence writ within the page, with Shakespeare, the personality is so integral, so expansive, that it o'erstretches the margin of the page, completely suffusing it, until we fail to distinguish Shakespeare from life, or life from Shakespeare; we see life through the bright vision of his eyes, whereas we watch Beethoven himself gazing upon existence, blinded, distraught, tormented. Now it stands to reason that the Shakespeare type of artist is the rarer, the more universal, whose art is, in fact, the nearest approach to folk art, by which is meant lyric utterance, intensely personal, but merged into the impersonal by the spontaneous modifications of generations of people; this is the true richness, the personality so intense that its products are impersonal.

Shakespeare is essentially a pagan poet. He lives in this world, loves this world, and makes this world the very centre of his art. He explores in all its depths and width, the vast and intricate realm of human nature, but his man is the man of flesh and bones who dwells on our earth, the complete being, body and soul inseparably united; his characters are kings, fools, adventurers, rogues, lovers, maids and wives pleasant and unpleasant, people who move in the world in the manner in which we expect them to move, according to their respective natures. He is aware of an existence outside that of the average human ken, intensely and humanly aware, but there is no rough division between the natural and the unnatural, spirits are mere prolongations of earthly characters. There is no need to make intellectual speculation about the infinite: the method is perception, not conception. And the tone in Shakespeare is that of the refined slightly melancholic resignation of the later pagan, whose keen pleasure in life is tempered, yet made more poignant by the sense of fleeting time.

There is in Shakespeare's elegant detachment a shade of renunciation which suggests that his soul has sought peace in the sacrifice of the desire for Eternity. The Shakespeare-artist dwells in time; the other type, the Goethe-Beethoven-Calderon-Shelley type, in Eternity. The one accepts life, contented neither to praise nor mispraise, but to receive in wonder; the other is engaged in violent combat over the values of life and with its own unrest.

If Shakespeare is the type of the mature genius who has surpassed all theories and intellectual concepts, and arrived at a purely



Percy Bysshe Shelley.

poetic view of existence, then Shelley is the supreme example of the conceptualist, for whom ideals shine brightly in a blackness of unreality. Shelley is the type of all lyric poets. His is the poetry of adolescence, adolescence with all its apostolic fire and dreams of a new heaven and a new earth, a spirit of intense and eager swiftness to purge the world of its untruths and suffering wrongs — the predominant image in Shelley's

poetry is that of fleet movement, soaring wings, lightfoot winds, flying clouds, the agile quickness of things that move fastly. Shelley set out a young Messiah, come to save the world. He had a truth to serve, a theory to illustrate, a creed to preach. To teach his message with action, was the bent of his early years, "we want the poetry of life" he says. But the intense disturbance in his own person, the failure to reconcile his teachings with the practice of a cruel world, and the bitter disposition of chance and his friends towards him, drove him in unacknowledged humiliation to solitude, exile and the poetry of the written word. It was this frustration of his early ambition, and particularly the gall of the Harriet episode which was the true mainspring of his major work. Retired from the battle, unable to find serenity in resignation like Shakespeare, or peace in faith like Calderon, Shelley spent his short years hovering over the future city of his dreams when hope sustained the wings of imagination or, when hope failed him, wailing over his own misery and the world's wrong.

"The great secret of morals is love or the going out of our own nature and an identification of ourselves with the beautiful which exists in thought, action, or person not our own. A man to be greatly good must imagine intensely and comprehensively; he must put himself in the place of another and of many others; the pains and pleasures of his species must become his own. The great instrument of moral good is the imagination, and poetry administers to the effect by acting on the cause. Poetry enlarges the circumference of the imagination by replenishing it with thoughts of ever new delight, which have the power of attracting and assimilating to their own nature all other thoughts and which form new intervals and interstices whose void forever craves fresh food. Poetry strengthens the faculty which is the organ of the moral nature of man in the same manner as exercise strengthens a limb. . . . Poetry is indeed something divine. It is at once the centre and circumference of knowledge; it is that which comprehends all science and that to which all science must be referred. . . . Poets are the hierophants of an unapprehended inspiration, the mirrors of gigantic shadows which futurity casts upon the present; the words which express what they understand not; the trumpets which sing to battle and feel not what they inspire, the influence which is moved not, but moves, Poets are the unacknowledged legislators of the world."

Here is the great pretext which the conscious Shelley found for writing his poetry, a mighty apologia for a failure so profound and disturbing that he dared not realize it. And within the poetry itself runs another conflict, the division between a

determined theory tending to soar away from earth and to keep immaculate in a dazzling whiteness of intellectual life, and the lyric music through which he unburdened the agonies of a

" . . . . . full heart

In profuse strains of unpremeditated art."

It suggests a cleavage again between the conscious and the unconscious Shelley between philosopher and poet. Metaphysics were his obsession. The basis of his political philosophy is explained by Mary Shelley in her note to "Prometheus Unbound".

"The prominent feature of Shelley's theory of the destiny of the human species was that evil was not inherent in the system of creation, but an accident that might be expelled. . . . Shelley believed that mankind had only to will that there should be no evil, and there would be none. . . . That man could be so perfectionised as to be able to expel evil from his own nature and from the greater part of the creation was the cardinal point of his system."

This theory rests implicitly on the assumption that the intellect is the pre-eminent instrument of good in human development. Here again Shelley comes in conflict with his soul, his sleepless intellect weaving theories which bound his heart down by threads of their own making; it was precisely this conflict between life and his doctrines which made him recoil from the world of action. Shelley was in search of truth, not of those fugitive glimmers of truth which shine here and there in human nature, and delight the eye of the pagan observer, but of the whole truth, a comprehensive and final scheme of the world; this and nothing less could satisfy his architectural mind. Hence the torment, the sense of unreality, of distorted values, which infiltrate his poetry, for no single human consciousness can contain the world. Such a violent self-assertion is as damaging to the spirit as the utter self-abandonment which Lord Byron manifested.

Shelley was a tormented spirit, "an ineffectual angel" but not in Matthew Arnold's sense, an organism of incomparable sensitiveness within whom an emotional nature capable of great love for others warred with a ratiocinating intellect hot with ambition. Shelley never suffered peace of mind; like the adolescent age of which he is the type, his whole being was a hell of ferment and uncertainty wherein a great and powerful altruism strove for expression. Hating didactic poetry, he was the most didactic of all

poets. If Wordsworth and Shakespeare represent the two poles of English poetry—the ethical and the aesthetical, - he partook the greatest possible measure of both, and the two fought for mastery in his soul. Shelley was hated by his countrymen; although he had very little feeling for the earth of England, yet he was in a way the apotheosis of the 19th century Englishmen. He was a quintessentially English product, and because he combined so many English qualities in such a highly concentrated degree, he was an outcast to his compatriots.

What solution was there then for this Peer Gynt, entangled in the mesh of his illusions, this Faust, striving at once with himself, with God, with Mephisto? Only one, the Promethean life, the spirit of the creature, which defies the creator which fashioned it in frustration, the bird clipped of its wings

yet soaring aloft in song of unfeigned ecstasy—born of torture. Shelley's spiritual journey ended where Goethe's ended with a praise of the Promethean spirit.

Ja! diesem Sinne bin ich ganz ergeben  
Das ist der Weisheit letzter Schluss  
Nur der verdient sich Freiheit wie das Leben  
Der täglich sie erobern muss.

Even so did Shelley speak at the end of his great panegyric of the Promethean "way".

To suffer woe which Hope thinks infinite;  
To forgive wrongs darker than death or night;  
To defy Power which seems omnipotent;  
To love and bear; to hope till Hope creates  
From its own wreck the thing it contemplates;  
Neither to change nor falter nor repent  
This, like thy glory, Titan, is to be  
Good, great, and joyous, beautiful and free;  
This is alone, Life, Joy, Empire and Victory.

ROLF GARDINER.

## THE INDIAN STATES AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

BY SARDAR DR. M. V. KIRI, M. A., D. L.

**W**OODROW Wilson laid the foundation of the League of Nations in order to shut up the possibility of war all the world over. Its membership thus must include all the states in the world. Although the desire of some states to lay down the only condition for admission to it, viz., the qualification of being a fully self-governing, or sovereign, state, was not explicitly accepted by the first assembly of the League, yet it is one of the chief conditions. The first assembly, however, appointed a commission to examine the question.

2. That a very liberal interpretation has been placed upon the term "Fully self-governing", will be readily admitted by a reference to the history and conditions of states taken in as members by the first assembly of the League which held its sittings at Geneva in Switzerland. Among these are the small states of Luxembourg, Austria and even Bulgaria, which last is bound by the treaty made after the Great War, to observe certain financial

and Military restrictions. Austria moreover is bound not to have treaty relations with certain foreign states. Even the tiny state of Liechtenstein had applied for admission to the League, and it is significant, however, that it was rejected on the main ground that it had incomplete self-government.

3. It was, however, invited to the Conference of States, which met at Genoa in Italy in April. The Chief of the State is Prince John, the only German Sovereign left of all the Emperors, Grand Dukes, and the Princes that the war dethroned. His state is a nation of 11,000 souls who spread themselves out over 60 square miles. It lies between Switzerland and Austria. It has a diet and a republican party, but as Prince John owns the land as well as the Crown,—there are no taxes and no revenues. When it proves that it has full self-government, even like that of the Colonies of England, it is bound to become a member of the League.

4. No less than fourteen states had



applied for admission to the first assembly. A special committee was appointed to examine their eligibility. The terms of reference to it were as follows :—

The Sub-Committee shall, in respect of each applicant, investigate the following points :—

(a). Is its application for admission to the League in order ?

(b). Is the Government applying for admission recognised *de jure* or *de facto* and by which States ?

(c). Is the applicant a Nation with a stable Government and settled frontiers ? What are its size and population ?

(d). Is it fully self-governing ?

(e). What has been its conduct, including both acts and assurances, with regard to (1) its international obligation, (2) the principles of the League as to Armaments ?

5. The most effective weapon which the League has forged to prevent war is the establishment of the Court of Arbitration, called the Permanent Court of International Justice. According to Article XII of the Covenant of the League of Nations—

"The members of the League agree that if there should arise between them any dispute likely to lead to a rupture, they will submit the matter either to arbitration or to inquiry by the Council and they agree in no case to resort to War until three months after the award by the Arbitrators or the report by the Council."

Article XIII lays down :—

"Disputes as to the interpretation of a treaty, as to any question of international law, as to the existence of any fact, which if established would constitute a breach of any international obligations, are declared to be among those which are generally suitable for submission to arbitration."

6. In order that reference to arbitration or to the Permanent Court of International Justice may not be left to chance, article XI *inter alia* declares :

"It is the friendly right of each member of the League to bring to the attention of the Assembly or the Council any circumstance whatever affecting international relations which threaten to disturb international peace or the good understanding between Nations upon which peace depends."

7. It is obvious that the admission of any State to a membership of the League, while conferring some rights on it and demanding some obligations from it, also binds the League as a whole for doing certain things. At the first Assembly these matters naturally received the closest atten-

tion. The chief right conferred is the protection afforded by the arbitration clauses. Correspondingly the main duty imposed is to give "effective guarantees of its sincere intention to perform its international obligations." Now as regards the obligation on the League it is explicitly agreed—

"Article X does not guarantee the territorial integrity of any member of the League. All it does is to condemn external aggression on the territorial integrity and political independence of any member of the League and calls upon the Council to consider what can be done to resist such aggression."

While this interpretation of Article X was under discussion, two quite definite principles emerged from it. In the words of a member of the Committee of the League of Nations' Union in England,

"These were firstly, that Article X does not commit the members of the League to recognition in perpetuity of existing territorial divisions, but only to resistance of any attempts to interfere with these by external aggression. In other words, Article X declares that war must not be resorted to in order to change the map but lays no embargo on any such changes being brought about by arrangements of a peaceful character."

The same writer also notes :

"The other principle, which was laid down with equal clearness, was that article X does commit the members of the League to active interference in the case of aggression."

8. Since it has been recognised that the interpretation of treaties is one of the fit subjects to be referred to arbitration or the Court of International Justice, the League has provided for the registration of treaties between states. Some 69 treaties were thus registered up to the conclusion of the first Assembly. The Permanent Court of International Justice, the protocol for it having been signed by the requisite members of States, has been established. It is open to all Nations that care to join it, whether they are members of the League or not.

9. Such then are the main provisions of the Covenant of the League of Nations, which the Indian States can do worse than pay attention to. Controversies have raged round the question whether these states have an international recognition or not. It is obvious that being a member of the League of Nations, England, which is undoubtedly paramount in India, is bound by the terms of its covenant and, therefore, the question of the status of the Indian States, if disputed by

it, could be referred to the Institutions established by the League for the purpose.

10. Looking to the history of the establishment of the British paramountcy in India, it is clearly seen that the first step it took was to isolate every indigeneous state it came into contact with by entering into a treaty, or engagement with or conferring a Sanad—an engagement in the nature of a favour on it, and under these sorts of agreements it left to the states various attributes of sovereignty. But in all cases the relations between the two have been clearly defined and leave no ambiguity.

11. No greater mistake could be made than to suppose that all the Indian States are feudatories of the British Government. There is a class of states known as such with corresponding rights and duties, but its existence is due to distinct causes. At the other extreme, there is a class of States, which have no inferior status to that of allies. Between these two lie States, which have agreed to different terms with the British Government.

12. The reasons for these differences are many, but they are mainly due to the circumstances existing at the time the treaties were made. The Maratha Empire which held sway in India before the British supremacy, had subjugated most of the states in India. This is the main cause for distinction between the treaties which are divisible into two main groups. In the treaties with Nizam, who had an unbroken alliance with the British Government, Scindia and Holkar, their absolute internal autonomy is recognised and no indefinite obligation of any sort—Military aid for instance—is laid. In the case some others who perhaps owed a similar obligation to the Marathas, an obligation for rendering Military aid, is laid and an assurance has been given to them that "British jurisdiction shall not be introduced" into their territories.

13. As a matter of fact the bulk of the states enjoy more self-government than the British Colonies. Like the latter they cannot enter into relations with foreign states, but unlike the British Colonies, the states exercise full civil and criminal jurisdiction. Appeals from the highest Courts in the Colonies are heard by the Privy Council in London, but no appeal lies to it or any other British Court from the Indian States. Except the right of making peace or war, which they have agreed not to exercise independently

of the British, they have unimpaired the right to administer Civil or Criminal justice, the right to legislate and all other rights which form the attributes of sovereignty.

14. There have been breaches in the rights guaranteed by treaties to the states on the part of the British Government due either to the helpless condition of the former or a misunderstanding on the part of the latter. But it would be going against justice, conscience and equity to assume that these lapses could over-ride solemn engagements. Indeed, the British Government have in a special protocol at the Conference of London which was held to abrogate the provisions in the treaty made with Russia after the Crimean War regarding the use of Black Sea Ports have laid down the principle that it was

"An established principle of the Law of Nations that no power can liberate itself from the engagement of a treaty, nor modify the stipulations thereof, unless with the consent of the contracting party by means of an amicable engagement."

15. Sir William Lee Warner in his article "The Native States of India" (published at pp. 83-89 of Volume XXIII of the New Quarterly Review, London) observes,

"The treaties (with the Indian States) themselves have been formally accepted by a Parliament as binding upon the Crown and Nation of the United Kingdom since the transfer of the administration took place in 1858. The highest Courts of Justice have treated them with the respect due to international obligations for more than a century from January 1793 to 1897. In the former year Lord Commissioner Eyre held that the treaty with the Nawab of Arcot was a treaty between two Sovereigns and consequently not a subject of private Municipal Jurisdiction. In the latter year, the Lord Chancellor rejected a claim put forward by the Government of India of the right to arrest a fugitive criminal on a Railway passing through the territory of the Nizam of Hyderabad. He relied upon a principle of International Law, that 'The Authority to execute any criminal process must be derived in some way or other from the Sovereign of that territory'.

16. "But the distinguished position of the Indian States has been clearly recognised by the British Government in making commercial treaties with other Nations. The fact is not perhaps so widely known, much less appreciated, as it ought to be."

To quote the authority once more,

"A further instance illustrative of the breach of constitutional gauge between British India and Native States is supplied by our treaties with foreign powers and it is more noteworthy because, as already shown, the States have lost one great attribute of Sovereign Power, namely control over external affairs."

Sir William continues,

"In our Commercial Treaties, it is usual to give and receive full liberty of conscience and free authority for the purchase of property to the subjects of negotiating powers. These rights can be, and are, readily insured in British India, but in the Native States there are limitations and reservations in matters of worship and trade. Accordingly, in the negotiation of such commercial treaties the British Government recognises the necessity for differential treatment, and guarantees in the Protected States no larger measure of freedom of contract for the foreigner than that which it is able to secure for its own British Subjects."

17. As late as December 1911 when His Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda was made party to a suit for dissolution of marriage in London he was declared to be exempt from the jurisdiction of British Courts in his capacity as a Sovereign. In another case, a Coochbehar Prince was declared to be outside the jurisdiction of the British Civil Courts. As Sir William observes :

"The question is not one of mere academic interest, because the answer to it must make all the difference in the attitude of the public mind towards the Ruling Chiefs, and in their confidence in our intentions."

18. Although in 1877 was held at Delhi the First Imperial Assemblage to announce the assumption of the title of Empress of India by the Queen of England, yet at it and at subsequent such assemblages it was announced by Royal Proclamations that the treaties with the Indian States would be kept intact and that no change was meant in the status of their Rulers. These solemn assurances conveyed by formal Royal Proclamations have continued unimpaired the binding character of the treaties or other engagements.

19. Obviously in oblivion of these facts it was that on 21st August 1891, the Governor-General of India announced,

"The principles of International Law have no bearing upon the relations between the Government of India as representing the Queen Empress on the one hand and the Native States on the other."

Says Sir William Lee Warner in his Article already referred to,

"But happily, the Government of India have never acted on the qualified denial of justice according to International Law, and did not so act in the case before them. No principle of International Law was even slighted in the Manipur Case."

20. A formidable breach in the treaty rights is caused in practice by the exercise of residuary jurisdiction in the territories of Indian States by the British Authorities. It seems to derive its authority or rather confir-

mation of the previous practice by an order in Council of the British Sovereign. The latter may protect the Officers acting under its provision, but its propriety, if not its legality, can be questioned. In any case, having regard to the fact that Extra-territorial rights were exercised by the European Powers in the territories of otherwise sovereign States, such as Turkey, before the war, or China, the character of the Indian States as fully self-governing or sovereign States continues inviolate.

21. To sum up in the words of Sir William Lee Warner who besides being a recognised author on the subject of Indian States, held the port-folio of the Foreign and Political Secretary to the Government of India :

"It is evident that Parliament, Judges and our diplomatists recognise the sovereign powers of the protected Princes of India and their peculiar position outside the constitutional system of British India. These Officials in their working attire regard the protected princes from the point of view of International Law."

22. The British Government itself, when it selected a representative Indian Prince as one of its delegates to the meetings of the League or its Assembly seems to have been conscious of the rights of the Indian States to a participation in the constitution of the League. But this sop to the feelings of the Indian States cannot be a substitute for the exercise of their right by them.

23. According to the practice of the League, at any rate, being a fully self-governing State is a main qualification for the admission of a State to its Membership. The interpretation to be put upon the phrase "Fully self-governing State" is simplified by the status of its members, such as Austria, Bulgaria, which have restrictions placed upon their armaments and foreign relations, and the colonies of the British Empire, which are subordinate to the Empire not only in respect of foreign relations but as regards its civil and perhaps criminal justice, and India which is dependent on Britain, with respect to its finances, as well.

24. Some of the Indian States, at least, exercise self-government in a larger measure than some members of the League and the former have larger areas, revenues and population than the latter. Consequently both on the score of being in possession of greater self-governing powers, reserved to them by

treaties with the British Government, which is an original member of the League, and larger areas and population than many of the 69 states, the treaties of which have been registered with the League, they have every ground for asking to be made members of the League. An action like this on the part of those at least who are mindful of their

status and can bear the financial burden consequent upon their position, will not fail to strengthen the British Empire, in the integrity of which lies their salvation. The registration of the treaties with the League and the reference to arbitration on the permanent Court of International Justice of matter arising therefrom follow as a matter of course.

### INDIAN RAILWAYS\*

**A**T a time when the question of ownership and management of railways engages public attention in all the principal countries in the world, and the problem of the future management of railways awaits solution in India, the publication of Rai Sahab Chandrika Prasad Tiwari's work on Indian Railways is a most opportune one. Mr. Chandrika Prasad Tiwari is no novice in the matter with which he deals. His various utterances on the subject, as also his work on Agricultural Co-operation in Denmark, written and published a few years ago, after a careful examination, at first hand, of the conditions existing in some of the European countries where agriculture was a flourishing industry, and a comparison of those conditions with the circumstances prevailing in India, had already given indications of his powers of close observation, his accurate knowledge of facts, and, above all, his earnestness of purpose. The railway system of a country exercises a potent influence, among other things, on the economic advancement of the people concerned, and in India the railways constitute one of the largest revenue-producing departments of the State. When, however, one considers the great importance of railways in the future development of the country, one regrets to acknowledge that the public interest in the matter is as inadequate as the general knowledge of the subject is meagre. The author of "Indian Railways" is one of those few Indians who have studied various questions relating to the policy and administration of railways with some care, and the experience that he gained in the working of railways has stood him in good stead. His object, Mr. Chandrika Prasad says in his Preface to his work, is to acquaint the Indian

public with questions relating to railway administration and economics, and further to bring about a healthy reform in the administration of Indian railways, and he is fully justified in claiming that his work is the first of its kind, giving expression as it does, to the Indian view of the matter.

One of the most interesting chapters in the work under review is that in which Mr. Chandrika Prasad refers to the economic effects of the Indian railway policy on India and her people. He agrees that properly utilised railways are of very great economic value to a country. He does not deny that railways facilitate and cheapen transport, and by stimulating trade and commerce help to multiply industries and increase production and, thereby, cheapen prices. Railways, however, as he adds, have a double blade acting both ways.

"If the people are intelligent enough, they can turn both blades to their own benefit, otherwise foreigners may reap benefits at their expense, as has actually been the case so far in India. Great care is, therefore, necessary to guard against this double blade being turned against the people's interests."

In western countries the introduction of railways has generally been followed by a general development of industries, but in India what has actually happened is the reverse of this. This result Mr. Chandrika Prasad ascribes to the inability of the people to take advantage of the facilities opened out by railways owing to their lack of technical training and of their ignorance of modern methods of industry and commerce. There is considerable force in his argument that were it not for the foreign competition that the introduction of railways facilitated, India would have continued her manufactures by adapting herself to modern conditions and circumstances. The old manufacturers, as he says, had no chance of saving themselves; they were, as if, suddenly attacked in sleep and could not even rise to see how to protect themselves. Because India did not

\* The Indian Railways: Their Historical, Economical and Administrative Aspects: By Rai Sahab Chandrika Prasad Tiwari, Retired Assistant Traffic Superintendent, B. B. & C. I. Railway, Ajmer, 1921. Price Rs. 10 net.

learn the modern arts of cheap manufacture, she lost her wealth and became poor. If India were efficient in these arts, the railways would have very largely helped her in developing her resources to her own benefit. Mr. Chandrika Prasad believes that Indian railways can even now be made to achieve this object, if they are worked properly.

The object of our railway policy, as the author of "Indian Railways" says, should be primarily to develop the industries, agricultural trade and general welfare of the country. If this is to be accomplished it is of essential importance that the causes that have so far stood in the way of the realisation of this object should be completely removed. Mr. Chandrika Prasad seems to think that the Indianisation of the main departments of Railways and the appointment of a strong committee with a majority of Indians, entrusted with the duty of overhauling the whole system of railway working, so as to effect retrenchment of unnecessary expenditure and to organise the machinery on a sound basis, would facilitate the introduction of the reforms needed in the administration of our railways.

It has long been a standing complaint that Englishmen have made a sort of monopoly of the higher railway posts to the exclusion of Indians. Mr. Chandrika Prasad writes in this connection :

"The foreign agency now employed is too expensive for the people to pay and gain any material advantage from the railways. Such agency should accommodate itself according to the economic circumstances of the country. It is true to some extent we need experts from foreign countries. We should pay them liberally in order to have full advantage of their skill and experience, but we do not need so many of the officials who pass under the class of experts from overseas countries and are maintaining a prohibitive standard of pay and allowances, which is difficult for the country to pay. The officials are for the country and not the country for the officials."

It was in the seventies of the last century that the Secretary of State for India impressed on the Government of India the need of employing Indians in posts of importance on Indian railways to a larger extent than they had so far done. The Government of India had, however, neither the inclination nor the courage to go against the wishes of the powerful clique whose interest it was to keep the appointments as a close preserve for British youths. The Royal Commission on Public Services, whose report was published in 1916, and the Indian Industrial Commission, who reported later, made important recommendations urging the recruitment of educated Indians more and more to those services. But these recommendations still remain almost unheeded. And, even the Acworth Committee (1920-21), which was appointed by the Secretary of State for India to enquire into the administration and working

of Indian railways, were unanimous in complaining that Indians had not been advanced to higher posts. They expressed their regret that even in the subordinate posts of the official staff there were not more of them, and recommended that the process of employment of Indians in the higher posts should be accelerated.

"We think," they said, "the Government of India might consider the propriety of establishing a minimum percentage of Indians to be reached within a fixed period. The minimum would have to be higher, or else the period shorter in the traffic than in the engineering or locomotive departments."

Very closely connected with the question of Indianisation of the higher railway services is the question of provision of technical education necessary for the men to be appointed to the various superior grades in those services. Referring to the training of officers and subordinates for the technical departments of State railways, the Royal Commission on Public Services said :

"A determined and immediate effort should be made to provide better educational opportunities in India, so that it may become increasingly possible to recruit in that country (India) the staff needed to meet all normal requirements."

The Hon. Sir Mahadev B. Chaudal in a separate note stated :

"This recommendation has my full concurrence, and I only wish the recommendations as regards these services be given effect in practice with the same sympathetic spirit in which they have been conceived. The fear entertained as regards these services is that perhaps an indefinite length of time may be taken in 'Indianising' them and that as they become India-recruited, Asiatic-Indians would not be selected for them in due proportion, and they may become like the present recruited-in-India services, in which as pointed out later, the proportion of Asiatic Indians to Europeans and Anglo-Indians is only 2.3, 8.2 and 6.3 per cent. in posts with salaries of Rs. 200 and above, Rs. 500 and above, and Rs. 800 and above, respectively."

Commenting on these observations, Mr. Chandrika Prasad very appropriately remarks :

"The fears are very well-founded, for has not the European and Anglo-Indian combination completely kept Asiatic-Indians, during the last 47 years, out of the appointments of Foremen mechanics, which were ordered by the Secretary of State for India in 1870 to be made entirely in India from among Asiatic-Indians, and Europeans or Anglo-Indians."

While discussing the question in their Report the Indian Industrial Commission made the following significant observations :

"Railway workshops are, as we have stated, in many cases already receiving European and Anglo-Indian apprentices, to whom some degree of technical training is given with the object of enabling them to obtain posts as foremen or in special cases, even higher appointments. There is, however, a noteworthy absence of provision for the middle-class Indian."

How unsatisfactory the position still is in the matter of employment of Indians in the higher railway services will be seen from the following extract quoted from the Report of the Acworth Committee :

"At the date of the last report there were employed on the railways of India about 710,000 persons : of these, roughly 700,000 were Indians and only 7,000 Europeans, a proportion of just 1 per cent. But the 7,000 were like a thin film of oil on the top of a glass of water, resting upon but hardly mixing with the 700,000 below. None of the highest posts are occupied by Indians ; very few even of the higher. The position of a District Engineer, District Traffic Superintendent, or of an Assistant Auditor is, with one or two exceptions, the highest to which Indians have hitherto attained. The detailed figures in Appendix No. 2 show that on the principal railways of the country, out of 1,749 posts classed as superior, 182, or rather more than 10 per cent, are filled by Indians. Of the 182 Indians, 158 occupy posts as assistant district officers in the various departments ; 24 have reached the higher grade of district officers."

The Acworth Committee, of course, recognise the need for the adoption of adequate measures for introducing technical education in order that Indians qualified by training and experience may be appointed to the superior posts in the railway services more largely, and urge that substantial funds should be made available for the purpose. But the Government do not appear to be in a mood even now, as before, to listen to such advice. Else how is it that while enormous sums of money are being spent in establishing new Universities of the old type, practically nothing has so far been done for the introduction of a suitable and properly planned system of technical education, so essential for the industrial development of the country ?

Neither the Indianisation of the higher railway services nor the appointment of a Committee, such as that suggested by Mr. Chandrika Prasad, would go far enough to solve the railway problem in India. These are undoubtedly steps in the right direction, but what is demanded is a change of a more fundamental nature. The vital need of the moment in the matter, is the abolition of Company Management and the introduction in its place of State control combined with a popular system of management. Mr. Chandrika Prasad deals with the question at considerable length and he quotes the opinions of well-known authorities and experts in support of State Management. He meets most of the arguments put forward by the advocates of Company Management against management by the State and shows how preposterous their proposals are.

"It is remarkable," he says, "that the European commercial bodies, both in India and in England, are from the earliest times, great advocates of Company Management, but none of them has taken any risk

whatever on account of the Indian railways. Even capitalists of England have failed to invest their money in Indian railways as an unaided private enterprise. They have always insisted upon a Government guarantee of high interest. The European commercial bodies who offer gratuitous advice in favour of employing private companies secure undue advantages from the British companies at the expense of Indians and have enjoyed all facilities provided by the railways to push on their trade. It is the people of India who have borne all the burden and they alone should decide the great question now at issue."

Again :

"The system of leasing Indian State railways to private companies virtually amounts to this, that the people of India defray the costs and expenses of building up the property, while the profits and other advantages of ownership are shared and reaped by others. In the early days of these railways when the traffic returns were low and did not pay the expenses, interest and other charges, the people of India defrayed all the deficits. When the time came for profits, the companies have stepped in and got hold of the railways, practically becoming masters of the same, sharing in the surplus profits, and exercising powers over large expenditure and lucrative appointments, keeping Indians in the lowest grades of the service."

Nothing could be simpler and more reasonable than the proposition that those who own a property should themselves manage it and secure the profit that it brings for their own use. Those who demand the introduction of State Management of railways combined with popular control do not ask for anything more than this. But, in view of the fact that the contract of the East Indian Railway expires in December, 1924, and that of the Great Indian Peninsular Railway in July, 1925, a hue and cry has been set up against direct State management by people interested in the perpetuation of the present system.

The scheme formulated by the five members of the Indian Railway Committee who oppose State Management provides that the management of the undertakings in question should be transferred from English to Indian companies, having nothing more than a minority interest in them, and the Government remaining the predominant partner should appoint one-half of the Directors and nominate the Chairman and thus retain the control. No device could be clumsier and more incongruous than this. And, yet it is being perpetually dinned into our ears that it is in this proposal that its authors have reached the acme of wisdom. Sir William Acworth, the President, and the four members of the Committee, including the Right Hon. Srinivas Sastri, and Mr. Purshottamdas Thakurdas, the indomitable and wide-awake Chairman of the Indian Merchants Chamber and Bureau, Bombay, who resist all proposals for continuing the present system, under a

different name, have no difficulty in exposing the ridiculously absurd and futile nature of the new-fangled scheme of Company Management. They say :

"We attach great importance to the fact that Indian public opinion is against Company Management, and this not only on the general ground that Indian opinion is entitled to great weight on a question such as this but for another reason of great importance. It is with money secured with Indian taxation that the Indian railways have been almost entirely built. It is the Indian public that uses the railways and pays the railway rates and fares. It is the Legislative Assembly at Delhi which under the new constitution votes the railway budget. It is of the utmost importance that Indian public opinion should not be prepossessed against the railway management."

In concluding their observations on the subject they write :

"We have based our recommendation mainly on a broad ground, which seems to us incontrovertible, that as a matter of practical politics companies substantially independent cannot be formed in India, and that without such independence the advantages of private enterprise are lost. The fact that our colleagues can only propose the formation of companies in which the State would own the great bulk of the stock, appoint half the

Directors, and nominate the Chairman with an ultimate appeal in case of disagreement on the Board to the Government itself, has confirmed us in our belief that we have correctly understood the position."

It appears that the railways in Switzerland and Belgium were nationalised in order to prevent their being controlled by foreign holders of their securities. When Indians demand management of their railways by the State, they ask for something similar to that. It is to be hoped that members of the Indian Legislature will have the courage to put their foot down on proposals for the continuation of a system which allows foreign exploitation to be carried on without let or hindrance.

Mr. Chandrika Prasad Tiwari's work is a welcome publication. Indian publicists will find it useful as a book of reference, as it constitutes a store-house of valuable information not available in one place in any other book in so convenient a shape. When I say this I do not forget its defects. It is to be hoped that when the author is able to bring out his next edition he will condense his matter and arrange it in a more systematic and scientific way.

SUDHIR KUMAR LAHIRI.

## CORRESPONDENCE

To

The Editor,

The "Modern Review".

Dear Sir,

With reference to the article "Sayaji Scientific Terminology" in the August issue of your monthly I wish to point out that two out of the four Dravidian languages would readily accept a Sanskrit terminology that might be introduced. Telugu and Kannada, although their structure is Dravidian, have in the past been guided so greatly by Sanskrit examples, that one with any pretensions to scholarship in those languages would unhesitatingly take up terms coined from Sanskrit roots. With Tamil and Malayalam the case is slightly different, but even there the interests of uniformity will, I believe, ultimately prevail over considerations of literary prudery.

The activities of the Translation Bureau of the Osmania University deserve more than a passing mention in connection with this question. The experiment is there being given a fair and open trial by the Premier Indian State. A University has been established where instruction is to be imparted through the medium of Urdu, the State language, and text books of Science and History are being translated for the benefit of the first batches of students. It is to be hoped that ultimately the translation stage will pass and a

body of original work arise which would compare favourably with the output of such literature in European languages. The scheme is an experiment, a very large experiment, backed by the resources of a rich Indian State, started by a master mind in the employment of the State, blessed by the support of the Ruling Prince thereof and worked by a band of eager and willing scholars; and its progress and result deserve to be watched more keenly by the people of British India than it is at present.

C. B.

To

The Editor,

The "Modern Review".

Dear Sir,

We read in your last number of the "Modern Review" a correspondence regarding the booklet "Gandhi and Tagore". We fear, it does not convey a clear impression. There are two articles in the booklet and your correspondent refers only to the second one. The main article originally appeared in the "Standard-bearer", and was not from the pen of Mr. Venkata.

Yours truly

RAMESWAR DE.

## THE TEACHINGS OF SRI MADHVACHARYA

BY HELMUTH VON GLASENAPP, UNIVERSITY OF BERLIN.

**O**F the great Vaishnava Teachers Rāmānuja alone has so far been sufficiently noticed in Europe. Thibaut, Von Voss, Otto have translated some of his works and furnished an exposition of his doctrine. The systems of other philosophers of the Bhakti school are still waiting to be dealt with by Western scholars, claiming as they do in a high measure the interest of the historians of philosophy and religion. Therefore the number of treatises dealing with Madhvāchārya, the famous herald of the Dvaita-mata, is as yet very small. It is true that Mackenzie gave an "Account of the Marda Gooroo" in the Asiatic Annual Register 1804, that H. H. Wilson dealt with the "Brāhma-sampradāyis" in his "Sketch of the Religious Sects of the Hindus" (Asiatic Researches 1828-32) and that Colonel Henry S. Olcott wrote in 1886 jointly with P. Sreenivas Row a "Dvaita Catechism" (Madras, Empress of India Press), but in all these works we miss a thorough treatment of the subject in question, as well as in Sir George Grierson's short article on Madhva in the "Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics" and in Mr. J. N. Farquhar's valuable "Outline of the Religious Literature of India." Monographs on Madhva were first produced not in the West, but in India, by Mr. C. N. Krishnaswamy Aiyar and Mr. S. Subba Rao in their critical sketch, "Sri Madhwacharya", (Madras, Natesan) and by Mr. C. M. Padmanabhachar in his extensive book, "Life and Teachings of Sri Madhva" (Coimbatore 1909), evincing warm enthusiasm. To Indian scholars are due also the first translations of some of Madhva's works, viz., to Mr. Subba Rao's English renderings of Madhva's commentaries to the Bhagavad Gītā and Brahma-Sutra, and to Mr. S. C. Vasu's translations of the commentaries which Madhva wrote to some of the Upanishads (in "Sacred Books of the Hindus"). A very short account of Madhva's system has been furnished by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar in his book on "Vaisnavism, Saivism and minor religious systems"

(Strassburg, 1913) and by Mr. V. S. Ghatge in his work "Le Vedanta" (Paris, 1918), an able study of the Brahma-Sutras and their commentaries; a full exposition of the philosophical doctrine of Madhva and his school will be found in the second volume of Professor S. N. Dasgupta's excellent "History of Indian Philosophy" (Volume I, Cambridge, 1922) which, I hope, will be published soon.

Valuable as the work is which has been done till now, a comprehensive and detailed account of Madhva's system of religious thought, based on the study of all his writings, must still be looked for. I have tried to supply this want by my book on Madhva's Teachings which procured me the "venia legendi" of the Universities of Bonn and Berlin in 1918 and 1920. This book of mine will be published (in the German language) in Germany next winter. I shall try in what follows to furnish English readers with a brief exposition of the main results of my work. As preliminary studies, already published by me, may be considered my German translation and explanation of Madhva's "Tattva-sankhyāna" (Kuhn-Festschrift, pp. 326-331, Munich, 1916) and of the first of the hymns in his "Dvādasha-stotra" (Der Neue Orient, Vol. II, p. 311, Berlin, 1918).

Madhvāchārya, according to one tradition, was born in 1119 A. D. and according to another, more probable one, in 1199 A. D., in the neighbourhood of Udipi, in South Canara. He became an ascetic already in his youth, travelled about the country as pilgrim and preacher and wrote 37 books in which he explained his doctrine and defended it against other theologians. When he finished his earthly career at the age of 79 and "disappeared body and soul from vision, and repaired unseen to Badari for good (as his adherents believe), he left behind him a great number of pupils who spread his views and transmitted them through centuries. The sect has to-day numerous followers, chiefly in South Canara and in Mysore. The Mādhyas bear on their forehead two perpen-



dicular strokes, painted with white clay and joined together at the root of the nose. Between these two strokes a black line is drawn with charcoal ending in an orange coloured circle. The spiritual guidance of the community rests up to the present in the hands of the Superiors of the "Mathas" founded by Madhva himself in the neighbourhood of Udipi.

Like most of the Indian philosophers Madhva looks on the world as an ocean of sorrow out of which every living being must strive to be released. The search for a means of rescuing man from the stream of Samsāra to a better shore causes him to examine the various sources of knowledge to discover whether they can show the road to salvation. Neither perception nor inference can give a satisfactory solution of the riddles of the universe. Authoritative tradition alone, that is to say, the Vedas and the sacred texts in accordance with them, hands down eternal and true knowledge. Madhva's whole philosophy is, according to his own assertion, nothing more or less than the right interpretation and systematic representation of the doctrine of the Veda. It is built up entirely on the holy scripture, adducing in the second instance mundane means of knowledge in support of it. From the Veda, and to a far greater extent than from it, from writings of practically equal value with the Veda, above all from the Mahābhārata, the Purāṇas and the Āgamas, Madhva draws his doctrine, his Vedānta system, which, like all the systems of this kind, tries to fathom the true meaning of the Upanishads, of the Bhagavadgītā and of the Brahma Sūtras. Judged from the historical point of view, the connections between the Veda and Madhva's system is a superficial one; the system itself is more strongly influenced from extensive borrowings from the Sāṅkhya of the Purāṇas and from the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika, gaining an entirely Vaiṣṇavite character by the prevalence of the traditions of Vaiṣṇava writings.

The metaphysical ideas, gathered by Madhva from the holy scriptures with the help of his interpretations, are the following :

There are three entities existing from all eternity to all eternity, fundamentally different from each other. These three entities are :

1. The personal, omni-present God Vishnu. He directs by his will the world and all that is in it as an absolute ruler; he creates and destroys the universe again and again by periodical evolutions and re-absorptions. Endowed with a supernatural body he is transcendental to the world; at the same time he permeates the universe as its inner ruler (*antaryāmi*), manifests himself in various forms (*vyūha*), appears periodically on earth in his *avatāras* and is mystically present in the sacred images.

2. The infinite number of individual souls. These are in themselves of a blissful nature, but being connected with material bodies because of their beginningless karma they are condemned to pain and ignorance and have to wander about in changing forms of existence, as long as they become not free from all impurities.

3. The many material products. These form all objects of the unanimated world and the bodies and organs of all beings. They all originate from primary matter (*prakṛiti*) and return to it gradually in the course of different periods of time.

God absolutely rules over the souls and matter; without however being able to create them from nothing or to reduce them to nothing. All entities are most intimately interwoven with each other, but quite distinct from each other. All attempts to explain matter and souls as emanated from God, or to declare them as mere illusions (*māyā*) are most strictly rejected by Madhva, who combats the teachers of Shankara's *advaita-vāda* as heretics and crypto-Buddhists (*pracchanna-Bauddha*).

The souls are divided, according to their nature, into three large groups, namely :

1. Into the released souls (*mukta*), eternally freed from the tortures of earthly existence and enjoying blissfulness in Vishnu's abode.

2. Into the souls suffering the pains of hell in eternal damnation.

3. Into the souls wandering about in the circle of mundane existences. These latter remain either eternally in this state, being predestined by Vishnu as "*nityasamsārins*"; or they may ultimately reach salvation (*muktiyogya*) or the "blinding darkness" (*tamoyogya*).

The living beings are divided into a great number of classes, into gods, demi-gods,

demons, men, animals and plants. Gods and demi-gods are only eligible for salvation, demons are only fit for damnation, men, animals and plants may belong to one or the other of the three groups of beings, according to God's selection. Among the souls in the world, in Vishnu's paradise and in "the blinding darkness" exists a fixed gradation. The theory of the relative importance (tāratamya) of the different souls has been worked out very elaborately. Among all the evil-doers, who go to Tamas, the demon Kali, the personification of the present iron age, is the chief, he is the most wicked and may be compared to the devil. Among the gods the highest are Brahmā, Vāyu, Sarasvatī, Bhārati, Shesha, Garuda, Rudra, Varuṇi, Sauparni and Umā. All of these attained to their high rank by the merit they acquired during their metempsychosis. Brahmā and Vāyu occupy the most prominent place in the celestial hierarchy. Brahmā created the world on Vishnu's command, he is also the highest teacher of all beings and the first expounder of Madhva's doctrine, which bears therefore the name "Brahma-sampradāya". Vāyu is looked upon as the mediator between God and the souls; being the god of prāṇa the life-breath, glorified in the Upanishads, he helps the souls to gain the liberating knowledge and leads them on the road of salvation. Sometimes he is called the "dearest image" (pratimā preyaṣī) or the "son of Vishnu" (Hareh suta) and Madhva is himself considered by his adherents to be an incarnation of this god who manifested himself in previous times also as Hanumān and Bṛhma. The distinguished position conceded to Vāyu "the son of God" has caused European missionaries to assume that Christian influences had been at work in the elaboration of Madhva's system. This hypothesis is open to discussion in so far as at Madhva's time Christian communities existed in Southern India, and because other points in Madhva's system remind us of Christian ideas, like, for instance, his doctrine of predestination and the eternity of punishment in hell. A more intimate examination, impossible to pursue here at the moment, shows however that the similarities are so small when compared with the important deviations in detail, that the assumption of Christian influences on Madhva's teachings is rather unjustified. It must be specially noticed that according to Madhva's views

Vāyu himself does not reach salvation at the end of a cosmic period, when Brahmā and other released souls go to Vishnu, but reappears in the next Kalpa as Brahmā and then as such only finally obtains salvation.—In contradistinction to all the Gods and Goddesses, who acquire release only after having gone through many existences, Vishnu's consort Lakshmi is alone eternally redeemed (nityamuktā) and concomitant with him in space and time, being the personification of his creative energy.

The state attained by a being after death is determined by Karma, by the inexorable law of retributions, rewarding or punishing all acts, be they good or bad. The coarse body dissolving into its component parts, the soul itself, clad in a body of fine matter, impossible to perceive with the senses, either goes in some cases to celestial worlds or to the temporary hells, or arrives at the luminous world of the moon, where, in conformity with the greatness of its merits, it enjoys for a long or a short time blissfulness. Then it drops to the earth in the rain, passes into herbs and with these ultimately as food into the body of the father who then generate the soul's new earthly body. The transmigration of the soul proceeds without stopping with the regularity of a clock-work, being interrupted for a time by the periodical dissolution of the world, but beginning again when a new world is created. The Samsāra comes to an end only by divine action, namely when a being, with whom the hate against God became fully developed (dveshaparipāka), is definitively condemned by Vishnu and goes to hell, or through his selection by grace has become free from the causes of bondage, *viz.*, ignorance, desire, karma, and the connection with matter, and partakes of the blissful state. As in other religious systems, the ideas about God's omnipotence and the responsibility of the individual beings are not easy to be reconciled with each other. Factions were therefore not wanting in the Mādhva community which put into prominence the theory of predestination or the doctrine of the power of human exertion, these strifes forming thus an interesting parallel with the disputes between Augustinus and Pelagius.

The belief in divine selection by grace did not prevent Madhva from developing a particular doctrine of salvation. The indispensable preliminary condition to obtaining Vishnu's

grace is a proper worship of him : because Madhva, in opposition to Shankara, is convinced of works promoting salvation when accompanied by knowledge. Madhva places fasting especially high ; it is told of him that he could go for a long time without food, which seems all the more remarkable, since we know from the "Madhva-vijaya" that he himself was a great eater. All faithful followers of Madhva's doctrine have on their arms branded or stamped symbols of Vishnu's power, and bear names owned by persons of Vishnu's holy legend. Ritual works are likewise recommended, such as pilgrimages and sacrifices. It must be especially noticed that the Madhvas abhor the killing of animals for sacrificial purposes and substitute for them animals made of flour. Great value is attached to the singing of songs in praise of God (samkirtana) ; Madhva himself has composed a series of hymns used during divine service. It seems that Chaitanya's practice of glorifying Vishnu has been influenced by Madhva, for Bengal's great prophet belonged to Madhva's school.\*

The conduct of a sound moral life in thought, word and deed is necessarily a preliminary condition for all proceeding on the road to salvation. Thereby all virtues come to a full development, enabling the mind to embrace the right belief. The most perfect way for gaining the true knowledge is the study of the Veda which must be carried out under the guidance of a proper teacher. According to the view common to all Vedānta schools, this study belongs only to divine beings and to male members of the three upper castes ; Shūdras, women and animals and plants are however on that account not excluded from attaining salvation, they being able to draw the requisite knowledge from other holy works of tradition. The more and more intimate penetration into the nature of God does not stop short at a merely theoretical understanding and belief in the truth of certain principles of faith, but becomes an actual vital force. It generates

the feeling of absolute dependance on Vishnu and the fervent humble love of him. The perfect resignation to God is shown in religious practice by meditation, i. e., the act of absorbing oneself as often and as intensely as possible into the glory of God. When meditating the soul can, by divine grace, arrive at a direct intellectual vision of Vishnu. If this intuitive supernatural realization of God (aparoksha jñāna) is attained, the soul is thereby redeemed and the fetters chaining it so long to the world, fall off. As soon as the Karma operative in influencing the experiences during this incarnation (prārabdha) has ceased working, the soul departs from the body and goes to meet blissfulness.

While some of the souls after death come directly to Vishnu, most of them go to Vāyu after passing through different stages of the so-called "way of the gods." Vāyu then brings them to Brahmā, who for the present gives them further instruction. The process of salvation of the gods is different : the lower gods become, when the reabsorption of the world begins, absorbed into those of a higher order, until finally they all are absorbed into Brahmā. During Pralaya, Brahmā together with the redeemed souls enters Vishnu's holy body. There all remain meditating during the time the universe is at rest, passing into Vishnu's paradise at the beginning of a fresh creation of the world. In Vaikuntha they spend, different from God, but most intimately connected with him, a happy existence and enjoy themselves in the celestial groves.

While the souls not released have to return to Samsāra again, he who has been redeemed remains at all times untouched by pain. He who is once in possession of the true knowledge, needs never return into the whirlpool of Samsāra, as Vishnu has promised in the Bhagavadgita :

इदं ज्ञानमुपाश्रित्य नमः साधनं वायताः ।

सर्वेऽपि नोपजायन्ते प्रकृते न व्यथन्ति च ॥

\* Baladeva Vidyābhūṣana gives in his "Prameya-ratnavali" 1,7, a guru-parampara, according to which Chaitanya's teacher Ishvaracharya belonged to Madhva's sect. Chaitanya's special teachings may be studied with the help of Professor Jadunath Sarkar's valuable book "Chaitanya's Pilgrimages and Teachings" (Calcutta, 1913).

"Having embraced this knowledge they have become like unto me. These are not born even during creation, nor do they suffer pains during the dissolution of the world."

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

[Books in the following languages will be noticed: Assamese, Bengali, English, Gujarati, Hindi, Kanarese, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Punjabi, Sindhi, Tamil, Telugu, and Urdu. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text books and their annotations, pamphlets and leaflets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., will not be noticed. The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged, nor any queries relating thereto answered. The review of any book is not guaranteed. Books should be sent to our office, addressed to the Assamese Reviewer, the Hindi Reviewer, the Bengali Reviewer, etc., according to the language of the books. No criticism of book reviews and notices will be published.—Editor, M. R.]

## ENGLISH.

IN SEARCH OF THE SOUL, IN TWO VOLUMES, Kegan Paul Trench, Trubner & Company Limited. Price £2-2s. Pages X+516 and VII+361. By Bernard Hollander, M. D.

The title page describes the book as a brief but comprehensive history of the philosophical speculations and scientific researches from ancient times to the present day as well as an original attempt to account for the mind and character of man and establish the principles of a science of Ethology. The first volume deals with the history of philosophy and science from ancient times to the present day and the second with the origin of the mental capacities and dispositions of man and their normal, abnormal, and supernormal manifestations. As will appear from the above description, the subject is too vast for any one person to deal with equal justice in all its parts. The author is a medical man of distinction and considering his occupation one cannot but admire his energy in attempting to write such a big book. But one cannot help thinking that he should have been well-advised entirely to drop the philosophical portions and to deal only with those subjects with which he was better acquainted. In the first 174 pages of his book he gives us a history of philosophy of all people, the Babylonians, the Egyptians, the Jews, the Hindus, the Persians, the Chinese, the Peruvians and the whole of European philosophy up to the end of the XVIIIth century, and from page 441 to 493 we have the European philosophy of the XIXth century. He has devoted a very considerable portion of his work (199—387) to the phrenologist Gall with whom he is more or less in agreement. Chapter X (175—195) is devoted to the progress of science in the XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries and chapter XIX (388—443) to the history of Brain research and chapter XXIV to the history of biology in the XIXth century. The first section of the second volume is devoted to the analysis of man's psychical nature, the second to the mental functions of the brain, the third to genius, insanity and crime and the fourth to the unexplored powers of the mind.

The portions of the book that deal with history of philosophy are very scrappy, largely incorrect and imperfect. Unfortunately Dr. Hollander does not tell us what authorities he consulted when dealing with them. Thus for instance in describing the Vedanta system Dr. Hollander says (p. 13): "In the

Vedanta the Supreme Soul is the pure essence of immortal existence, without intelligence, self-consciousness or will. To account, therefore, for the mortality and co-evanescence of all created things five veils were put before the Supreme Soul, in which were reflected goodness or purity as pure white, passion and activity as red and ignorance and darkness as black, the fourth veil representing vitality and the fifth the material body. It is from these veils that the Vedanta philosophy accounts for nature, and for the great variety of affection and condition of body and mind." It would have been amusing to know the sources from which such a brilliant treatment of the Vedanta has been taken. Dr. Hollander's treatment of European philosophers is also unsatisfactory and unintelligible, even if we do not take any notice of the errors. Thus he describes Hegel as follows: "Hegel held with Schelling that all things come from the absolute without defining it. For Hegel the Absolute is the Idea, reality is the Truth. Consciousness is only a moment in the evolution of Being. To Absolute knowledge being and thought are identical; the rational is the real, the real is the rational. Metaphysics is a system of Logic. The Logic is an unbroken dialectic chain, leads to the philosophy of Nature, that is the Idea estranged as it were, from itself; and this again leads to the philosophy of spirit, or to the Idea which has returned from nature to itself and has assumed along with possession of itself an existence that is independent."

I am not competent to pass any judgment on the success or failure of his defence of Gall. But Gall is certainly interesting and as his works are not generally much read, some interesting informations about him may be available from Dr. Hollander's work. The really interesting part of the book comes in the second volume where Dr. Hollander gives us his own researches into mental diseases and abnormal modes of experience. Chapter XXXVI—XXXVIII where he treats of the unexplored powers of the mind are by far the most useful portions in the whole book. Dr. Hollander believes that all our mental functions are dependent upon certain brain functions which can be localised in particular parts of the brain. But this does not, as may ordinarily be expected, lead him to materialism. Thus he says (vol. ii. p. 318): "Science does not deal with life but with biological facts. The two essentially distinctive properties of living matter are the power of growth and the power of reproduction. All living things grow by intussusception and multiply by division, whereas these properties

are not found in any non-living thing.....What is the force that gives this bit of protoplasm the capability of becoming a living, thinking, and loving being? We do not know. Anything that is physical can be made from other material things by man. Nothing approaching to the cell of a living creature has ever yet been made."

His conclusion is: "So little is known of the mental constitution of man, and its relation with his physical being, that it would be audacity on my part to affirm or deny or even to argue on the existence of the soul and a life hereafter. Not until investigations are made on the lines described in this work, not until ethology is recognised as well as psychology, not until brain research is extended from motor and sensory to mental manifestations, and the elementary powers can be defined and their physical bases are discovered, will it be safe to speculate on the soul and spiritual nature of man. Only one suggestion I would venture in conclusion: Every particle of man is alive and adjusted in its function to the whole being, the self and by his thought and emotion he can control not only his brain activity, but every function of the body, accelerating or inhibiting it. From this it appears to me that instead of saying 'man has a soul,' it would be more correct to say that 'man himself is a soul.' He is not a conscious machine, but a spiritual being."

In his pilgrimage in search of the soul, Dr. Hollander cannot lead us to any destination and has to end in a faith which he does not try to prove, but leaves as a suggestion. It would have been interesting if he had tried to develop his concluding suggestion and to show that after all it may be a probable hypothesis.

SURENDRANATH DAS GUPTA.

THE VOICE OF BENGAL: *Srimati Basanti Devi (Mrs. C. R. Das)*. Arka Publishing House, 1922. Madras.

Presidential address delivered at the Provincial Conference held at Chittagong.

THE NATIONAL VALUE OF ART: *Aurobindo Ghosh*. Prabartak Publishing House, Chandernagar.

This pamphlet contains some articles reprinted from the *Karmayogin*. The æsthetic, intellectual and spiritual aspects of art, in relation to national life and its development, have been touched upon in beautiful language, and it is a treat to turn to a book like this, now and then, in the heated political atmosphere of India, and derive inspiration for the culture of our emotions from such a source.

THE STRUGGLE FOR SWARAJ: *Pandit Matilal Nehru*. Arka Publishing House, Madras.

A nicely got up reprint of some of the Pandit's lectures.

VOICE OF THE NEW REVOLUTION: *By Blanche Watson*. Saraswati Library, Calcutta. 1922. Price 8 annas.

The introduction is by Rev. J. H. Holmes, and two poems by two American ladies are given at the beginning and the end of the volume in which Gandhi is compared with Jesus Christ, and things are said which

reveal the depth of their admiration for the great heroic soul of India who has stirred the thoughts of men and women all over the world. The book itself contains little that is new to us, but had it been published in America, it might have done some good by attracting the attention of Americans to what is going on here.

IMPERIALISM: IN PRACTICE AND THEORY: *By K. M. Panikkar, Professor, Aligarh University*.

We have learnt to associate Mr. Panikkar's name with first class work and our expectations have not been disappointed in this little volume. The vulgar pretensions of imperialism have been shown up with perfect candour, but the days of imperialism, according to the author, are numbered in Asia though not in Africa. It has done the great service of calling forth the mighty spirit of Asia from its decaying cell. We hope Mr. Panikkar will specialise in some historical subject connected with his motherland, in which case we may promise him a bright literary career for himself and the satisfaction of having done useful service to his country.

POLITICS.

THE SEPULCHRE OF CHRIST IN ART AND LITURGY. *By Neil C. Brooks*. University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, Vol. VI, no. 2.

The author gives a clear and comprehensive description of the sepulchre of Christ: its origin, probably a plain rock-hewn tomb of the Jewish type belongs to Jerusalem and it had to undergo remarkable transformations in the representations which East and West gave to it. The Syro-Palestinian type stands in close connection with the holy Sepulchre itself, while the Western type, the Byzantine as well as that of the further West, represent free interpretations of the same motif. The different types, historically and locally sharply distinct are well characterised.

Depositio, Elevatio and Visitatio, three liturgical ceremonies which are of greatest importance with regard to the liturgic drama, are dealt with fully.

The location of the Sepulchre in the church varies with the different nations who erected this symbol. The English sepulchre for instance is situated in the north side of the chancel, in most of the French Churches it is set up in the choir, while the German sepulchre is usually in the nave.

Continental and English Easter Sepulchres are strikingly different. The continental type consists of altar, or coffer-sepulchre, or of both, enclosed by a curtain, while the "English Easter sepulchre developed very largely in imitation of the church burial of persons of rank.

Apart from the temporary Easter sepulchres, permanent architectural or sculptural sepulchres were built on the continent and in England. They chiefly belong to the late middle-ages. The moment usually represented on the continent is after the entombment. "The body of Christ lies stretched out on top of a sarcophagus; behind are the Maries, at each end usually an angel, and in front the sleeping guards. While the typical permanent sepulchre of the continent resembles thus a complete entombment scene, that of England is only a base or pedestal formerly used for the temporary sepulchre coffer, but very often without any sculptured figures.

The text is accompanied by well-selected illustrations.

STELLA KRAMRISCH.

**INDIAN EXPORT TRADE:** By R. M. Joshi, M.A., LL.B. (Bom.), B.Sc., (Econ. Lond.), Professor of Indian Economics, Sydenham College of Commerce and Economics, Bombay. Price Rs. 3-8.

The book gives a fair idea of the growth of India's export trade during the years 1900-14. It also contains much valuable information and some very interesting diagrams and tables of figures. A close study of the book will give the student much to think. One thing would have largely added to the usefulness of the facts and figures given in the book; especially of those which are in terms of rupees. It is some attempt at presenting to the reader the movements in the purchasing power of the rupee during the period covered by the author. Divorced from movements in the purchasing power of the rupee, such figures can be highly misleading. For example, a 50 per cent fall in the purchasing power of the rupee may be interpreted as a 50 per cent rise in the volume of trade. But apart from this weak point, the author has given enough to the student of Indian Economics to deserve his thanks.

About Indian cotton the author says on page 36: "The difficulty seems to be that commercial quantities of high-grade cotton are not produced unless there is prospect of disposing of them profitably in a local market; and, on the other hand, a market for high-grade cotton cannot be organised unless substantial quantities of the stuff are forthcoming. That is a vicious circle." The Indian cotton-grower, says the author, "is quite willing to introduce new crops; to use seeds of a uniform and superior quality and to employ more efficient mechanical contrivances if these things can be brought within his reach in a financial sense" (p. 37). "The question is not one of ignorance or conservatism. So much as that of organisation of credit and of the purchase and sale of materials." Surely if the Indian growers could really supply high grade cotton at a low enough cost, it is time some enterprising financiers went in for the profits by supplying the credit and the buying and selling agencies. But the case must be presented in a more businesslike way.

On page 48, the author tells us that as Eri silk is obtained without killing the silkworm, a broadcasting of the information should lead to its adoption for religious purposes.

On page 74, he tells us that the fact that the export of coconut oil is decreasing and that of copra is increasing is deplorable in view of the relative superiority of bullock-presses in the case of coconut oil, as oil mills yield a less valuable cake and that counteracts the little superiority they have over bullock presses in getting the oil. A better selection of nuts and the prevention of dust and dirt getting into the kernels, etc., should be enough to regain the lost ground.

Some other items of interest are culled below.

Page 77. Hides. "Dacca and Burma hides have a rather unfavourable reputation in Europe.....They are not properly cured; not properly fleshed; butchers' cuts are made in the hide during flaying;

unnecessary, and bad branding of the cattle does wanton damage to the hide; attempts are made to secure false weights....." Something for the intelligent hide merchant to think over.

Page 81. "Continental and American tariffs are so arranged as to encourage the importation of raw hides and skins from India, to discourage that of tanned hides or skins." What is the remedy?

About the cultivation of rice, we are told (page 93), "Japan, particularly, would seem to be a good model to follow in the rice tracts of India in general, because Japan, like India, is a country of small holdings."

Page 118. "The exceptional zeal displayed by the Government of India avowedly in the interest of the masses, in removing the smallest elements of protection from a growing Indian industry appears curiously enough to have been confined only to cotton-manufacturing."

The author proves that the growing petroleum industry of Burma has been highly protected since 1894. From 1910 to 1914 the duty was increased from one anna per gallon to one anna six pies per gallon. Petroleum is consumed largely by the poor masses of India. If the anti-protection attitude (in regard to cotton goods) of the Government is based on their faith in philanthropy, what about the high protective duty on petroleum? The real reason may be discovered if we look for the controlling interests in the two industries.

Page 127. "The excise duty (on cottons).....is a wanton hindrance for the imposition of which there is no excuse whatever in the case of exports. (Those cotton goods which are exported from India, have to pay an *Excise* duty.) The duty is not a tax on consumption. It is a tax on the manufacture of a very useful and harmless article. The exports show signs of diminishing.

No drawback of the excise duty is allowed on cotton goods exported from India. The Government of India's past record in regard to an economic policy will surprise even a cynic. The author tells the cotton duty, specially where it falls on exports, a wanton hindrance. He is quite justified in his statement. But more important from the economist's point of view is the wanton neglect of the economic duties of civilised governments of which the British Government of India is guilty.

The book gives us a fair picture of what the Government of India understands by "The economic functions of Government." We should be glad to learn from the learned author of "The Indian Export Trade" in some future publication, what he considers to be the ideal in regard to the above and how near he believes the Government of India is to it.

A. C.

## HINDI.

**HINDI SWABODHINI:** By Pandit Hrishikesh Sharma Published by the Hindi Sahitya Sammilan Prachar Office, Triplicane, Madras. Crown 8vo. Pp. 208. Price as. 12.

This publication appears now through its second edition and is a handbook of Hindi language for Telugu students. For some time several Hindi-knowing publicists have been trying their best to popularise Hindi and prepare the way for making it a *lingua*

*franca* for the country. The utility of this movement has outlived the stage of controversy and every prominent leader thinks now that Hindi ought to be studied by the people of other provinces in addition to their national language. The book under review is very happily designed and the order of treatment is scientific. The different stages of Hindi grammar have been carefully handled and nothing done in a haphazard way. A transliteration of Hindi words in Telegu and *vice versa* would have made the book more useful though making it rather cumbersome. In this way they who know Hindi could also find their path smooth for the acquirement of a speaking knowledge of Telegu. However, with a little endeavour, the student can obviate the difficulty, as sufficient hints have been given to enable him to read the Telegu character. Primarily the book has been designed for the people of Madras and Andhra-province and it removes a clear want: the fact that the first edition was exhausted so readily, speaks for the reception it has had. Similar well-written publications for other Indian languages are required and the publishers deserve every encouragement. Their other publications deserve attention too.

M. S.

## TAMIL.

**SHORT STORIES:** By M. S. Krishnaswami Iyer. Publishers—Messrs V. Narayanan & Co., 4, Kandi Chetty Street, Madras. Pp. 114-97. Price 8 annas.

Very amusing stories well worth one's perusal.

**A DICTIONARY OF DREAMS:** Edited and published by M. S. Krishnaswami Iyer. 4, Kandi Chetty Street, Madras. Pp. IV+71. Price 3 annas.

An interesting collection of interpretations of Dreams.

PILLAI.

## GUJARATI.

**SWAMI BHAKTA SURPAL** is a pamphlet of 18 pages. It refers to a well-known incident in the history of old Gujarat and is cast in the form of a play from which female characters are absent, and is meant to be acted by children. The language however is above their heads, as it is not simple.

**MUKTA DHARA:** By Nanal Nathubhai Shah, B. A. Published by Jivanlal Amarshi Mehta, Ahmedabad. Paper cover. Pp. 96. Price As. 8 (1922).

To readers of the Modern Review this play must not be unknown. It was also published in Bengali in the Prabasi. It is one of the latest of Dr. Rabindranath's plays, and is well rendered into Gujarati.

**BHAKTI NO BHUMIYO, (भक्तिनो भूमियो):** By Nichhabhai Fakirbhai. Printed at the Gujarati Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Cloth cover. Pp. 183. Price Re. 1-4 (1922).

The title of this book means "a guide to Bhakti" (devotion), and the contents bear out the descriptions. Prayers in prose and verse, with dissertations on the subject-matter of the book make it a useful "guide".

**SREE DATTA-BODHIA-KALPA-DRUMA (श्रीदत्तबोधिकाल्पद्रुम):** By Kirtanacharya Maharaj Shri Dattatreya Buvu. Printed at the Jaina Vijaya Press, Surat. Cloth bound. Pp. 218. Price Rs. 4 (1922).

Though it is stated to be a translation, the book reads like an original work. The author is a Kirtan-kar himself and commands large audiences wherever he preaches. The subject-matter of such holy preachings has been thrown into book form, and the contents are certainly such as would please and guide the masses. He has drawn upon all our wellknown religious works and embellished the text with apposite illustrations in the shape of stories. The e comprise into two parts and two more are promised.

**SUMBHAJI NUN RAJYA-AROHANA (सम्भाजी नुं राज्यारोहण):** By Keshavlal H. Sheth. Printed at the Prajabandhu Printing Works, Ahmedabad. Paper cover. Pp. 130. Price Re. 1-4 (1922).

This novel concerning the succession of Sambhaji to Shivaji's *gadi* is based on a Marathi book called 'Astodaya'. There are various versions as to the cause of Shivaji's death: one of them is that he was poisoned by his second consort Sairabai, so that she may get the *gadi* for her own son Rajaram. Stirring incidents at the time of the death of the hero of Maharashtra are narrated here in a style in keeping with the subject, and the novel furnishes indeed very interesting and informative reading.

**SUDAMA CHARITRA (सुदाम चरित):** By Manjural Ranchhodlal Majmudar, B. A., LL.B. Printed at the Luhana Mitra Steam Printing Press, Baroda. Cloth cover. Pp. 166. Price Rs. 2-8 (1922). Illustrated.

The poverty of Sudama and the exemplary treatment by Sri Krishna, of his school friend, have furnished many Gujarati poets with a subject for versification. Premananda stands at the head of them and till now no attempt had been made to bring all the works into one place and enable the reader to appreciate the merits and demerits of the performances of the poets by their juxtaposition. The compilation is a welcome departure based on the new method for the study of a particular subject by requisitioning every possible material bearing on it. We congratulate the compiler on the ability, intelligence and originality he has displayed in his work. He has proceeded on what are called "intensive" lines, and succeeded in placing before the public an admirable book.

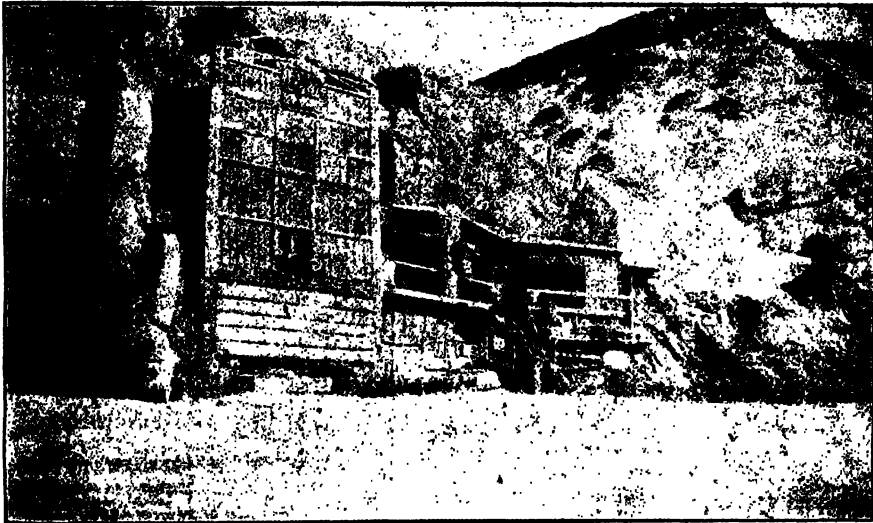
K. M. J.

## GLEANINGS

**Sea Furnishes Material for Queer Dwelling.**

Perched on the side of a rocky bluff at the edge of the ocean near Redondo, California, a dwelling has been built by one man at an estimated expense of about one dollar. Convalescing from a serious illness, to this man the problem of building a shelter for himself was further complicated by the fact that he was without money. Instead of going to the dealer in building materials and giving an order for his requirements, he was obliged to bide his time and allow the needed materials to come

The stools in the lunch room are fashioned from kegs of various dimensions that have been cast up from time to time. The ends have been padded to make cushioned seats. Circular tables from which guests are served, were once large spools for holding cables or ropes. Some of the sea's best offerings in the way of large boards are used for the lunch counter itself. The only expenditures for the castle have been the purchase of a few window sash, as the ocean failed to furnish any of these in an unbroken condition.



The Strange Dwelling Built by One Man from Materials Cast Up by the Sea.

to him. In this respect the sea was a bountiful provider, and it was only necessary for him to exercise his ingenuity to use the materials sent him.

The structure boasts two stories and a basement. There are included a living room, kitchen, sleeping quarters, and an open-air pavilion housing a lunch counter. The stairs by which a visitor mounts to the "castle" once graced some vessel. At the top of the stairs, in lieu of a doorbell, one finds a little paddle inscribed with the words, "Please Ring." A pull on the paddle causes a bit of iron to strike a metal buoy that had been salvaged and hung from the ceiling.

**Add Wax to Render Varnish More Acid-Resisting.**

Recent investigations have shown that the addition of small quantities of wax to a varnish that is resistant to water or acid fumes, will make it considerably more resistant. Various kinds of wax may be used, and as the amount of wax added is small, it has no appreciable effect on the toughness or other desirable qualities of the varnish. The explanation offered in the case of baking varnishes is that the wax melts and fills all the pores of the varnish film.



### Elections in Open Air.

Switzerland is a confederation of 22 sovereign states called cantons. In the four older cantons the ancient custom of democratic assemblies has been preserved, in which the burghers gather in the open air to elect the officers for

Jamestown, 30 minutes being required for the descent.

### World's Altitude Record in Flying.

Flying almost out of sight, to a height of 40,800 feet, Lieut. J. A. Macready shattered the world's altitude record, Sept. 29, 1921. He is now chief test pilot at McCook Field, Dayton, Ohio.

Macready says, "I am firmly convinced that in time travel by air will be the fastest, cheapest, safest, and most pleasant means of transportation.

"Many profitable transportation routes are now available, and young men with brains and money are needed to develop them."

### Mammoth Violin.

Featuring a recent national conference of the music industries, the world's largest member of the violin family was placed on display in New York City. Measuring 11 feet 7 inches high, 4 feet 7 inches wide, and 13 inches deep,

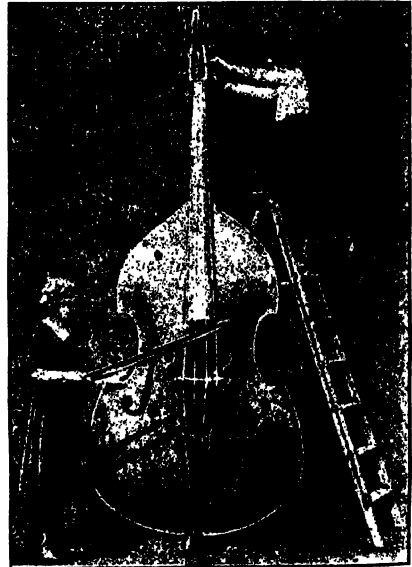


An Open Air Assembly Meeting of the Burghers of a Canton of Switzerland to Elect Officers for the Coming Year.

the coming year. The election takes place each year on the last Sunday in April or the first Sunday in May and is always held in the open air.

### Record Parachute Jump is More than Four Miles.

A new record for parachute jumping was established on June 12, when a member of the air force stationed at McCook flying field, Ohio, jumped from a height of 24,206 feet. A twin-motored bombing plane was used for the ascent and was driven to a point where it failed to climb higher; the parachute leap was then made, and the daring jumper drifted about 25 miles before he finally landed at



The Mammoth Violin Recently on Display at New York City.

and weighing 150 pounds, the mammoth instrument which has strings the size of a man's finger, was the cause of much interested comment.

### A Walking Stick Violin.

A combination walking stick and violin is decidedly a novelty in musical instruments. When closed and used as a cane, it is rather large in diameter, and looks more like a wooden umbrella than a walking stick. When opened



Combination Walking Stick and Violin.

up by the removal of part of its outside shell, there is disclosed a complete violin and a bow, with which, it is stated, good music can be produced. The violin is tuned in the usual way.

### Iceberg Detector May Prevent Disasters at Sea.

When great icebergs, breaking away from the winter pack off Newfoundland, drift southward across the transatlantic steamship lanes the sea captain is confronted with one of the most deadly perils of the sea. As his ship plunges through darkness and mist at 20 miles an hour, he anxiously peers into the gloom ahead, watching for the frosty gleam that may warn him, perhaps too late, of disaster.

In the future, danger of such disaster may be eliminated by the use of a small parabolic mirror, recently invented, that detects icebergs six miles away by collecting radiations of infra-red rays. And, since fog is no barrier to these rays, the new device may greatly reduce collisions.

While infra-red rays, like the ultra-violet rays at the other end of the spectrum, are invisible, they affect the resistance of the thermal element. Radiations from melting icebergs are specially rich in infra-red rays. When the mirror points at a berg, the radiations will cause a marked change in the current flowing through the element. The difference is detected by telephone receivers on the captain's ears, and thus he may change his course in ample time to avoid a collision.

### Gas Pistol Stops Fire or Thief.

You can stop either a fire or a burglar with a recently invented gas pistol consisting of a small cylinder filled with compressed gas.

The gas, released, flies out in a dense cloud under its own pressure, enveloping the fire or suffocating the intruder, as the case may be. No gas is released toward the rear, so that a person may fire the pistol without wearing a gas mask.

The gas is said to have much the same effect on a burglar as tear gas; for while it will incapacitate him for a short time, it will do him no permanent injury.

On a fire, the gas acts like the carbonic acid gas of the usual extinguisher, smothering the flames.

### Portable "Bike" Folds Up.

Since the wheels are much smaller than those of the average bicycle for adults, and the frame is collapsible, this new "bike", which has been



The Portable Bicycle, with Collapsible Frame, Folded for Packing.

invented in America, can be folded into a compact bundle, and even packed into a trunk. The frame is so constructed that it may be adjusted to fit adults or children.

### Memorial of the "Lusitania" to Float Over its Grave.

Most befittingly located on the exact site of the torpedoing of the "Lusitania", a striking monument, the creation of the French sculptor Georges du Bois, is under consideration to



The Floating Monument to Commemorate the Torpedoing of the American Liner "Lusitania."



commemorate the most inglorious deed of the World War. The base of the monument will consist of a raft, securely anchored, which will represent a fragment of wreckage bearing the name "Lusitania". Supported by this raft, and rising 80 feet above it, will be the kneeling figure of a mother, holding her child at arm's length and imploringly appealing for the rescue of her offspring, who obviously does not comprehend the tragic situation. It will be possible to connect the raft by wires with the shore, and thus to illuminate it at night so that it may serve as a beacon as well as a memorial.

### Metal Balloons May Draw Power From Sky.

Will the vast reservoirs of dormant energy, represented by the difference in potential between the atmosphere and the earth, be harnessed at last and utilized to light and heat our homes and to turn the wheels of our factories?

M. H. Plauson of the Traun Research Laboratory in Ilamburg, Germany, has devised a scheme for utilizing this free electrical energy.

Plauson makes use of a number of balloons with metallic surfaces covered with spikes. These balloons are sent up to a height of several thousand feet. The charge is conducted to earth by a metallic cable attached to each balloon, all the cables being connected with a circular conductor leading to the power stations.

The lightning flash, always suggesting tremendous power, has long tempted experimenters to extract power from atmospheric electricity.

Early experimenters with atmospheric electricity, whether with kites like Franklin's or by means of metallic rods projecting high into the air (such as that used by Richmann in 1753, which killed the experimenter by a great discharge), were made more especially when thunderstorms were imminent. Plauson, how-

ever, does not propose to wait for these conditions, which arise from accumulations of electricity on minute particles of moisture in the air, that collect locally and thus set up such a powerful influence that the charge breaks through the resistance of the lower strata of air and flashes to earth.

Plauson believes that thunderstorms will actually be prevented in given localities where his apparatus is at work on a big enough scale, by maintaining a condition of local equilibrium and thus preventing the accumulations that are necessary before lightning can occur. Whether he is right or not in his forecast can, of course, only be proved by experiment.

### Voices from the Air Brighten the Days of "Lifers" in Prison.

Eight hundred miles away from Shreveport, in the town of Jackson, Michigan, is a colony of 1800 men whose only contacts with the outside world before the coming of radio into their daily lives, were the infrequent visitors and still more infrequent letters. They are the inmates of Michigan's "pen".

Impressed by the possibilities of radio as a means of brightening the days of his men, Warden Harry L. Hulbert, of Jackson prison, decided to install radio sets in the prison and its buildings. He placed one outfit in the main prison, another at the brick-yards where hundreds of men labour under the honor system and a third set at the clay pits where still other groups of trusties do their daily stint while working out their sentences. Now there's radio news and entertainment within the dark gray walls and there's radio on the farms and at the clay pits. Every evening this imprisoned army of men listens in on the outside world.

### Armless Man Writes.

With a wooden disk tightly strapped against his chest, from which extends a wooden rod about a foot long, with a clamp on the end for holding a pencil, this armless man soon learned



An Armless Man Writing.

to turn the pages of a book, to sketch, and to write legibly. Use of the device is being taught in the hospitals of London, England.

### The Whirl of Fashion.

A new use for the electric fan—for hat trimming—has been discovered by Miss Ethel Beech at Miami, Fla. She electrified society there by



The Hat with an Electric Fan.

appearing in a hat trimmed with clothespins, set off by a small electric fan and two dry cells, as pictured here.

### Queer Science Stops Pain by Pressure.

A queer new method of preventing suffering in one part of the body by mere pressure on another part is an extraordinary medical discovery of the day and is called "zone therapy."

Actual demonstration of the zone therapy theory—proof that a tooth-ache, for example, can be stopped by squeezing one of your fingers or corresponding toe—is credited to a physician in Hartford, Connecticut—Dr. William H. FitzGerald.

If you experiment with Doctor FitzGerald's remarkable zone therapy system, you may find, among other things, that you can:

Cure a headache by pushing on the roof of your mouth.

Relieve an aching first or second molar by pressing firmly the knuckles of your second finger, and the wisdom tooth by pressing firmly the corresponding sections of the third and fourth fingers.

Stop the pain of a sprained right knee by pressing your right elbow.

Relieve the hurt in your left thumb that you hit with a hammer by binding a tight elastic band around your left large toe.

In fact, according to the exponents of zone therapy, a pain in practically any member of your body, may be partially or entirely put out of business by simple pressure on another member in the same bodily "zone".

"Zone therapy" is the name applied to the method, because Doctor FitzGerald has found that for purposes of relieving pain the body may be divided into 10 vertical zones, five on each side of a center line. The extremities of the zone division lines are the fingers and toes. For example, the first zone on either side of the body begins at the big toe and runs up the entire body, including the chest, back, and head, extending down the arm and ending at the thumb. The second, third, fourth, and fifth zones originate similarly in the first, middle, ring, and little fingers and run to the corresponding toes.

Here are some of Doctor FitzGerald's conclusions, based on the zone theory:

Pressure across any section in anterior half of any zone will relieve pain in any other part of that half of the zone, and pressure across any section in posterior half of any zone will effect the same relief in that zone, although pressure at some points is more effective than at others. An important point to bear in mind is that it will do no good to squeeze your right toe to reduce pain in your left thumb; or to press upon the first finger to cure an injury that should be treated by pressure on the second finger. Areas of pain run up and down, and also crosswise, as from the various orifices of the body.

In each zone, the finger corresponds with

the toe, the wrist with the ankle, and the knee with the elbow. Therefore, wherever the pain may be, choose the corresponding member in the upper or lower part of the body and press firmly at some point where the main trunk nerves are close to the surface—that is, at the joints, where there is little flesh and muscle over the bones.

To "push a headache out through the top of your head," press your thumb, or, better some smooth, broad surface like a metal knife handle, firmly against the roof of your mouth, as nearly as possible under the spot where you feel the pain.

If the pain is very severe, supplement this treatment by pressure on the joints of the fingers or wrists, especially on the top or back of the hand.

If a tooth begins to ache, press the cheek immediately over that particular tooth, or

squeeze the gums between the thumb and first finger for from one to four minutes. In addition, place a rubber band on the proper finger, remembering that, starting at the center of the mouth and counting toward the rear, the first three teeth on either side are controlled by the thumb, the next two by the forefinger, the next two molar teeth by the middle finger, and the wisdom tooth by both the fourth and little finger of the hand on the corresponding side. Pressure should be applied on the first or second joint. Since the zones sometimes overlap somewhat, it may be best to press upon two fingers.

In treating other aches and pains search out and locate the exact spot at which to apply the pressure that relieves the pain.

You will soon find a spot at which the pain is lessened, and that is the place to adjust your rubber band, or to squeeze with your fingers.

## APPA SAHEB, THE RAJA OF NAGPUR

### I.

THE Maratha prince of the family of Bhonsle, with his capital at Nagpur, was called in Marathi chronicles the Raja of Berar. But after the Second Maratha War, Berar was taken from him and handed over to the Nizam. Hence although he was often styled Raja of Berar, yet correctly his appellation should be the Raja of Nagpur. The name of the Raja—at the time when the Marquis of Hastings was moving troops to ostentatiously ruin the Pindaries but in reality to deprive the Maratha princes of their territories and independence—was Appa Saheb. After the Second Maratha War, the Raja of Nagpur, although often requested to enter into the Subsidiary Alliance with the East India Company, very wisely declined to do so. But hardly a dozen of years had elapsed since that war, when circumstances arose which obliged the ruling prince of Nagpur to conclude a treaty with the British Government and allow their troops to take the place of those of his own dominion.

After the Second Maratha War, Mr. Elephinstone was accredited to the Court at Nagpur as representative of the British Government. He served as Resident at Nagpur for four years. The manner in which he carried on intrigues with the officers and ministers of that principality, demoralized them and paved the way to the Subsidiary Alliance which seemed to have been the object which the then British

Indian Government had in view. Mr. Elphinstone was a creature of the Duke of Wellington and had been trained in his school of diplomacy. After the Second Maratha War, it was Wellington who was instrumental in getting Elphinstone appointed as Envoy to the Court of Nagpur. In recommending Elphinstone to his brother, the then Governor General of India, the hero of Assaye wrote:—

"Upon the occasion of mentioning Mr. Elphinstone, it is but justice to that gentleman to inform your Excellency that I have received the greatest assistance from him since he has been with me. He is well versed in the language, has experience and a knowledge of the Maratha powers and their relation with each other and with the British Government and its allies. He has been present in all the actions which have been fought in this quarter during the war, and at all the sieges. He is acquainted with every transaction that has taken place, and with my sentiments upon all subjects I therefore take the liberty of recommending him to your Excellency."

The words put in italics require to be specially taken note of. The Iron Duke had succeeded in making Elphinstone a past master in the craft of the Machiavellian diplomacy, and initiating him in the art of intrigue all which had for their object the ruin of the princes to whose courts these Benvoys were accredited. Truly did General Gordon, who met his death at Khartoum in 1885, observe;—

"We are an honest nation but our diplomatists are conies, and not officially honest."

In another place of his "journal, the same author wrote :—

"I must say I hate our diplomatists. I think with few exceptions they are arrant humbugs, and I expect they know it."

At the time when Elphinstone was accredited to the Court of the Raja of Nagpur he was only 24 years of age and seemed not to have been well versed in the art of intrigue which passed for diplomacy. We are told by his biographer, Sir J. E. Colebrooke, Baronet, M. P., that

"The hardest of his tasks remained when the letter of the treaty was fulfilled. The aim of the British Government, in insisting that a British representative should reside at the Court, was not merely to cultivate general relations of amity, but to provide against future ruptures. Mr. Elphinstone's instructions assumed that a sovereign whose treachery was notorious, and whose sacrifices had been so great, might be induced to renew the war, in the hope of recovering part of what he had lost. The new secretary was therefore enjoined to be accurately informed of all that passed in the Durbar, particularly to watch the embassies of Sindia and Holkar, and at the same time obtain distinct information of the numbers and disposition of the Raja's troops. It will appear that this portion of Mr. Elphinstone's instructions caused him no little embarrassment. The information required could only be obtained through the ministers themselves; and to *prove such sources of intelligence involved a course of intrigue that was repugnant to his nature.*"

The words italicised in the above extract show that at the time he was sent to Nagpur, Mr. Elphinstone was not well versed in the art of intriguing. It seems that he turned to his patron, Sir Arthur Wellesley, to come to his rescue, wrote to him for instructions in the subject. The reply to Elphinstone's letter was characteristic of the future conqueror of Napoleon. General Wellesley wrote :—

"In answer to your letter of the 6th, I beg you will do whatever you think necessary to procure intelligence. If you think that Jye Kishen Ram will procure it for you or give it to you, promise to recommend him to the Governor-General, and write to his Excellency on the subject."

General Wellesley's recommendation in plain language meant corruption. This is evident from another letter of his to Elphinstone in which he wrote :—

"Before Ram Chunder went away he offered his services. I recommend him to you. He appears a shrewd fellow, and he has certainly been employed by the Raja in his most important negotiations. I have recommended him to the Governor-General for a pension of 6,000 rupees a year. I think he will give you useful intelligence."

Thus Elphinstone was enjoined to raise traitors in the camp of the Raja, by holding

out temptations to them. Yet Sir Arthur Wellesley is looked upon as a paragon of all Christian virtues and must have prayed every day, "Lead us not into temptations, but deliver us from all evils."

Although Elphinstone did not succeed in involving the Bhosla Raj in ruin, or inflicting the curse of the Subsidiary Alliance on that prince, for we are told that 'the Raja appears to have acted in a straightforward way' and that he 'remained steady to his resolve to avoid a new rupture'; yet the lessons in the art of intrigue which he had learnt at Nagpur, he brought to good use when he was appointed at Poona, for there he succeeded in bringing about the downfall of the Peishwa.

But when the Marquis of Hastings went to war with the Marathas, Elphinstone was not the Resident at Nagpur, and the reigning prince was Appa Sahib. The Raja who had signed the treaty with the British was now dead; and the Nagpur state had also entered into Subsidiary Alliance with the East India Company.

Mr. Jenkins was the Resident now and he was a bosom friend of Mr. Elphinstone. The biographer of Elphinstone writes :—

"Like Elphinstone, Jenkins had commenced his diplomatic career during the Mahratta war, which brought so many of our best Indian statesmen to the front. Ten years later, Jenkins, like Elphinstone, had to contend with the intrigues, and ultimately with the open hostility of a Mahratta Court, at a crisis of Indian history. To complete the parallel, these two Indian statesmen had congenial pursuits."

Does it not follow, therefore, that Jenkins must have adopted the same diplomatic tactics at Nagpur, which Elphinstone did at Poona?

But it will be necessary to narrate in detail the events which preceded the hostilities between Appa Sahib and the troops of the Company. As long as Raghojee Bhosla, the sovereign of Nagpur, who was a party to the Treaty of Deogaum was alive, he did not, and would not, part with his independence by entering into a subsidiary alliance with the East India Company. Times without number their government had asked him through their representative at Nagpur to form such an alliance. But all their attempts failed, as they were bound to do, for Raghojee had no faith in them as he was well acquainted with their character. But his death in April 1816 was hailed with delight by them, for now was the opportunity for them to get the object so dear to their hearts accomplished. The long train of intrigues which had been set in motion ever since the appointment of Elphinstone as Envoy at Nagpur was now to carry them to the desired goal.

Raghoji Bhosla had a son named Pursajee, commonly known as Bala Sahab. This prince was of weak intellect and incapable of managing his affairs. But he had a cousin, the cele-

brated Appa Saheb, who was a capable man and every one in Nagpur used to look upon him as the future successor of Raghoji. The English Resident also did the same and, therefore, even in the life-time of Raghoji, to win him over to the cause of the British Government, intrigued with him by showing him some undue favors. Appa Saheb had not been on good terms with his uncle, who for some causes, the nature of which it is difficult to ascertain now, desired to deprive him of a portion of his estate which he had inherited from his father. There can be no question of the legality and validity of such a step on the part of Raghoji, for he was the independent sovereign of his kingdom and exercised unlimited power over the lives and properties of his subjects. But his nephew, Appa Saheb, appealed to the Resident to intercede on his behalf and prevent the Raja from accomplishing his desire. The Resident, of course, had no power to do so. Yet, setting all articles of the treaty at naught, he interested himself in the cause of Appa Saheb. We are told that his estate

'had been preserved to him, at last, by the aid of a remonstrance of the British Resident at Nagpur; and this circumstance not only produced an irreconcilable difference between the two princes, but induced Raghojee to have recourse to a series of measures, calculated to annoy and distress his nephew in every possible way.\*

Thus was Appa Saheb won over to the side of the English and was therefore no doubt the centre of intrigues in Nagpur. However, when his uncle was on his death-bed, he was sent for and earnestly entreated, as a dying request, to look after the welfare of the principality. Raghojee placed the hand of his son within that of Appa Saheb and said that he made him the depository of the family honor.

On the death of Raghojee, owing to the incapacity of his son, a council of regency was formed, of which Appa Saheb was the head. No sooner was the news of Raghojee's death known than Marquess of Hastings issued instructions to Mr. Jenkins to draw, by any means within his power, Appa Saheb into the net of Subsidiary Alliance. He looked on the death of Raghojee as the long sought for opportunity to accomplish this object. Mr. Prinsep writes:—

"The intrigues and passing occurrences of that court likewise promised equally to give the long-sought opportunity of establishing a subsidiary connection with the Nagpur State."

It is not necessary to enter into the labyrinth of these intrigues which, it is not unreasonable to suppose, was to a great extent the creation of the English to gain their end. How desirous the Governor-General was for

the alliance and the advantages which he thought would be derived from it, is evident from what Mr. Prinsep has written in the work\* referred to above.

Amidst all these intrigues, Pursajee was formally installed as Raja, and Appa Saheb was solemnly declared to be vested, by the Raja himself, with the sole and entire conduct of the public affairs. Mr. Prinsep writes that—

"Mr. Jenkins was the first to offer his own congratulations and those of the government he represented, upon the auspicious commencement of the new reign."

Well might have Mr. Jenkins done so, knowing how useful a tool Appa Saheb would prove in his hands. Mr. Prinsep has shown in his work† the nature of the intrigues that reigned in Nagpur.

It was these intrigues which, it is said, induced Appa Saheb to seek the aid of the English. Mr. Jenkins was only too glad to embrace the opportunity to place the yoke of the subsidiary alliance on the neck of the Nagpur Chief. It was necessary to mature the conspiracy at the dead of night. Accordingly it was done on the night of the 24th April.‡ How

\* See pages 340-341 and 350 and 351 of the History of Political and Military Transactions of India.

† Pages 357-358 of Vol. I.

‡ From the Private Journal of the Marquess of Hastings, pp. 254 et seq. Panini Office reprint: "June 1st [1816]. This day has brought to me the treaty of alliance by which Nagpore in fact ranges itself as a feudatory State under our protection. A singular contention of personal interests at the court of that country, resulting from the unexpected death of Ragojee Bhoosla, the late Rajah, has enabled me to effect that which has been fruitlessly labored at for the last twelve years. Though dexterity has been requisite, and money has removed obstructions, I can affirm that the principles of my engagement are of the purest nature. Pursojee Bhoosla, only son of the late Rajah, succeeded to the musnad without opposition. He is blind, and thence *used to remain* unseen in the palace so that in fact he was unknown. He was generally understood to be of weak capacity, but when his elevation gave people the opportunity of examining him, he was discovered to be literally an idiot. His cousin Appa Saheb an active sensible man, about twenty years of age, is presumptive heir to the musnad, Pursojee having no children. Through his natural pretension, and with as much of assent as the Rajah could comprehend and testify, Appa Saheb was called to the guidance of affairs as minister. Aware that there is a strong party against him in the palace, he feared that Pursojee might be made to adopt a son, which according to Mahratta institutions would cut out Appa Saheb. The latter had to apprehend that this would be a machination of Scindiah's with the women of the palace, and those apparent dependents who

\* Prinsep's History of the Political and Military Transactions in India, Vol. I., p. 345.

this nefarious business was transacted has been very well described by Mr. Prinsep.\*

The Subsidiary Alliance which Appa Sahib contracted with the then British Government was very unpopular with the nobles and people of Nagpur. Mr. Jenkins knew as much. As long as Pursajee was alive, there was a fear lest he should some day try to revoke the alliance. On the morning of the 1st February 1817, Pursajee was found dead in his bed which suggested that violence had been used in causing his death. Of course, at that time, Appa Sahib was not in Nagpur.†

Mr. Jenkins took no notice of all that the people were talking about it and even did not refer to it in his correspondence with the Governor-General. In his letter to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors dated 21st August 1820, the Marquis of Hastings wrote :

This letter stated the Resident's conviction, that the late Raja of Nagpore, Bala Sahib, had been

really guide them ; and he foresaw that in such an event Scindiah would support the adopted child with troops, in order to acquire the rule over Nagpore.

Under these impression, Appa Sahib was not difficult to be worked upon. He is confirmed in his legitimate power, and he is ensured against the adoption by my professing to consider Pursojce incapable of the volition necessary to the act. This is most strictly true, for the poor Rajah has no will or wish beyond eating and sleeping. The security, therefore, to Appa Sahib is only simple justice. I believe the advantage of our having thus converted Nagpore from a very doubtful neighbour into a devoted friend is universally felt here ; yet the whole extent of the gain will not be thoroughly computed. The arrangement enables me to leave unguarded above three hundred miles of frontier, for which I had difficulty to allot defence ; it totally oversets the plan at which Scindiah has been secretly working for inducing the Peishwa to re-establish the Mahratta confederacy ; it deprives Scindiah of troops and treasure, on which he calculated in all his hostile speculations ; it gives to me, by the junction of Colonel Doveton's Corps with the Nagpore forces, an efficient army on the open flank of Scindiah's country ; and it renders the interception of the Pindaries, should they venture another inroad into our southern territories almost certain. I regard this event as giving me the fairest ground of confidence that I shall be able to achieve all I wish to effect for the Company's interest without any war. This rests on our presumption of the Peishwa's fidelity. If he be treacherous ( and there is no answering for a Mahratta ), we might have a struggle ; but the consequence of such a contest could not now be doubtful, and it would only make the ultimate arrangement more beneficial to the Company."

\* Ibid, page; 358-368 of Vol. I.

† The circumstances which led to his leaving Nagpur have been narrated by Mr. Prinsep in his History, Vol. I, pages 421-426.

murdered by order of Appa Sahib. The Court of Directors were referred, in the letter of the Governor-General in Council dated the 1st of October 1819, to the proofs by which this fact became satisfactorily established. I now allude to it because the circumstances which impressed Mr. Jenkins with the belief of this atrocity having been committed materially induced his resolution to arrest the Rajah. Mr. Jenkins's suspicions as to the fact had, indeed, been excited at the period of Bala Sahib's decease but circumstances, which I need not recapitulate, having somewhat lessened them, and the difficulty of acquiring satisfactory proof being apparent, he did not deem it right to intimate, even to his own government, doubts which had been in a great degree dismissed from his own mind nearly as soon as they had been admitted."

Now the above clearly leads to the suspicion that Mr. Jenkins was a party to the murder, (supposing the death of Bala Sahib was due to foul play), for he, at that time, did nothing to investigate it, although by his own showing it was being freely whispered in Nagpur and that he failed in his duty in not reporting the matter to the Government of India ; or that charging Appa Sahib with the murder was merely an after thought made with some ulterior motives the nature of which it is not difficult to guess. As to the so-called proofs, it is notorious how easily evidence could be fabricated by a little manipulation on the part of the men in power against a fallen man. Truly did Macaulay write in his famous essay on Warren Hastings :

"They considered him a fallen man, and they acted after the kind some of our readers may have seen in India, a crowd of crows pecking a sick vulture to death. No bad type of what happens in that country, as often as fortune deserts one who had been great and dreaded. In an instant all the sycophants who had lately been ready to lie for him, forge for him, to pander for him, to poison for him, hasten to purchase the favor of his victorious enemies by accusing him. An Indian Government has only to let it be understood that it wishes a particular man to be ruined, and in twenty-four hours it will be furnished with grave charges, supported by dispositions so full and circumstantial, that any person unaccustomed to Asiatic mendacity, would regard them as decisive. It is well if the signature of the destined victim is not counterfeited at the foot of some illegal compact, and if some illegal paper is not slipped into a hiding place in the house."

Such being the case, the statement that Bala Sahib was murdered by his cousin Appa Sahib may be doubted. However, after Bala Sahib's death, Appa Sahib returned to Nagpur, but his attitude towards his British allies was much changed. The Subsidiary Alliance proved a galling yoke to his neck and he seemed to have bitterly repented the hour when he was lured into its snare.

"The conditions of the treaty were somewhat severe," writes Prof. Horace Hayman Wilson, "and



the amount of the subsidy exceeded a due proportion of the revenues of the country. The charge of the contingent was an addition to a burthen already too weighty for the State, and the Raja had some grounds for complaining of the costliness of his new friends."

In a foot-note to the above passage the same author adds :—

"The whole charge of the subsidy and contingent, amounted to between twenty and thirty lakhs a year, and were more than one-third of the whole revenue."

Thus Appa Saheb had good cause for his dissatisfaction with the greedy Company's servants. It is not unnatural, therefore, that the manner in which he was being ill-treated and bullied by his English friends made him determined to throw off their yoke.\*

How the Raja was being subjected to petty annoyances may also be gathered from the following extracts from the letter of the Marquis of Hastings to the Secret Committee of the East India Company dated 21st August 1820. He wrote :—

"We had, soon after his accession, much reason to be dissatisfied with his conduct, both as to his dismissal of the ministers, Nagoo Pundit and Narayan Pundit, who had been chiefly instrumental in bringing about the alliance, and as to his continued negotiations with Bajee Rao. The latter, although they might not be pronounced positive indications of a hostile spirit, considering the Maratha habits of deception, were still direct infractions of the treaty. His entire failure in the organization and maintenance of his contingent, on the footing which the treaty entitled us to expect and demand, and his evident disregard, notwithstanding his professions to the contrary, of the Resident's repeated instances directed to that object, constituted an equally important ground of complaint....."

"Although every exertion, in the form of advice and of kind admonition, was employed by the Resident to direct the attention of the Rajah to the true character of the conduct which he was pursuing, and to its unavoidable tendency to the destruction of the alliance from which he, and the state under his rule, has already so largely benefited, no impression seemed to have been made on him, until the termination of the discussions at Poona, in June 1817. That event was calculated to have a salutary influence on his future views and procedures, and might have warned him of the peril to which he would expose himself and his government, should he permit himself to be allured by the fallacious project of a general combination against our power.†

It was of course necessary for the British Government of those days not to take into consideration the fact that their ally was not in a position to carry out all the conditions and provisions of the Treaty into which he had been

betrayed by scheming and designing men in the pay of the Company. That Appa Saheb was anxious to do everything in his power to conciliate the British Government and not to offend them is evident from the testimony of Sir John Malcolm, a no inexperienced diplomatist and certainly a better qualified man than Mr. Jenkins. In his dispatch dated 9th October 1817, to the Governor-General, he wrote :—

"Having received instructions from his Excellency Sir Thomas Hislop to proceed to Nagpore, for the purpose of obtaining information regarding the resources of the country, and making such arrangements with the Resident and the local Government, as were necessary for the general objects of the public service, I left Hyderabad on the 4th of September, and reached Nagpore on the 23rd of that month ; and during a stay of ten days every object that was in the contemplation of his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief has, I hope, been accomplished..... It only remains, therefore, for me to state the general tenor of the Conference I had with the Raja, and the impression left upon my mind by his sentiments and conduct.

"The Raja came to a garden three miles from Nagpore to meet me, and was very pointed in paying me every compliment that could mark the gratification he received from the visit ; but as the meeting was one of ceremony, nothing particular passed. Two days after I paid my respects to him at his palace in the city, and after sitting some time in public darbar, he retired to another room, accompanied by Mr. Jenkins, Ram Chandra Waugh, and myself. He, upon this occasion, entered fully into a discussion of all points connected with the full performance of his engagements, and expressed himself very solicitous to deserve your Lordship's approbation by his efforts on the present occasion ; which I stated to him, in the strongest manner, presented the most favorable opportunity for proving the sincerity of his professions....."

"The day after this interview I went with Mr. Jenkins to look at the contingent, of whom there were drawn up for inspection two thousand five hundred horse, and two thousand infantry. The horse were in appearance better than I had expected, several parties were very well mounted. The infantry, though an undisciplined rabble, are stout men, and may even, in their present state (if they are regularly paid) be found serviceable in the defence of posts, and the guarding of passes over rivers and mountains.

"I paid my visit of leave on the 4th instant, the day I left Nagpore ; and though the Raja was in considerable distress on account of the dangerous illness of his favorite wife, he did not decline entering upon business. The minister being absent, he retired, unattended by anyone but Mr. Jenkins and myself, to a private room, where he took the opportunity of entering very fully into his condition, and that of his country. He had, he observed, deliberately and advisedly abandoned all other connections for that of the British Government. He knew, he said, his own stability, and the prosperity of his subjects, depended upon his adherence to this policy, which nothing could ever make him change. He earnestly solicited me to impress this upon your Lordship's mind....."

"I believe the Raja to be sincere in the professions

\* The treatment which he was at this time receiving at the hands of Mr. Jenkins, has been described by Mr. Prinsep in his History, Vol. I, pp. 427—430.

† Papers respecting the Pindary and Mahratta Wars, p. 423.

he made to me at these conferences, but though satisfied that he at present harbours no unfriendly feelings to the alliance, and that any undesire which the artifice of others might lead him to form for disobeying it, would be checked by his apprehensions of our power, I fear his inexperience, the intrigues of a divided court, and the actual condition of the state he rules, will prevent our receiving for some period that efficient aid from the resources of his country, which might, under a general view, be anticipated. The recent changes that have taken place in his ministers must have increased the violence of the different parties; combinations will continue to be formed against the favorite of the day, and his disgrace will be sought through the usual means of misrepresenting and counteracting his measures. The Raja, though convinced of the necessity of an alliance with the British Government, has a natural jealousy of the progress of that to encroach upon his independence. This is the ground, therefore, which is taken by men, who, covering their private feelings under the garb of patriotic spirit, desire to impress his mind with a belief, that his minister is in reality our agent; and the caution this imposes upon the latter must create delays and obstructions to the public service that will often wear the appearance of indifference if not of hostility.....

"Besides all these causes, a degree of inertness

appears to pervade every department of this Government, which requires to be seen before it can be believed. We should not perhaps quarrel with a failing to which we, in a considerable degree, owe the incalculable advantages we have already derived from the connection; and the inconveniences we now experience from this cause will, I am assured, be corrected, as far as it is possible they can be, by the unremitting efforts of the Resident, to whose knowledge and energy I look, with a hope that nothing else could inspire, for the gradual fulfilment of every object that your Lordship's foresight contemplated in the formation of this important alliance."

Malcolm's usual quickness of perception grasped the situation at once; and had he, or a man of his type, been the political resident at Nagpur, matters would not have come to that pass which they did under the blundering policy of Jenkins, who, as said before, resembled Elphinstone in almost every respect. Although the Raja always called him his brother, that resident never did any brotherly act to that unfortunate prince. Indeed as the subsequent events show he was bent upon his ruin.

(To be continued.)

X.

## INDIA AND IMPERIAL PREFERENCE

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THE history of the British Empire reveals many changes in the attitude of Great Britain towards the other parts of the Empire. An eminent writer points out that, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries colonies were treated as compulsory markets for the industrial products of England; all attempts at an independent industrial development were suppressed, and both importation and exportation were monopolised for the benefit of the ruling part of the Empire. But the revolt and separation of the United States demonstrated how dangerous such measures of compulsion might become. After that event the effort was to actively encourage the development of colonial production along lines in which competition with the ruling power did not arise. This policy met with the greatest success in the tropical colonies and the great dependency of India, where the encourage-

ment of the production of high-value raw materials, such as cotton, jute, coffee, and tobacco, not merely brought profits to the colonies and dependencies, but also facilitated and secured the supply of raw materials for the industries of England. In many parts of the Empire, some restrictions are still in force. But the Self-governing Dominions now frame their tariff laws in accordance with their own fiscal requirements and are not debarred even from protecting themselves against the mother country.\*

The latest change to be brought into use is the system of preferential trade. It was recommended in the English Colonial Conferences which have been meeting since 1887, and the first step was taken by Canada, when in 1898 she granted a duty reduction of twenty-five per cent., which was increased

\* Grunzel, *Economic Protectionism*, pp. 45 and 46.

in 1900 to thirty-three and one-third per cent., on the goods imported from the United Kingdom. This was followed by similar measures adopted by the South African Union, New Zealand and Australia. For many years, however, there was no response from the side of Great Britain, although Imperial Preference formed one of the chief planks of the political platform of the Conservative Party in the country. The Liberals were opposed to such a policy, and during the period of their ascendancy, the question was practically shelved.

The late war, however, brought the question of Imperial Preference again into prominence. The reason was two-fold. In the first place, public attention was directed to the extent to which the United Kingdom was economically dependent upon foreign countries, particularly for the supply of raw materials. On April 26, 1917, the Imperial War Cabinet passed a resolution, which was afterwards approved by the Imperial Conference, to this effect: "The time has arrived when all possible encouragement should be given to the development of Imperial resources, and specially to making the Empire independent of other countries in respect of food supplies, raw materials, and essential industries. With these objects in view, this Conference expresses itself in favour of the principle that each part of the Empire having due regard to the interests of our Allies, should give favourable treatment and facilities to the produce and manufactures of other parts of the Empire."\* Of the questions referred to the Committee on Commercial and Industrial Policy After the War, the two most important were: (i) "to what extent and by what means the resources of the Empire should and can be developed," and (ii) "to what extent and by what means the resources of supply within the Empire can be prevented from falling under foreign control." In order to gain these objects, the Committee recommended the readjustment and development of the economic relations of the Dominions and Colonies and of India with the United Kingdom.

The second reason was the growth of the idea of Imperial unity. The whole-hearted and ungrudging assistance rendered by the Dominions, Colonies and Dependencies to

the mother country in the greatest crisis with which she had ever been faced considerably strengthened the feeling of solidarity within the Empire. The desire has now become common to confirm the bond of sentiment by 'the consolidating force of material interests.' Years ago, Mr. Chamberlain had declared:

"The establishment of commercial union throughout the Empire would not only be the first step, but the main step, the decisive step, towards the realization of the most inspiring idea that has ever entered into the minds of British statesmen."

The advocates of Imperial unity think that the time is now ripe for giving practical shape to this sentiment.

It is generally believed that Imperial Preference will not only place the relations between Great Britain and the 'sister nations' on a firmer footing than at present, but would apply a stimulus to British industry. On the other hand, it is also claimed that such a policy will prove immensely beneficial to the Dominions. As between Great Britain and the Dominions, therefore, preferential trade is a matter of mutual benefit.

In all discussions about Imperial Preference, India is mentioned only incidentally. In 1903, Lord George Hamilton, Secretary of State for India, drew the attention of the Government of India to a Resolution which had been passed in 1902 of the Conference of Colonial Premiers in favour of preferential tariffs as between different members of the British Empire, and intimated his desire to receive from them any observations and suggestions which they might wish to make from the point of view of Indian interests.

The Government of India sent a despatch in reply to this letter in which they discussed at some length the various economic aspects of the question. They observed at the outset that the recommendation was of an extremely general and indefinite character, and was hedged round with many qualifications, and provisos. After examining the figures of the import and export trade of India, they pointed out that about three-fourths of the total imports of India came from the British Empire, and that of the remaining one-fourth a substantial part consisted of articles such as petroleum, beet-sugar, wines, silk manufactures and the like, which the British Empire either did not produce or was not in a favourable position to supply. They pointed out, further, that the imports of India from

\* Quoted in Gregory, *Tariffs*, p. 271.

the British Empire exceeded the exports thereto by 7½ millions sterling; while her exports to foreign countries exceeded her imports from them by about 38 millions sterling, and the total exports of India exceeded her total imports by upwards of 38 millions sterling. In this connection they remarked that in as much as India was a debtor country, she was dependent on her trade with foreign countries for the discharge of her international obligations.\*

With regard to exports, the Government of India observed that the situation was somewhat different. The value of raw materials, they said, approximated to 50 per cent. of the total value of India's exports. The articles which formed this group were required by the importing countries for their manufacturing industries, and it was to their interest to admit them on the easiest possible terms. Thus, seeds were admitted free everywhere except in Germany, Italy, Austria-Hungary, Russia, and the United States, and in the three latter countries duties were levied only on one or two classes only. Raw cotton from India was free except in Italy and Russia. Raw jute was dutiable only in Russia. Raw hides and skins were free except in the United States and with some slight exceptions in France and Japan. Similar remarks would apply to numerous other articles of this group. Even when duties were imposed, they were, as a general rule, of moderate amount. In the three other classes of goods, however, the privilege did not obtain except in the United Kingdom and Holland, and in the former country tea, coffee, tobacco and unrefined sugar were subject to very high duties. Excluding these four articles, India's exports to the United Kingdom in the three classes of food-stuffs, manufactures, and other articles, obtained free entry. Raw materials also enjoyed the same advantage.

The net result, observed the Government of India, was that Indian exports approximating to one-half of the entire volume of her export trade were admitted free of duty into the consuming markets, while of the remainder a considerable proportion was either subject to relatively moderate duties, or, as in the United Kingdom, to duties imposed for purely revenue purposes and with no attempt to differentiate against her.

The Government of India then went on to discuss in what way the then existing condition of things was likely to be affected by the inclusion of India in any scheme of inter-Imperial preferential tariffs. Two possible alternatives presented themselves to the Government. In the first alternative, India might join the scheme on exactly the same footing as any of the self-governing Dominions, and would, if there were a need, impose duties of a protective character, against imports from the United Kingdom and other parts of the British Empire, subject to the condition that so far as her circumstances permitted she would give substantial preferential treatment to the products and manufactures of the United Kingdom. This alternative, however, the Government of India did not consider to be within the sphere of practical politics, for all past experience indicated that, in the decision of any fiscal question concerning India, powerful sections of the community in Great Britain would continue to demand that their interests, and not those of India alone, would be allowed consideration.

In the second alternative, India would maintain her import duties on British and colonial goods, at such low general rates, equal to or somewhat less than that in force at the time, as might be required for revenue purposes, and would impose a slightly higher rate on foreign goods sufficient to give the former class a preference of 25 per cent. or thereabouts. The result of this alternative might be of appreciable advantage to the United Kingdom. But so far as India was concerned, the balance of advantage was distinctly adverse; because in the first place, the Government of India might be forced to shape their policy not in accordance with their own needs, but according to the interests and demands of other constituents of the Empire; and, secondly, they would lose a portion of the revenue which they received at the time from British and colonial imports, and it would be extremely difficult to make up the deficit by enhanced duties on foreign goods. The Government also pointed out that the last and greatest source of injury to India would be retaliation by foreign countries. And in this connection they emphasised the fact that India was a debtor country, and the only means consistent with national solvency o

\* Letter, dated 22nd October, 1903, Cd. 1931.

discharging this obligation lay in the preservation of a substantial excess of exports over imports.

The Government of India summarised their conclusions as to the question of the participation by India in a policy of preferential tariffs within the Empire, thus :

"Firstly, that without any such system, India already enjoys a large, and probably an exceptionally large, measure of the advantages of the free exchange of imports and exports.

"Secondly, that if the matter is regarded exclusively from an economic stand-point, India has something, but not perhaps very much, to offer to the Empire ; that she has very little to gain in return ; and that she has a great deal to lose or to risk.

"Thirdly, that in a financial aspect, the danger to India of reprisals by foreign nations even if eventually unsuccessful, is so serious and their results would be so disastrous, that we should not be justified in embarking on any new policy of the kind unless assured of benefits greater and more certain than any which have, so far, presented themselves to our mind."\*

No step was taken by the Government of India in the direction of Imperial Preference until 1919, when a Bill was passed imposing a duty on hides and skins and coupled with a rebate in favour of Great Britain, the Dominions, and other British Possessions. This was suspected by the public to be a measure involving a principle of more than fleeting interest, but the Government of India desired that it was proposed as part of a scheme of Imperial Preference.

Nearly two decades have elapsed since the Government of India expressed their views on the question. In the meanwhile, there has been a great increase in the volume and extent of the foreign trade of India and considerable change in its direction. The character of India's commerce has, however, remained substantially unaltered. An examination of the present situation confirms this opinion. But here we are confronted with a difficulty. The abnormal conditions created by the war still subsist to some extent and it will be sometime before they give place to normal conditions. The annual statistics relating to Indian trade, therefore, have to be used, for purposes both of comparison and forecast, with a certain amount of reserve and circumspection.

The approximate total value of the annual foreign trade of India may be taken as Rs. 650 crores, of which exports are worth

about Rs. 350 crores, and imports Rs. 300 crores.\* Nearly 61 per cent. of the imports comes from the United Kingdom, 5 per cent. from the rest of the British Empire, and 34 per cent. from foreign countries. As for exports, nearly 22 per cent. goes to the United Kingdom, about the same percentage to the other countries of the Empire, and 56 per cent. to foreign countries. India does not import goods in considerable quantities from any of the Self-governing Dominions, while Australia is the only Dominion to which Indian commodities are exported in any appreciable amount. It is worthy of note that, as compared with the figures of 1903, while there has been a steady and continuous increase in the amount of imports from the United Kingdom, there has been a decrease in the proportionate share of that country in the import trade of India. The same remark also applies to the rest of the Empire. As for exports, there has been a growth in the volume of the trade with the United Kingdom, but a decline in percentages, while the other countries of the Empire, together, have increased their total as well as their proportionate share.

Coming to the character of the foreign trade, we find that the bulk of India's imports from the United Kingdom consists of manufactured goods, while much the greater part of her exports to that country consists of either articles of food or raw materials for industries. This is true also, to a greater or less extent, of the trade with the Self-governing Dominions, jute manufactures being almost the only exception. The goods supplied to India by the United Kingdom and the Self-governing Dominions generally compete with the products of foreign countries ; but commodities exported from India to the United Kingdom and the Dominions compete only in a few cases with commodities from other countries. For instance, in the rice trade with the United Kingdom, India holds her own ; in tea, Ceylon comes

\* In 1920-21, the total value of the foreign trade was Rs. 674 crores, of which exports were worth 292½ crores, and imports, 381½. These figures were, however, wholly abnormal. The figures for 1919-20 may be said to have approached more closely to the normal, being Rs. 300 crores for imports and Rs. 340½ crores for exports. *Vide Review of the Trade of India, 1920-21,*

\* Letter, dated 22nd October, 1903, Cd. 1931.

next to India ; in coffee, there is successful competition ; in wool, India lags far behind the Dominions ; in jute, India has a world's monopoly ; in seeds generally, she has the bulk of the market, although in cotton seed India and Egypt are in close competition, and in linseed, Argentine is a keen rival ; in hides, India holds her own. Canada imports from India jute manufactures, tea, lac and shellac, and exports to her motor-cars and some miscellaneous articles. South Africa's purchases from India consist of rice, cotton piece-goods and tea, while her exports to her are negligible. Australia takes from India jute manufactures, rice, vegetable oils, tea and coffee, and sends horses, railway plant, and oilman's stores. New Zealand purchases from India jute manufactures and sells her a few miscellaneous articles. The trade of India with the other British possessions is more important than with the Dominions. Ceylon imports from India rice and other food grains, seeds, and jute manufactures, and exports to her metals and spices. The imports of the Straits Settlements from India consist of rice and other food grains, cotton yarns and manufactures, jute manufactures, seeds, and tobacco ; while the chief exports to India are mineral oils, spices, and dyeing and tanning substances. Sugar is the principal article of import from Mauritius, while food-grains and jute manufactures are the chief exports to that colony.\*

Let us now see whether, as things stand at present, Great Britain has anything to offer to India under a scheme of Imperial Preference. In order that India may derive any benefit from such a policy, preferences must be given in Great Britain to goods which are purchased by her from India in considerable quantities. Such commodities are raw cotton, hides and skins, jute, ( raw and manufactured ), lac, rice, raw rubber, seeds, tea, wheat, raw wool and minerals. Of these, rice, wheat and tea are articles of food, and any preferences in respect of them would mean the levy of duties or increase in the rates of duty on imports of these articles from countries other than India. This would result in a rise of the cost of living, which is hardly likely to be tolerated by the people of a democratic country like

England. There is at present a small preference granted to India in respect of tea.\* All the other articles mentioned above are raw materials for industries. As prices of manufactured goods depend largely upon the prices of raw materials, preferential duties levied on them would lead to an increase of production costs. As an eminent colonial statesman puts it,

"A great manufacturing country such as Great Britain would be made to impose a tax on raw materials from which she manufactured her goods for export"†

Such a possibility was definitely brushed aside by the late Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, the greatest advocate of Imperial Preference, who said on one occasion,

"I repeat in the most explicit terms that I do not propose a tax on raw materials."

The only manufactured product imported by England from India is jute. But in this respect the only rival is Dundee. No preference is thus possible in regard to this article. The other imports from India are of comparative insignificance. India's trade with the Self-governing Dominions is, as we have already seen, small, and the preferences now given by them are not of any appreciable use to her. Nor is an extended scheme likely to bring her much profit. The other British possessions may be ignored for our purpose. They are subject countries, and their trade activities are directed not in their own interests, but in the interests of other nations.

Great Britain and the Dominions have thus very little to offer to India under a scheme of Imperial Preference. Let us now consider whether India can offer any advantages to those countries. The most important classes of goods imported by India from England are : cotton manufactures, chemicals, building materials, leather manufactures, hardware, scientific instruments, iron and steel manufactures, alcoholic liquors, motor-cars, railway plant, machinery, rubber manufactures, soap and toilet requisites, stationery articles, woollen manufactures, and cigarettes. Some of these classes of goods compete with

\* J. A. Hobson says : "It will be impossible to advocate any new import duties upon either foods or raw materials, in view of the world shortage likely to exist for years to come. With this admission virtually disappears the substance of Imperial Preference." *Taxation in the New State*, p. 140.

† The extract is from a speech of Sir William Lyne quoted in Carrey's *British Colonial Policy*, p. 245.

goods of local manufacture, and with the industrial progress of the country, many more classes will also begin so to compete. No advantages can, of course, be given to Great Britain in respect of them. India is now about to adopt a system of protection, and it is necessary to consider how far it is possible to reconcile such a system with preferential trade. As a recent writer puts it, "a policy of protection for producers in any case involves some check to the flow of competing imports, whilst the grant of preference will quicken this flow."\* No step should, therefore, be taken which may, even in the slightest measure, neutralise the effect of the productive policy of India.

There are other classes of manufactured goods imported from Great Britain which compete, not with the indigenous manufacturers, but with the commodities of such countries as the United States, Germany and Japan. If preferences are to be granted in respect of these, they will take one of the two following forms. Either the duties on goods imported from England may be lowered, while retaining the duties on goods from other countries at the existing rates; or a surtax may be levied on goods from foreign countries in addition to the existing duties, while keeping the duties on British goods unaltered. In both these cases, however, the result will be a loss to India. In the former, there will be a sacrifice of revenue; in the latter, a rise in prices. Similarly, in the matter of exports, a policy of preference is likely to be detrimental to Indian interests. If a higher rate of duty is levied on exports to foreign countries than on exports to Great Britain, India will run the risk of losing some of her markets. On the other hand, if a rebate is granted to exports to Great Britain without changing the rate of the export duty payable by foreign countries, the Indian exchequer will suffer.

Great Britain, of course, will derive much benefit from preferential relations between herself and India. Such relations will not only afford a stimulus to British industry, but will quicken the entrepot trade of Great Britain which is of immense value to her. If substantial preferences are granted in India to imports from Great Britain, the people of the latter country, taking advantage

of such duties, will act as middlemen in respect of goods not produced within her borders. So also, in the matter of exports, they will act as intermediaries between Indian producers and foreign purchasers. Her experience in regard to the preferential duty on hides and skins cannot but serve as an object-lesson to India. The grant of the rebate of ten per cent., places leather manufacturers in foreign countries in an unfavourable position as compared with British manufacturers, and the former are thus driven to purchase their raw materials elsewhere. It is also believed that a considerable part of the raw hides and skins exported to Great Britain finds its way to other countries, to whom it is more profitable to buy such goods through Great Britain than direct from India. It seems a bit unreasonable to compel India to incur loss in order that she may give middlemen's profits to the people of Great Britain.

Another question to be considered in this connexion is the possibility of retaliation by foreign countries whose interests may be adversely affected by inter-Imperial preferential trade. It is true that these countries are interested in obtaining India's raw produce. But, some of India's raw products compete with similar products of other countries, and differential duties may, in other cases, drive purchasers to seek substitutes. It is sometimes suggested that, in case of retaliation, India may hit back again by levying heavy duties on the manufactured goods imported from the retaliating countries. But it is not improbable that India will hurt herself in trying to inflict harm on others. Besides, such a policy may land her in a complex long-down series of tariff wars the end of which it would be difficult to foresee. Retaliation, therefore, is a real and serious danger which should be kept in view in considering the question of Imperial Preference.

India can only be asked, with some show of reason, to adopt a policy of Imperial Preference if a gain can be assured to her to counter-balance the probable loss resulting from such a policy. But, as we have already seen, Great Britain has very little to offer to India, and the risk of retaliation is great. Would it not, therefore, be too much to expect the people of India to "allow themselves to be hurried blindfold to the goal at which

\* Gregory, *Tariffs*, p. 295.

the prize will be distributed to their inevitable disadvantage?"\*

As a business proposition, therefore, Imperial Preference cannot be supported from the Indian point of view, however desirable it may be from the standpoint of Great Britain. India's trade with the Dominions is exceedingly small, and may be left out of account. As a matter of fact, the advocates of Imperial Preference always look at the question from the British and Colonial, and not the Indian, standpoint. Even persons who ought to feel grateful to India for what they owe her have the same narrow vision. Sir Roper Lethbridge, for instance, said not very long ago: "In any reasonable scheme for the commercial federation of the British Empire, India must occupy the chief place after the mother country. At this moment, among the constituent States of the Empire she is at once the largest producer of food and raw material and one of the largest consumers of manufactured products. And potentially, with her 300,000,000 of thrifty, industrious, and progressive workers, she is a commercial unit of greater importance in the world, whether for exports or for imports, than almost any other."† Evidently, the importance of India is not for her own sake but for the sake of the Empire. And she is destined for ever to remain a producer of food and raw materials and a buyer of manufactured products. It is thus clear that in spite of all his professed friendliness to India, it is the interests of England that he has really at heart.

Sir Montagu Webb, one of the most successful European merchants in India, after describing the necessity for intelligently controlling the resources of India for Imperial ends, says in the concluding chapter of his interesting brochure:

"This being so, our duty in India is plain. We must join our voices to those of Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa in pressing upon the people of the United Kingdom the expediency of modifying their present tariff so as to utilise effectively the many opportunities which the Empire now offers of strengthening the position not only of Great Britain itself, but of the British Dominions throughout the world."‡

This brings us to the political aspect of

the question. Indians are often asked to consider preferential trade from the Imperial, rather than the local, standpoint. Sacrifice, say the advocates of such a policy, is the price of Empire. But whose Empire? Within the British Empire five different varieties of political status are distinguishable. In the first category stands Great Britain, who not only governs herself, but rules the greater part of the empire. Then come the Self-governing Dominions which are practically independent of outside authority, so far as their internal affairs are concerned. The other Colonies come next which, though subject to Great Britain, possess representative institutions. In the fourth class stand the dependencies and possessions which are in a state of complete subjection, and are autocratically governed. India stands as a class by herself. She is still a dependent country but has been promised full self-government.

In addition to these differences in political status, there are differences of race and colour, which introduce further complexities into the situation. An Imperial angle of vision may come natural and easy to the people of Great Britain and the white inhabitants of the Dominions and Colonies, who feel pride in belonging to an Empire over which the sun never sets. But the subject races cannot feel anything but humiliation in thinking of an Empire which has deprived them of their freedom and exploited their resources for purposes other than their own. The British Empire is sometimes described as a Commonwealth of Nations. But it looks a misnomer to describe an aggregation of countries as a Commonwealth, three-fourths of which are treated merely as "Estates". However striking the idea of an Imperial Zollverein may be to the imagination, it must remain an absurdity so long as the different countries remain separated, not merely by long distances, but by feelings and prejudices based on race, colour, and political status.

So far as India is concerned, Imperial Preference is not a practical proposition at the present moment. The question rests largely on sentiment. But to appeal to Indian sentiment in the existing state of things in the country is to misread human nature. Some may even regard such an appeal as an attempt to add insult to injury. When the advocates of Imperial Preference point to the attitude of the Dominions, they

\* Lord Crewe's speech, 1914.

† *India and Imperial Preference*.

‡ *India and the Empire*, p. 163.



forget the essential difference between those countries and India. Preferential trade between Great Britain and the Dominions is an 'arrangement between friends', a 'negotiation between kinsmen' by which both sides are to gain and neither to lose.\* But it is quite different with India. Economically, India is still a field for exploitation by foreigners, and politically her status is still that of a dependency, while the Dominions enjoy full self-government both in the political and the economic sphere. The Dominions first began to think of giving preferences to Great Britain long after they had been conceded the right of full responsible government. Nobody dares now to question their right to grant, withdraw or vary of their own will and at their own pleasure, any preferences they like. It is true that fiscal autonomy has in theory been granted to India. But fiscal autonomy can only be real when it is associated with political freedom.

The essence of a sacrifice is that it should be made in a willing manner. In order that a policy of Imperial Preference may lead to the greater solidarity of the component parts of the Empire, preferences should be given by each country of her own free will. But so long as India remains a subject country, any gifts made by her will be open to the suspicion that they are "forced gifts" like the "benevolences" granted to English Kings in the Middle Ages. And such suspicion is likely to intensify the discontent of which there is already far too much in the country. Besides, Imperial Preference forced on the people under present circumstances is likely to make them regard it as another device invented for the further exploitation of the country. It would, indeed, be extremely

unwise to take a step which is calculated to embitter feelings and strengthen prejudices, and which may easily lead to disastrous consequences.

The main principle which knits together the different parts of the Empire, said a British statesman the other day, is freedom. If this principle is applied to India, the result will be the same here as it has been in the Dominions. As soon as India attains full self-government, a community of interests will grow up between her and the other units of the federation, and there is no doubt that she will signify her attachment to the Commonwealth of Nations by agreeing to a policy of preferential trade relations.

The question has now been discussed from the Indian and Imperial points of view. But a word must be said about its international aspect. Preferential trade within the Empire would be beneficial to all parties so far as it would help to develop the resources of its component parts to the fullest extent and enable them to defend themselves against their enemies. But there is no reason why the British Empire should attempt to be absolutely self-sufficient. Mutual dependence of all countries upon one another ought to be the goal. Whether in economics or in politics, the essential unity and the common good of mankind must be kept steadily in view. It is only as a partial league of nations that a large aggregation can be supported. The Britannic Commonwealth of Free Nations, if properly constituted, may be a step towards the federation of the world. But a strong self-sufficient Empire, conscious of its excess of economic strength and guided by selfish and narrow ideals, would be a danger to the freedom of weak nations and a menace to the peace of the world.

\* *Vide Carrey, British Colonial Policy*, p. 251.

## AN EMBASSY FROM KING LOUIS XIV TO THE KING OF SIAM, 1685

ONCE upon a time in a strange land on the other side of the world, in an Oriental kingdom of visionary architecture where statues of pure gold glowed in the shadow of the royal pagodas, where giant flowers of a thousand colours

shone in the gardens like gigantic stars, where age-old gods crowned with jewelled tiaras smiled enigmatically in the warm obscurity of their ancient sanctuaries, there ruled an austere and fear-inspiring Prince. Surrounded by his fairy-like wives and

countless servants, this Prince withdrew himself from the profane gaze of his subjects and but once each year did he suffer himself to be seen, and then it was during a magnificent *fête*, meticulously ceremonial when he appeared like an idol who seemed to carry in his grave eyes all the wisdom and mystery of the world.

It was at least in this manner after the marvellous tales of several travellers from the Orient, that the court of Versailles pictured Phra Narai, this Eastern Prince, and his country of Siam, vague, distant, somewhere on the way to China.

And this Prince styled himself the Master of the Earth, the Master of Life, the August, the Perfect, the Supreme Ruler with Sacred Feet, the Son of Heaven.

At the same time in another corner of the world but a few leagues from Paris, the heart of Europe, another ruler by Divine Right reigned in splendour and luxury at Versailles. There, surrounded by the pomp of a gorgeous court, a multitude of courtesans at his feet, poets, painters, sculptors, historians, philosophers, all with no other care than to raise his glorious name to the heights of fame, amid his gold and jewels, his palaces and Eden-like gardens and his mistresses, also like an idol, lived this other Prince who called himself the Sun King.

It was at least in this manner that, on the faith of a few foreigners, the King of Siam and his court imagined this all-powerful Occidental Seigneur, the Son of the Sun—there, far away in the land of the Franks.

How were these two regal stars, burning almost at opposite ends of the Earth, to know of each other? How were the rays of their glory to shine upon each other?

The contact, the *agent de liaison*, so to speak, was supplied by the *Peres des Missions Etrangères*.

It was in 1658 that Monseigneur Pallu and Monseigneur de la Motte-Lambert founded the Congregation of Foreign Missions for the purpose of establishing a native-born clergy in China and in neighbouring countries. Such was the

origin of this far-reaching work in the Far East, which during the seventeenth, eighteenth and even the nineteenth century made of each one of these humble servants of God—*missi dominicii*—not only great messengers of the Faith, but in addition the unknown ambassadors of the Kings of France.

They established themselves without difficulty in Siam during the year 1662. Siam had always been, and it still cherishes this noble tradition, the most tolerant land in all the world. At this period, while in old and civilized Europe religions struggled passionately against each other (and in France it was the time of the *missions bottees*, the *dragonades* and the revocation of the Edict of Nantes), Siam, living after the teachings of Buddha, founder of a most indulgent and most profound philosophy, gave to the world her example of tolerance.

Skilfully the Catholic Fathers succeeded in interesting the King of Siam in their work. He generously accorded them a grant of land, permission of building a house and church and gave them the material with which to construct these buildings.

In 1680, scarcely eighteen years after its establishment, the Mission had more than forty missionaries, three seminaries, four chapels, and for the edification and instruction of their converts had translated into the Siamese tongue their catechism, prayers and numerous tracts on the existence of God and the mysteries of the Trinity and the Incarnation.

When in 1680 the news of the signing of the Peace of Nimes in 1678, which made Louis XIV the arbiter of Europe and marked the climax of his power, reached Siam, the French missionaries did not lose the occasion to inform the King and his court. So well did they accomplish this self-imposed task that they persuaded the King that it would be to his interest to enter into relations with this all-powerful Prince of the West. Thus it was that from 1680 to 1685 two ambassadorial missions laden with presents for the King of France—elephants, tigers, rhinoceroses and precious woods—left Siam for



A Siamese Ambassadorial Mission Offering Presents to Louis XIV of France.

the French capital. The first expedition was shipwrecked and nothing more was heard of it. The second, however, succeeded in reaching Versailles.

Louis XIV received the mission very cordially. In the various conversations which they had with the French ministers the Siamese ambassadors, who had been prepared in advance by the Jesuit priests and who had learned their lesson well, announced that the King, their Royal Master, had for a long time protected the Christians, that moreover he was not indisposed to accept Christianity for himself and that finally, if the King of France would propose through the intermediary of his own ambassadors that the King of Siam embrace the Christian faith, he would undoubtedly do so.

The zealous missionaries had exaggerated a bit, to be sure.

There was, however, a political reason of which the Siamese ministers had said nothing, but which surely had greatly influenced the determination of their King. The Dutch, already established in Java, were casting covetous eyes on the island of Malacca. This fact was not ignored by the government of Siam, which realised the advantage of an alliance with the King of France, who

had just succeeded in conquering all the peoples of Europe, particularly the Dutch.

Whatever were the reasons given by the Siamese envoys, guided by their advisor and interpreter, the l'ère Le Vacher, who had accompanied them from Siam, they had the desired effect.

Louis XIV, touched by the initiative taken by the King of Siam, convinced that it was not impossible to bring the Eastern Potentate into the fold of the Church if invited by a royal embassy and desirous, too, very likely at the instigation of Colbert, to obtain a foothold in this empire in order to develop the commerce of the *Compagnie des Indes*, decided that an imposing mission should be sent to carry his greeting to his distant friend.

Such was the origin of our embassy.

The leader of the mission was the Chevalier de Chaumont, a naval captain. He chose as his lieutenant Monsieur de Forbin, the son of a provincial gentleman, and for whom there was awaiting a brilliant career in the royal French navy.

In addition to these two men, completing the number of important personages in the embassy, the ship which set sail for Siam carried two churchmen. Of these one represented one of the most extraordi-

nary figures of the seventeenth century, a century in which phenomenal figures were not at all rare, the Abbe de Choisy. The other churchman was the Pere Tachard.

At the side of Guy Tachard, an irreproachable priest and at the same time an honest and fastidious narrator, the character of the Abbé de Choisy presents itself in strong relief. His strange personality was well known, almost celebrated. Before becoming—who knows by what intrigue at court—at the age of fortyone, coadjutor,—a title which had been created expressly for him—coadjutor to the French Ambassador to Siam, Francois Timoleon de Choisy had lead the most gallant and the most bizarre existence one could imagine. In spite of the fact that he wore the cloth and that he had been chosen conclavist by the Cardinal de Bouillon at the time of the election of Pope Innocent XI, he represented exactly the type of libertine, gambler and *débauché* that propagated itself during the reign of Louis XIV and his immediate successors.

He had, among others, the extravagant whim of disguising himself as a woman. Not content with this he went to extremes in luxurious dress and feminine coquetry. As such he appeared under the name of the Countess of Barres in his small hotel in the Faubourg Saint Marceau, and even assisted in the offices of the church dressed in silken robes and covered with jewels. He nevertheless aroused the admiration of the parish priest and edified the most devout parishioners of the Church in the quarter of Saint Médard.

This gallant Abbé, this effeminate churchman, who even during the long sea voyage carried with him a complete feminine wardrobe, a stock of paints, powders and perfumes, and who rouged his lips, wore beauty spots on his cheeks and rings on each of his tapering fingers, supported bravely the rude fatigues and the thousand and one inconveniences and dangers of a long journey in a small and uncomfortable vessel.

Thus powdered, perfumed and manicured we can picture the Abbé de Choisy,

coadjutor to the Ambassador of His Majesty Louis XIV, braving the fog and spray on the slippery deck, supporting himself by leaning against the ship's cordage, following with his eye the uncertain flight of some bird far above the rolling sea and devoutly calling forth an image of the placid and sanctifying flight of the white dove of the Holy Spirit.

It was the third of March, 1685, at eight o'clock in the morning that the "Oiseau", ship of war of His Majesty the King carrying forty-six pieces of cannon, set sail with flags and banners flying. Monsieur de Vaudricourt, a naval captain, commanded the ship. The Chevalier de Chaumont installed himself therein in his capacity as chief of the expedition. The "Oiseau" was accompanied by the frigate "Maligne", armed with twenty-four cannons, commanded by Lieutenant de Joyeux and peopled by a numerous party of lieutenants, ensigns, and under-officers all full of youth and eager to see and learn. The idea of serving the King under such adventurous conditions had fired their enthusiasm and imagination. A scientific mission composed of six Jesuit Fathers, mathematicians and astronomers joined the diplomatic mission and brought with it charts of the satellites of Jupiter with which they were to determine their position at sea, several large telescopes, three large clocks with second hands, and equinoctial quadrant, mirrors, microscopes, barometers, thermometers, and finally a large collection of books lent by the Royal Library.

They sailed on March 3, and near the end of September the coast of Siam was in view.

One after another they experienced storms and tornados accompanied by the sinister cracking of the mast in the jagged lightning, the straining of the ship which at times seemed ready to go to pieces, months of warm torrential rains which seemed to drown even the horizon, and still more frightful weeks without a breath of wind. When off the island of St. Helena they calmly discussed the question of going on to Brazil to find west winds.



The French Diplomatic and Scientific Mission at the Court of Siam.

Later they talked seriously of going to Ceylon and there passing the winter.

Happy epoch when a year counted for so little. What shall we say of our impatience of today when a small accident to engine or propellor retards our entry into the nearest port by a dozen hours?

The Ambassador, reluctant to lose a year in his mission caused masses to be said in honor of the Virgin and prayed her to intercede for better weather. The sailors from St. Malo promised, if the winds turned favorably, to make a pilgrimage on their return to the church of their patron Sajat Sauveur, barefooted and *en chemise*.

What was done aboard ship to while away the time on this interminable voyage? The Ambassador himself and his assistants made note almost every day of their impressions and of all that happened. We have to thank this agreeable custom for a number of journals of the long voyage written in a rather cold and monotonous style.

Then there was the sermon at least every Sunday and sometimes more often. The Jesuit Fathers were orators, their zeal was great and their congregation was made up of devout and eager listeners. There was not one among the latter

who did not hope that some day the gates of paradise would open to receive him. Under these conditions how could the sermons be other than good?

"The Père Vachet," notes deliciously the Abbé de Choisy, "is a bit long. But after seeing and hearing him, one feels certain that he believes all he says—what an advantage for a preacher to be thought sincere."

For their distraction there were days of fishing, games of chess, witty conversation, the study of astronomy and of Portuguese, which at that time was the current foreign tongue in the Extreme Orient, as English is today. The time passed,—one night there was an eclipse of the moon, another day there was the crossing of the Equator, the event accompanied by the traditional festivities. Often at the beginning of the voyage the sailors and soldiers, of whom the oldest was not more than thirty, sung the folksongs of Provence or Brittany, or perhaps they chanted religious hymns which sprung from their young and powerful throats like spontaneous improvisations. And then they danced to the music of their folksongs or to a violin (there was but one aboard)—danced light-heartedly with that frank Gallic gaiety which is the birth-right of every Frenchman. Truly, they

needed an ample supply of gaiety for this long voyage.

It is difficult today to imagine the comfort, or, better, the lack of comfort on those vessels of His Majesty the King. Picture, if you can, minutely small cabins, pallets of straw to serve as beds, water exceedingly rare and consequently parsimoniously distributed, baths a myth, the common room overheated, badly aired, without *pankhas* or ventilators, poorly lighted candles and smoky oil lamps. Near this common room was the steerage filled with chickens, sheep, pigs and cows brought along for the needs of the voyage and adding to the congestion of the human beings, a filthy steerage which gave off a mixed odor of cooking, refuse, smoke and salt water, which dominated all the odor of human perspiration.

And what of the pleasures of the table? The first days were not bad—but the sheep died, the cattle grew thin, the cows gave no more milk. There remained the chickens which miraculously continued to lay. The eggs were a great consolation. The menus soon never varied from salt haddock; dried herring, anchovies, salted codfish, rancid oil, yellow water and hard, dry biscuits—a monotonous diet which soon caused their stomachs to revolt.

We can understand the cry of joy that went up when they sighted land after such months of fasting. The Cape! Java! Vegetation and green things to eat! "Tomorrow we shall eat salad" cries the Abbé in view of the Cape of Good Hope. "Salad, I do not care for anything else." It is not astonishing that this long regime brought on enteritis, typhoid and all the maladies to which a group of humans, poorly housed and poorly fed, is subject. They had during the voyage but two opportunities to replenish their supplies of water and food; eight days at the Cape of Good Hope at the little Dutch trading port, bought in 1651 from the Hottentots for a small quantity of tobacco and spirits, and eight days at Batavia where they were politely received by the opulent Dutch governor. For the Dutch, successors to the Portuguese,

possessed at that time the Cape, Ceylon and Singapur, capital points in the maritime world, "shining like warning lights on these derelicts of the universe which are the continents," and before which the English frigate was to come in its turn and anchor itself definitively.

When they arrived at Java almost all the crew were ill. Nearly a hundred men were unable to leave their beds. The greater part were attacked by a malady, the terror of the navigators of olden times, but which to-day has almost disappeared from the list of evils, still too long, which threatens mankind, the scurvy. There is at first a general weakness, then a painful swelling of the gums, followed by pains in the bones and muscles, then ulcers and finally nasal, pulmonary or intestinal hæmorrhage. This horrible disease caused the death of many of brave young sailors and soldiers of France.

At last the twenty-sixth of September, 1685, the "Oiseau" and the "Maligne" entered the yellow waters of the Menam. They were obliged, nevertheless, to wait fifteen days at the bar in order to arrange the details of the remainder of the trip up the river to the royal city. From place to place along the river the Siamese built houses of bamboo lined with richly colored cloths, Persian carpets and Chinese silks, to serve as rest stations for their visitors. It was also necessary to wait until the Buddhist priests had consulted the stars and discovered the most propitious of all the propitious days for the feet of His Excellency, the Ambassador, to touch the soil of Siam. This day was the ninth of October and it required another week to ascend the river by rowboat to the Siamese capital which was then Ayuthia.

However insensible were the Ambassador and his suite to the beauties of nature, they could not refrain from admiring the charming spectacle which displayed itself before their eyes—green banks of mangroves, cocoanut and palm trees spreading out their foliage to the heat of the day "in a happy ecstasy". Scattered along the river were little villages with picturesque little houses built on piles which with their pointed roofs and large

turned-up eaves looked like the tents of Oriental nomads; and fleets of over-peopled little boats clustered along the shores.

The multicoloured pagodas, brilliant spots in the sombre verdure, glowing with rich porcelain work and coloured glass, hid their quiet divinities under their covering of gold; and thousands of priests in beautiful saffron togas interrupted in their siestas or their prayers, having overcome their torpor, came to the bank of the river to watch the impressive cortege pass on its way to the capital.

The fourteenth of October the embassy stopped at the outskirts of the royal city whose gates it could not enter until—according to the Siamese custom—the day of the audience. M. de Chaumont installed himself in a luxuriously furnished house prepared in his honor and there awaited the final preparations for his entry into the city.

Hardly had they arrived when M. Constance came to present his homage and the greetings of the King. In presenting this personage whose life was made of the strangest of adventures, I find myself extremely perplexed. I have put my fingers to the very difficult task of writing history. Does one ever know how things happen? The embarrassment increases with the abundance of documents.

Thus, if we can believe the Abbé de Choisy, Père Tachard and the Père d'Orléans, M. Constance was a man par excellence, liberal, just, honest, a faithful servant of his master the King, a good husband and profoundly religious. On the contrary M. de Forbin, ill-tempered as we know, but circumspect, describes M. Constance as hypocritical, jealous, dishonest, and even goes so far as to accuse him of attempted murder by poison. The truth probably is that he merits neither this excess of honor nor this extreme indignity.

A keen intelligence, a courageously tempered spirit, a mind capable of large ideas, these qualities obscured perhaps by an unlimited ambition, an exaggerated desire for riches and power and

a jealousy which sprang from the least important things made him hard, cruel, unrelenting and perhaps unfaithful. Whatever his character, Constantin Phaulkon or Falcone, known by the name of M. Constance, was born at Cephalonie in Greece, according to the Père d'Orléans, of an old and noble family. According to M. de Forbin, his father was a café-keeper. At the age of ten he left his family and engaged himself as ship-boy aboard an English boat and went to England. At fifteen he entered the service of the India Company. This brought him to Siam where he bought a ship, became an outfitter and began trading with the neighboring countries.

He was on the way to fortune when a shipwreck left him stranded on the coast of Malabar, almost naked but in possession of a sack containing two thousand ecus. Tired and worn out he fell asleep on the beach and dreamt that a prince came to him and ordered him to return to Siam. The next morning he saw a man come running towards him. He was another survivor of a shipwreck. At his first words Phaulkon recognised him as a Siamese. He found that he was an ambassador whom the King had sent to Persia and whose ship had been wrecked on his way back to Siam.

Constantin Phaulkon employed his two thousand ecus in buying a small ship, provisions and clothes for himself and his companion. Thus equipped they returned to Siam. His kindness was not forgotten. Presented to the King by the poor ambassador he had saved, he lost no opportunity to gain the favour of the Sovereign. From this time till his death he remained the royal favourite and had great influence over the King. His idea as well as that of the Jesuit priest was to Catholicize the Buddhist kingdom and bring about an alliance with France.

Reaching the height of fortune and wealth he was the victim of an intrigue which ended his career. Mandarins jealous of his power, Buddhist priests dis-

turbed by the progress of Christianity in the country and certain patriots who were dissatisfied by the installation of French troops in the Siamese capital, were responsible for the plot. Arrested and imprisoned he died courageously at the age of forty-one, massacred by his captors.

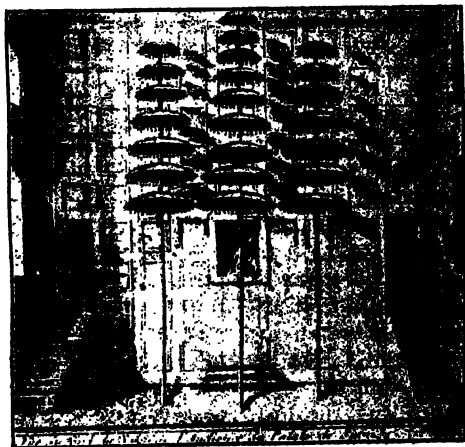
The ruler he served during his brief existence is known in history as Phra Narai or Phra-Chao Champuck. He ruled more than thirty years and was one of the greatest of the Siamese Kings. Open-minded, eager to educate himself, occupying himself personally with all the affairs of his kingdom, he tried to keep peace among his smaller states (often by force) and to develop political and commercial relations between Siam and the countries of Asia and Europe.

Somewhat severe even for the customs of the times (he caused the tongues of liars to be pulled out by the roots and sewed up the mouths of gossiping women) he nevertheless knew how to recompense his loyal servants. This tyrant could, when the occasion called, even be good natured as the following anecdote shows.

A Buddhist priest had taken the liberty of boldly telling the King that his subjects were complaining and were angered by the severity of his punishments. The King gracefully received this charitable remonstrance and some days later sent to the priest one of the large, ugly monkeys which the Siamese hold in terror, with the commandment that the priest feed the animal and allow it to do whatever it chose in his house, until further orders. The priest had to receive the monkey with respect, but scarcely had the beast entered the house when he began his ravages, breaking a great number of rich porcelains, tearing the most beautiful rugs and biting and striking the inmates of the house. He did so much and did it so well that the poor priest unable to stand it any longer went humbly to pray the King to take away his unpleasant guest. The King replied smilingly to his plea:

"What! Do you tell me that three or four days you cannot suffer the unpleasantness of a monkey, and you expect me to suffer all my life the insolence of many of my subjects, a thousand times more unbearable than the most malicious monkey? Be off," he added. "If I know well enough how to punish the bad, learn now that I know better how to reward the good."

Having thus made the acquaintance of this Louis XIV of Siam, let us now return to our embassy. Since the first meeting between M. de Chaumont and M. Constance much time had been given to consideration of the details of the reception and the royal audience. It was at the time when questions

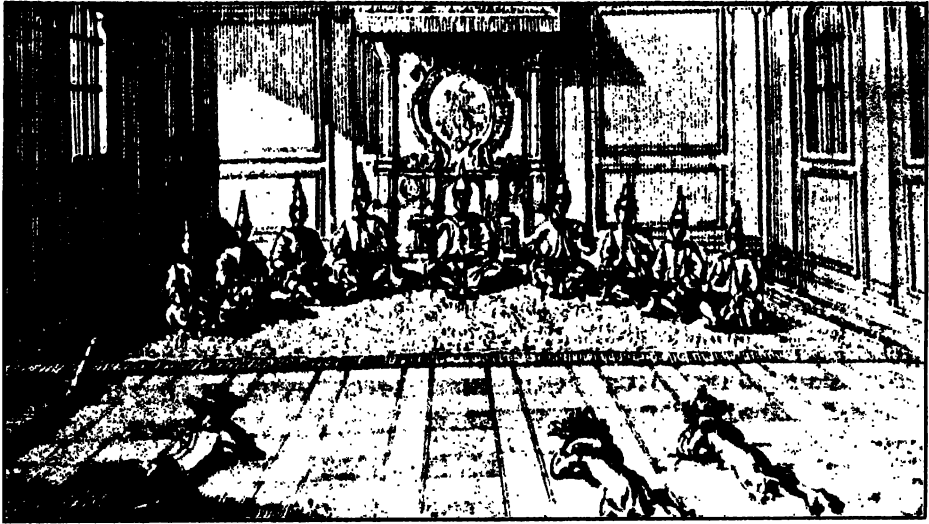


A Portion of the Hall of Audience in the Palace of the King of Siam.

of ceremony and precedence brought about frequent conflicts between European states. There was great controversy between M. Constance and M. de Chaumont concerning the manner in which the letter from the King of France should be delivered to the King of Siam and the attitude which the Ambassador's following of young gentlemen should observe in the presence of the King.

M. de Chaumont insisted on delivering the letter in person directly to the King, but this pretension was not to be admitted by the usages of Siamese court.





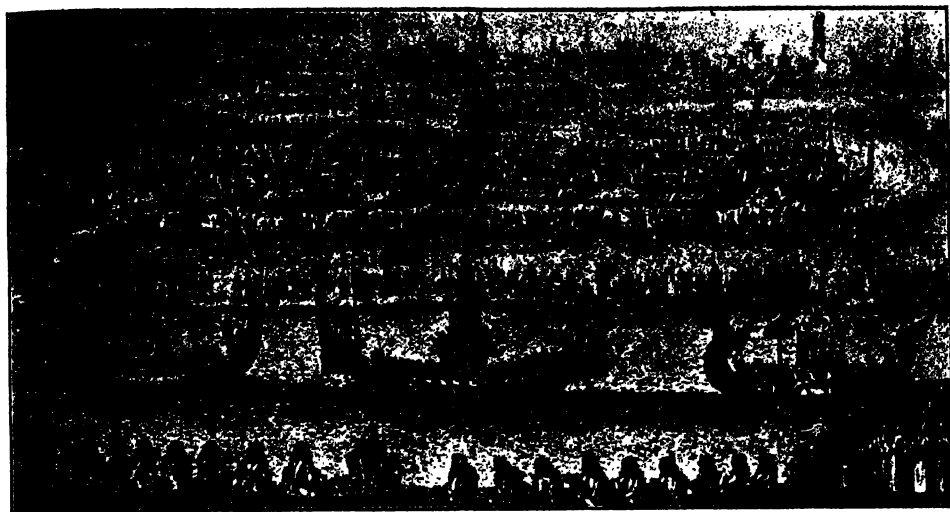
French Ambassadors Paying Homage to the King of Siam.

It was forbidden to approach so near the Sovereign: the King of Siam was obliged by custom to place himself far above all who appeared before him. For this reason he never received ambassadors except from a high window which opened over the reception hall. To reach the hand of the King it would have been necessary to raise a small ladder or stairway of several steps. At last, after much argument, it was decided that on the day of the audience the letter would be placed in a cup of gold at the end of a long golden handle by means of which the Ambassador himself could raise the letter to the window of the King.

Then followed a discussion of the manner in which the Ambassador's gentlemen should carry themselves during the reception. M. de Chaumont demanded that they be allowed to enter the audience room at the same time he made his entrance, and that they be allowed to bow in the French fashion instead of prostrating themselves before the King as did the Siamese. They concluded by deciding that the attendants should remain neither standing nor prostrate, but should be seated on a rug in such a manner that

the soles of their shoes would not be exposed, this being considered in Siam as the basest impoliteness and almost a grave injury.

All the difficulties being finally settled the date of the audience was fixed for the eighteenth of October, the royal astrologers having given their assurance that it would be a good day. In the morning the Ambassador himself placed the King's letter in a box of gold, the box in a golden cup on a golden saucer bearing a long handle. Two high court functionaries, dukes and peers of the realm, followed by forty mandarins, came to seek the Ambassador and prostrate themselves before the letter, because the letter represented the person of His Most Christian Majesty, the King of France, more than did the Ambassador. M. de Chaumont having lifted the cup as a priest lifts a ciborium, passed it to the Abbé de Choisy who, following the Ambassador on the left, descended to the river at a solemn pace. The letter was placed in one of the royal sampans on an elevated altar. M. de Chaumont, alone, followed in another boat, then the Abbé de Choisy. On either side of these sumptuous royal barges were smaller boats to serve as



The Procession of Sampans Bearing the French Ambassadorial Mission in its Way to the Siamese Capital.

guards of honour. They bore officers of the King clad in their richest costumes. Then came the members of the embassy, ship's officers and a hundred sampans belonging to the Siamese mandarins. The cortege was completed by delegations from forty nations—English, Dutch, Portuguese, Chinese, Javanese, etc. The banks of the river were covered by an immense crowd which prostrated itself wherever the sampan bearing the royal letter appeared in sight.

On landing M. de Chaumont placed the letter on a great three-storied triumphal car. He placed himself in a richly decorated sedan chair carried by ten porters. He was followed by the Abbé seated in a similar chair borne by eight men. "I had never witnessed a ceremony equal to this," he wrote to one of his friends. "I thought I had become a Pope." In the rear on horseback came the gentlemen of the embassy and the French officers.

Before the outer door of the palace M. de Chaumont descended from his chair, took the letter from the car and gave it to the Abbé de Choisy. Thus they entered the labyrinth of the palace. They passed into a primary court between lines of kneeling soldiers holding golden

shields, then into a second court surrounded by three hundred cavaliers on richly caparisoned horses and a hundred elephants in war equipment. In the center of the third court M. de Chaumont and the Abbé de Choisy were saluted by the sacred white elephant surrounded by his civil and military attendants and four mandarins charged with the duty of fanning the beast and keeping away the flies. The elephant was protected from the sun by an enormous parasol. With his trunk he rendered his salute to the Frenchmen as they passed through the court. They passed two more courts crowded with officers and mandarins and then the cortege entered the holiest of holy spots, the Throne Room. With the exception of the Ambassador and the Abbé each member of the procession took the place reserved for him facing the throne. Suddenly trumpet blasts, the wailing of flutes, the piping of fifes and rolling of drums announced that the King was about to appear. Immediately the French gentlemen began the uncomfortable task of concealing their feet while the Siamese mandarins, according to custom, prostrated themselves on knees and elbows. The tops of the high pointed hats of the mandarins caressed the



The King of Siam Riding on His White Elephant.

buttocks of the row of dignitaries in front evoking irresistibly the droll picture of the pursuit of the apothecaries in the "Maladie Imaginaire". This caused the French, who evidently had little respect for the Siamese custom, to laugh. Five more rolls of the drums with a certain interval between them. At the sixth—by this time the Frenchmen had ceased smiling—the King appeared at the window pulling aside a cloth of gold which exposed His Highness to the view of the court. He wore a richly jewelled tiara and a robe of embroidered flame-colored silk threaded with gold. Around his body he wore a rich sash and a belt of emeralds from which was suspended a poniard. His wrists and fingers sparkled with diamonds.

The Ambassador followed by the Abbé de Choisy entered the audience room and made a profound reverence *a la Francaise* before the King. The Abbé remained standing, because he bore the precious letter. Reaching the center of the hall he made another bow, then

attaining the foot of the throne he placed himself before the chair which had been prepared for him, bowed again and began his harangue.

"The King, my Master, this wise and enlightened Prince, as the most sincere of your friends and through the interest he already manifests in your true glory, conjures you, Sire, to consider that this supreme majesty with which you are invested on earth can come only from the true God, all powerful, eternal and infinite, the God recognized by the Christians, by whose grace alone Kings reign and who controls the fortunes of all peoples. The most agreeable tidings I can bear to the Truth, instruct yourself in the Christian religion, which, Sire, will crown you with glory since by this means Your Majesty is assured of eternal happiness in Heaven."

The speech terminated, he removed his hat, solemnly took the cup of gold which bore the letter of Louis XIV and advanced towards the throne to give it to Chao Narai. Then there occurred a grave incident in the ceremony. The King not wishing to lower his throne or allow an elevated approach to be constructed, M. de Chaumont was obliged to lift his arm to deliver the letter in spite of the long handle of gold which had been provided. At the moment of the presentation the Ambassador of France suddenly thought he was acting beneath the dignity of a representative of the most powerful king in the world. He proffered the letter without lifting his elbow, as though the Siamese ruler were at his own height instead of above him. M. Constance, who was behind the Ambassador, observed the impasse and in a cold perspiration cried out, "Higher, higher, lift it up." The situation was critical. But Chao Narai, after some hesitation, gracefully leaned out of the window and smilingly took the letter. Then he raised the precious parchment to a level with his forehead, thereby rendering the highest possible honour to the royal communication. Then with a kindly smile he thanked the Ambassador for the honour which His Most Christian Majesty had conferred

upon him, promised to reply to the letter by a special embassy, added that he had no greater desire than to bring about and cultivate eternal peace and friendship with the King of France. Finally he asked about the health of the King and the royal household and requested news of war and peace in the world.

Following the presentation the Abbé de Choisy, who was awaiting the moment, made his reverence. The King spoke again thanking the French representative for the gifts they brought from across the sea and then was silent.

Trumpets and drums sounded again. The King quickly pulled back his curtain of gold and disappeared. The audience was over.

The French embassy remained in the Siamese capital about three weeks longer and then with the court moved to Lorevo or Lopburi, a few leagues to the north. This place was the King's country home. Here he passed seven or eight months of each year more quietly and more freely than in the capital. The embassy was lavishly entertained. There were receptions, banquets, fireworks, Javanese ballets, Siamese comedies and dramas and Chinese farces in profusion. The Frenchmen witnessed combats between tigers, took part in numerous elephant hunts—a thing which certainly was unknown in the parks of Versailles—and finally they were permitted to visit the Thousand Pagodas with their bejewelled gods of gold, and the palace filled with the treasure of Golconda, rare productions of the goldsmith's art, precious stones, Chinese porcelains and the rarest of jades. They experienced, too, the indescribable charm of beating on the Klongs, pictured by the Abbé de Choisy as long paths or avenues of water which lost themselves in the distance under green trees full of singing birds.

"One enters a house," writes the Abbé, "expecting to find only uncouth peasants. Instead one finds cleanliness itself, floors of matting, Japanese chests and screens. You are scarcely inside when you are greeted by a swarm of children and are smilingly offered tea in porcelain cups."

This tableau so charmingly painted more than two hundred years ago has not faded. There exist today the same klongs, the same verdure, the same sunny sky and the same hospitable and smiling people.

As the time passed M. de Chaumont in the midst of pleasures and festivities did not forget the object of his voyage, the conversion of the King. The matter became pressing when he learned that a Persian mission had disembarked at the capital with the object of converting His Siamese Majesty to Mohammedanism.

The King fearing complications and the friction which was almost sure to arise between the two ambassadors whom he thought entirely too solicitous of the welfare of his soul, requested the representative of the King of Kings to postpone his arrival until after the departure of the representative of the Sun-King. In truth the last weeks of the French embassy's sojourn in Siam had arrived. Every member of the mission had been showered with presents and the holds of the "Oiseau" and the "Maligne" could hardly accommodate all the gifts which the King of Siam was sending to Louis XIV, the Queen and the princes of royal blood. M. de Chaumont was charged to take back to the youthful dukes of Burgundy and Anjou two young elephants as toys.

The matter of the conversion of the King remained in suspense. There was however no doubt of its outcome when M. de Chaumont read the communication which the King had asked M. Constance to deliver to the Ambassador.

Phrai Narai expressed his regret that the King of France should propose so difficult a thing as the changing of a religion received and followed in all the Kingdom without interruption for two thousand two hundred and twenty-nine years and added:

"I am astonished, moreover, that my good friend the King of France should interest himself so much in an affair which concerns God, an affair in which God Himself, it seems to me, takes no interest whatsoever and which He has left entirely to our discretion. For this true God who created Heaven and Earth and all the

creatures therein, and to whom He gave such diverse natures, would He not, *had He desired*, in giving like bodies and souls to mankind, have inspired them with the same sentiments for the religion which should be followed, and for the cult which was the most pleasing to Him, and would He not have created all nations to live by the same law? On the contrary, are we not obliged to believe that the true God takes pleasure in being honoured by diverse cults and ceremonies and in being glorified by an enormous number of creatures each one praising Him in his own manner? Is this



Three Siamese Ambassadors at the French Court.

beauty and this variety which we admire in the natural order less admirable in the spiritual order, or less worthy of the wisdom of God?"

At any rate the King refused to allow himself to be converted to the Catholic faith and the Abbé de Choisy was obliged to give up his cherished hope of making himself the head of a religious establishment in the court of Siam and to reluctantly renounce the pleasure he antici-

pated in leading the followers of Buddha to the baptismal fonts of his faith.

Whatever were its results M. de Chaumont could be justly proud of his mission, both from the point of view of the Church and the French State.

Primarily, he brought back to Europe an important Siamese embassy composed of three ambassadors, twelve mandarins and a number of young Siamese who were to be educated in France. Louis XIV sent a mission of twelve mathematicians who were to organise two observatories in Siam. A treaty in due form accorded to the French missionaries, in the name of the King of Siam, permission to live, preach and teach anywhere in the kingdom and exempted Catholics from certain duties and taxes. A project for a treaty of commerce was signed, by which the Compagnie des Indes obtained important privileges and vast concessions of land. M. de Forbin, somewhat against his will, for he would grumble in spite of everything, was to remain in Siam with the title of Phra Sahdi Tongkram—Grand Admiral and General of the armies of the King. He was specially charged with the task of completing the fortifications of the kingdom.

Finally, and this was undoubtedly the most important result of the mission, the Siamese ambassadors brought French troops and engineers to their native country. In 1687 a French fleet of five ships brought to Siam two regiments of soldiers commanded by Field Marshal Desfarges. A part of these troops was garrisoned at Bangkok and the rest at Mergui on the Gulf of Bengal, almost directly opposite Pondicherry. Thus the keys of the realm were confided to French hands.

This was the beginning of a vast political and economic plan affecting the Indo-Chinese peninsula which Napoleon III was to develop two hundred years later.

After having accomplished this remarkable task which gave every indication of being a lasting work—for at this moment no one dreamed that two years

later a revolution at court would destroy the results of his effort and break the alliance which he had made between Louis XIV and Phra Narai—M. de Chevalier de Chaumont on his return to France had a right to be happy and proud of the success of his delicate mission and of

having worthily served his King and his country.

*Translation of a French Paper Read at the Association Des Amis de l'Orient, Musee Guimet. By Courtesy of Mon. Borseux, Asst. Secretary.*

## EDITORS DECLARE THEIR CODE

THE Missouri State Press Association has given form to its code of ethics.

This is the first definite "code" to be formulated by any state association of newspaper men. In it are embodied the aims and ethics of the profession. The code in part follows :

### PREAMBLE.

In America, where the stability of the Government rests upon the approval of the people, it is essential that newspapers, the medium through which the people draw their information, be developed to a high point of efficiency, stability, impartiality and integrity. The future of the republic depends on the maintenance of a high standard among Journalists. Such a standard cannot be maintained unless the motives and conduct of the members of our profession are such as merit approval and confidence.

The profession of journalism is entitled to stand side by side with the other learned professions and is, far more than any other, interwoven with the lines of public service. The journalist cannot consider his profession rightly unless he recognises his obligation to the public. A newspaper does not belong solely to its owner and is not fulfilling its highest functions if devoted selfishly. Therefore, the Missouri Press Association presents the following principles as a general guide, not a set form of rules, for the practice of journalism :

### EDITORIAL.

We declare as a fundamental principle that Truth is the basis of all correct Journalism. To go beyond the truth, either in headline or text, is subversive of good Journalism. To suppress the truth, when it properly belongs to the public, is a betrayal of public faith.

Editorial comment should always be fair and just and not controlled by business or political experiences. Nothing should be printed editorially which the writer will not readily acknowledge as his own in public.

Control of news, or comment for business considerations is not worthy of a newspaper. The news should be covered, written and interpreted wholly and at all times in the interest of the public. Advertisers have no claims on newspaper favor except in

their capacity as readers and as members of the community.

No person who controls the policy of newspaper should at the same time hold office or have affiliations the duties of which conflict with the public service that his newspaper should render.

### ADVERTISING.

It is not good ethics nor good business to accept advertisements that are dishonest, deceptive or misleading. Concerns or individuals who want to use our columns to sell questionable stocks or anything else which promises great returns for small investment should always be investigated. Our readers should be protected from advertising sharks. Rates should be fixed at a figure which will yield a profit and never cut. The reader deserves a square deal and the advertiser the same kind of treatment.

Advertising disguised as news or editorial should not be accepted. Political advertising especially should show at a glance that it is advertising. It is just as bad to be bribed by the promise of political patronage as to be bribed by political cash.

To tear down a competitor in order to build up one-self is not good business, nor is it ethical. Newspaper controversies should never enter newspaper columns. Good business demands the same treatment to a competitor that one would like for a competitor to give to himself. Create new business rather than try to take away that of another.

Advertising should never be demanded from a customer simply because he has given it to another paper. Merit, product and service should be the standard.

### SUBSCRIPTION.

The claiming of more subscribers than actually on the paid list in order to secure larger advertising prices is obtaining money under false pretences. The advertiser is entitled to know just what he is getting for his money, just what the newspaper is selling to him. Subscription lists made up at nominal prices or secured by means of premiums or contests are to be strictly avoided.

### SUMMARY.

In every line of journalistic endeavour we recognise and proclaim our obligation to the public, our duty to regard always the truth, to deal justly and walk humbly before the gospel of unselfish service.

A. P. SOM.

## COMMENT AND CRITICISM

[ This section is intended for the correction of inaccuracies, errors of fact, clearly erroneous views, misrepresentations, etc., in the original contributions and editorials published in this Review or in other papers criticising it. As various opinions may reasonably be held on the same subject, this Section is not meant for the airing of such differences of opinion. As, owing to the kindness of our numerous contributors, we are always hard pressed for space, critics are requested to be good enough always to be brief and to see that whatever they write is strictly to the point. No criticism of book reviews and notices will be published.—Editor, "The Modern Review." ]

### Communalism as the Basis of Indian Democracy.

One is fortunate to have a critic like Mr. Prasanna Kumar Samaddar. It is evident that he is alive to the futility of building our political future according to the methods which are borrowed wholesale from the West and which suit her ancient social history and political traditions. Lord Bryce has observed that Self-government rests on the habit of co-operation and if any existing local or social unit is fit to be turned into an organ of local Self-government it ought to be so used. The whole point of my article was that the possibilities of autonomous communes in India are not confined to local and communal problems and are consequently greater than is ordinarily supposed and this in economic and political reconstruction alike. Throughout the world there has been a movement towards the group organisation of political control. This has assumed various guises and forms in Europe and America but they all tend towards a more vital synthesis than had been deemed possible in the Parliamentary Government of the nineteenth century mould, or its latest byproduct, the centralised bureaucracy,—a development of war conditions. I will request Mr. Samaddar to consider carefully the more recent economic theories and political schemes in the West, which are, indeed, marking a new discovery in state organisation. He will certainly realise that in the numerous local and non-local assemblies of the East will be found some of the vital and enduring materials for political experimentation, which will not only be adapted to the social and political traditions of the race but will also be in keeping with the new trend of modern democracies. Among these materials, caste, indeed, occupies a small place and I have made it quite clear that neither occupation nor kinship, nor caste has been the sole basis of the Indian polity though each has contributed an element of cohesiveness. But caste is a social inheritance, and the best political method would be not to ignore it but to utilise the social cohesiveness it furnishes as a political binder wherever possible and consciously regulating its separatist tendencies by every possible thorough going reform. The problem of the political reformer is whether to reorient our old social habits and traditions according to new experiences and ideals, and to incorporate them in the new body politic or to superimpose exotic institutions over the old caste traditions. In the latter case the party system with its

new disintegrative influences will make an unholy alliance with the caste system with its inherited abuses and rend asunder the whole body politic. The admission of the communal principle into the new reform has proved a special hindrance because its separatism has been countenanced, at the same time ignoring the solidarity that may evolve out of an intermingling of local and communal interests in the daily, intimate life of the people. Political and social reform are connected in a more organic way than what Mr. Samaddar thinks, and in a process of natural social evolution, unaffected by extraneous disturbing factors, there cannot be any priority of either. The real intimate interdependence lies in their growth from within outwards. The crux of the problem of social growth and coordination is to follow the natural bent, to be true to its own genius, to obey the central urge and not to blindly submit to mere peripheral control and adjustment.

The individualistic bias is dominant in Indian social and political thinking today. However inevitable and praiseworthy it might be as a reaction, it has as yet failed in its fractional critical attitude to produce a constructive programme which must needs be based on an essential communal solidarity. Thus an important element of political integration in India, viz., the hierarchy of territorial rather than functional bodies, which rise layer upon layer from the lower strata of village assemblies, has not been sufficiently investigated. Evidences of their vestigial remains are always ignored in political reform, and find scant consideration even in Government records. These have been collected by me by years of careful and diligent tours of local investigation in the villages of the Punjab, the United Provinces, Madras, Cochin and Travancore. A complete survey will be found in my forthcoming book, "Communalism in Eastern Polity: a new basis of Comparative Politics." No one is more alive to the fact than myself that the caste in India, like the clan in China, has now become too rigid and exclusive to become the basis of a system of political control. Mr. Samaddar will find an account of the causes and effect of degeneration of this aspect of Indian group of life in my "Principles of Comparative Economics" ( Vol. I, pp. 219, 220 ) : I have emphasised there how the rigidity and exclusiveness of caste, which are however quite foreign to the communal ideal of its origins and sources, have warped our social development. But let him

not in condemning caste shut his eyes towards other social materials that we have created and accumulated. The importance of these on which I could dwell but briefly in a short article will be more and more realised when my descriptive surveys will be before him. The place and status of every functional and territorial group, which yet remains a living social reality must, indeed, be reoriented in the political evolution of the future in order that politics may no longer be mechanical and barren with us. For this there should be undertaken regional surveys of our indigenous self-government, which began and evolved in the small group lending a significant richness to the local, communal, and vocational (or professional) life and interests hardly to be seen elsewhere, and of the connected systems of rural and communal taxation and juridical

practices. It will be obvious that the materials will be found uneven in different parts of India, which will demand a modification in the actual details of organisation though the main outlines of indigenous polity, which are fairly uniform throughout India will justify reconstruction on similar lines. Once the general lines of political reorientation are settled on the principle that real self-determination, as distinguished from the new reform in India, implies an adaptation of institutions to our old habits and machinery, which remain the essential and endurable bedrock of all political experiments, political idealism and political experience can grapple successfully with the special abuses, special claims and special opportunities as they arise.

RADHAKAMAL MUKERJEE.

## INDIAN PERIODICALS

### Pandit Motilal Nehru's Sacrifice.

Mr. V. Narayanan writes in the course of a character sketch of Pandit Motilal Nehru in *The Indian Review* : —

The sacrifices that the Panditji had made for the sake of Non-co-operation are alone sufficient to place him high in the esteem of his countrymen, apart from any valuation of the actual services he had rendered to the cause. Everybody had heard of the princely style in which he was living at his palatial mansion at Allahabad. Everybody who was anybody if he had been to Allahabad and had been his guest at "Anand Bhawan" would confirm this. His generosity was proverbial. He moved on terms of intimacy with the Lieutenant-Governor and with the members of the Provincial Government and he was their honoured friend and constant adviser. The richness and luxury of his life at Allahabad during those days attracted universal notice. We are told that he had his dress washed from Paris by every mail and he was the leader of fashion in Allahabad. All these were gone when he joined the non-co-operation movement. No exodus to the hills during the summer now, no dress after the latest fashion in Paris. All his attire is pure homely Khadda and his occupation and recreation alike is touring round the country lecturing on Khaddar and on Non-co-operation.

Regarding the attitude of his family, the writer adds :—

What was even more surprising than his brave acceptance of the rigours and hardships of the new life in prison, was the way he and

the members of his family threw themselves heart and soul into the movement. His son Jawaharlal, brought up on the lap of luxury, courted imprisonment with all the fervour of faith.

MRS. MOTILAL.

Nor was Mrs. Motilal less heroic. With her husband and only son in the prison, she felt the call of Non-co-operation and answered it in fitting words :—

"I rejoice in the great privilege that has been vouchsafed to me of sending my dear husband and my only son to jail. I will not pretend that my heart is entirely free from the wrench of separation from my dear ones. My heart is full of it because love is a trying thing after all. The knowledge that theirs is not a life which can stand the hardships of jail makes my heart weep. And yet my Atma whispers to me that I should rejoice with my husband and my son over their arrests. I will not disgrace them by sorrowing over the very happenings they had set their hearts upon.

"Anyhow may I sorrow over the imprisonment of my only son? Mahatma Gandhi told me once that others in the world have also their only sons. And a time is coming when whole families will have to march to jail. I have just heard of the arrest of the whole family of Deshabandhu C. R. Das. I hope the same good fortune may come to me and my daughter-in-law.

"What message can I have to give you but the one my husband has given: 'Go and do likewise.' Enlist yourselves in your hundreds of thousands as members of the Provincial Volunteer Corps and go to jail. Let those that remain behind, turn their spinning wheels and



work for peace. If we could answer the present repressive policy with firm and determined Satyagraha for just a short while, I have no doubt that Swaraj would be at our doors before the month is out."

### "Alleged Dishonesty in the Post Office."

In *Labour* for August, the first article is devoted to showing that dishonesty is rare among postal officials and that, though persons paid less than a coolie earns in these days are entrusted with thousands of rupees, cases of embezzlement occur very seldom. The reputation which postal employees have for honesty, trustworthiness and freedom from corruption, is quite well deserved. The occasion for the article in *Labour* has been furnished by the strong remarks made by Mr. Justice Walsh of Allahabad in the course of the judgment he delivered in disposing of an appeal by a convicted money order clerk of the Aligarh head office. We are not in a position to support or to controvert what Mr. Justice Walsh has said. But from our own experience and that of a friend in Allahabad, we are strongly inclined to support the judge in his reference to "the daily complaints which one hears and sees about the delivery, or rather non-delivery of letters in this particular district, and for which the Post Office in Allahabad is responsible."

### "Religio Mathematici."

Professor David Eugene Smith delivered his presidential address on "Religio Mathematici" before the Mathematical Association of America. *The Collegian* has reprinted this stimulating address, in course of which the professor said:—

One thing that mathematics early imparts, unless hindered from so doing, is the idea that here, at last, is an immortality that is seemingly tangible,—the immortality of a mathematical law. The student of algebra, for example, may well question the use of the traditional curriculum, but when he finds the value of  $(a+b)^2$  he has come in contact with an eternal law.

What I learned in chemistry, as a boy, seemed true at the time, but much of it to-day is

known to be false. What I learned of molecular physics seems at the present time like children's stories, interesting but puerile. What we learn in history may be true in some degree but is certain to be false in many particulars. So we may run the gamut of learning, and nowhere, save in mathematics alone, do we find that which stands as a tangible symbol of the immortality of law, true "yesterday, to-day, and for ever."

Mathematics can do this thing; that it can (and it should) give, to the degree that the pupil is able to receive it, the idea that before the world was created, before our solar system was formed, and after our system shall cease to be, the everyday laws of mathematics stood and shall stand for immortal truth,—for laws that are divine in their infinite endurance. The immortality of law means that we come in touch with the invariant. The tyro in mathematics comes early upon the 'invariant properties of a figure as seen in the theory of elementary projection. In a wider sense, however, all geometry is a science of invariance. We prove a law for a general plane triangle and it never varies, whatever we do to the figure. If we prove that  $a^2 = b^2 + c^2 - 2bc \cos A$ , then, however  $A$  may change, the law itself will never vary. In it the pupil comes into touch with the unchangeable, with the absolute.

The immortality of law and the invariability of mathematical principles mean the eternity of mathematics. To come into relation with a science which was illustrated by the spiral nebulae before our solar system was formed, which only now reveals to us those laws of crystals which were in operation long before life appeared upon the earth, and which is also entirely independent of matter, so that if we could imagine the universe destroyed absolutely, the laws would still be true,—to come into relation with such a science makes real to us, as no other discipline in our curriculum can possibly do, the ideal of truth eternal.

We agree that spaces of higher dimensions than the one in which we think we live can easily be conceived by analogy, and we agree without question to the paradoxes which we meet in the study of infinity, and yet we feel that it shows our great wisdom, or perhaps our boldness, if we deny the soul an existence. Strange, that in algebra we accept without the slightest question the idea of the permanence of law, but that our little natures should so often boast that we deny the permanence of the soul!

One of the impressive experiences which come to the devotees of our science is the continual contact with the infinite,—an experience which is inspiring beyond words to express,—and sometimes as discouraging.

According to Professor Smith some such parallelism as the following is suggested to the mathematical mind:—

MATHEMATICS

1. The Infinite exists.
2. Eternal laws exist.
3. The laws relating to finite magnitudes do not hold respecting the infinitely large or the infinitely small.
4. The existence of hyperspace is entirely reasonable.
5. No factor is ever lost.
6. Time may be a closed curve.
7. Time may be fourth dimension.
8. Positive infinity may physically coincide with negative infinity, if lines curve through four-space.
9. A Flatlander has enough of the third dimension in his being to give him some feeling of that dimension; and so this may explain the fact that we have some feeling of the fourth dimension.
10. Mathematics is a vast store-house of the discoveries of the human intellect. We cannot afford to discard this material.
11. It is not necessary that the solution of a problem, by limited means,—say the trisection of an angle,—should be found in order that we may feel certain that the problem can be solved by some means.
12. Every term in an infinite sequence is in a small way a part of infinity.

RELIGION.

1. God exists.
2. Eternal laws exist.
3. God's laws are so different from ours as to be absolutely non-understandable by us.
4. The existence of a heaven, with gradations, is entirely reasonable.
5. The soul is eternal.
6. God looks at time as a whole.
7. In the next world, the direction of time may actually be seen.
8. In God's sight the infinite past and the infinite future are the same.
9. The human soul has enough of the divine within it to have some feeling of the reality of divinity and of the world beyond.
10. Religion is a vast storehouse of the discoveries of the human spirit. We cannot afford to discard this material.
11. It is not necessary that the solution of the problem of religion, by our limited human means, should be found in order that we may feel certain that the problem can be solved by some means.
12. Lucretius spoke wisely when he said, "Everyone is in a small way the image of God."

and the rich—are daily being cut away from the life of the vast majority of the lower class people who form the backbone of the Indian nation. This isolation stands as a great stumbling block in the way to the realisation of the solidarity of the Indian people. There has always existed no doubt, a chasm separating the classes from the masses. But in modern times we have further widened this gulf by our defective system of education and high standard of living, so much so that the majority of us cannot realise the extent of the oppression and tyranny, of the misery and degradation of our poor and down-trodden brethren. Our isolation has made us ignorant of the needs and wants, of the hopes and aspirations of the masses to so great an extent that our social reform movements touched, until lately, only the educated few, and took little consideration of the existence of the masses at all. Our educational system concerned only the upper classes, and affected in no way the bulk of the population. Even our political movements neglected the masses altogether, and considered the educated community—an infinitesimally small part—to be the whole of the Indian nation! There has been introduced, no doubt, a change for the better, but even now we want to educate ourselves at the cost of the poor, keeping them sunk in poverty and ignorance. We are anxious to enrich ourselves by exploiting the common people, grudging to give them even a starvation wage. We still try to dominate over them to satisfy our insatiable thirst for power, taking care to keep the masses in servile dependence on us.

**An Indian Consulting Engineer's Success in England.**

*Industrial India* published in its June issue a brief introductory note outlining the extensive constructional work being carried out at the Provan Gas Works of the Corporation of the City of Glasgow. Its August issue tells us further :—

This work happens to be to the exclusive design and economic system of construction developed by an Indian Consulting Engineer, namely Mr. Birendra Nath Dey, B. Sc. (Eng.), A. M. Inst. C. E., etc., Consulting Engineer (Civil, Mechanical and Electrical). It may be said that Mr. Dey is the first Indian Consulting Engineer who has achieved a success of this sort in Great Britain, and his record confirms our contention that the purely Indian Engineer has a chance of achieving the highest position in his profession if he will only give his utmost courage, ability and industry to winning the laurels which await him.

We are in the present issue publishing the first section of a detailed and fully illustrated

**Craze for Town Life.**

*Prabuddha Bharata* makes the following remarks on the craze for town life :

The ever-increasing craze for town life is segregating the masses and the classes in India. The so-called higher class people—the educated



Mr. Birendranath Dey.

description of the plan designed by Mr. Dey. In our frontispiece we reproduce Mr. Dey's photograph, and we would like to take this opportunity of congratulating him upon his most important achievement, and what is even more dear to our hearts we would like to record his success as an encouragement, and an incentive to others of his nationality to follow in his footsteps. It is always relatively easy for others to follow where a pioneer has led, and Mr. Dey's success in securing and carrying through such an important undertaking as the extension of the Glasgow Gas Works is truly an encouraging and inspiring achievement.

Some details of Mr. Dey's career are then added :

Mr. Dey, who has been born in Calcutta in 1892, was educated at the Calcutta and Glasgow Universities, and obtained honours degree of B.Sc. in Engineering and a certificate of proficiency in Engineering at the University of Glasgow. He specialized in advanced Engineering courses at the Royal Technical College, Glasgow, and afterwards secured practical training with many eminent engineers.

His career has included such posts as Assistant Engineer to the Glasgow and South Western Railway; sometime Lecturer in Engi-

neering at the Technical College, West Hartlepool; and was retained as Constructional Expert by a number of leading Westminster firms, and he was Chief Engineer for Messrs. Peter Lind & Co., and also for Messrs. Wear Concrete Shipbuilding Co. Mr. Dey is now a director of the International Engineers Syndicate and Economic Structures Company, and also Technical Expert in Engineering Equipment and Organisation of Industries. It is only natural that he is retained by several Indian clients as Consulting Engineer in London.

In addition to the designing and carrying out of various Engineering works in Great Britain, Mr. Dey has acted as Consulting Engineer for the installation of various works such as drainage schemes, gas, water, and steam supply, etc., and he has published various papers on Construction Works, and has in the course of preparation an exhaustive treatise in four volumes on "Modern Municipal Engineering Practice."

In conclusion we may state that Mr. Dey's War Services include the design of ferro-concrete ships, barges, pontoons, etc., for various firms and that he successfully carried out several Admiralty and other Governmental contracts.

Mr. J. R. Sarjantson, editor of *Industrial India*, says :—

The Corporation of the City of Glasgow, in January 1921, invited Mr. B. N. Dey (the only Indian Consulting Engineer practising outside India), along with other Engineers and Engineering Firms, to submit a complete scheme for the installation of large works at Provan (Glasgow)—estimated at £300,000—comprising reinforced concrete and steel structures, elaborate drainage and foundations, railways, extensive pipe lines and mains for water, steam and gas supply, mechanical plant, conveyors, valves, etc. Mr. Dey's economical scheme was eventually accepted by the Corporation in March 1921, and he was asked to instruct several large firms of contractors in Glasgow, London, and other centres to submit competitive tenders based on Mr. Dey's scheme and designs. The successful contractors, Messrs. McBride and Gray Ltd., 156 St. Vincent Street, Glasgow, are carrying out the works under the supervision of Mr. Dey's Resident Engineer at Glasgow, and to the designs, drawings, specifications, bills of quantities, and detailed instructions from Mr. Dey's London Office.

The portrait of Mr. Dey which our contemporary has published, of which the one given by us here is a reduced copy, is a big full-page one and is quite in keeping with the excellent get-up and contents of the magazine.

### Primitive Solar and Lunar Myths.

*Man in India*, the scholarly and interesting quarterly record of anthropological science with special reference to India, edited by Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, contains in its combined March and June issue some curious lunar and solar myths, along with many important articles.

There is a story among the Mundas by which they explain why no stars are visible during the day, and why the moon appears to be waxing and waning. It is reproduced below.

The Sun and the Moon were two sisters, the stars were their children. The children of the Sun were very bright and hot like the Sun, while the children of the Moon were less bright and cooler. On account of the scorching rays of the Sun and her children, nothing would grow on earth. So the Moon, in order to make the earth fit for the existence of living beings bethought of a device. One night she lit a fire and caught hold of the children of the Sun, and burnt them in the fire and made a good meal of them. She mischievously took a portion of it to the Sun and said to her, "Sister, here are some fine sweet potatoes (*sagarkand*) which I have burnt; they are very sweet and I have tasted some, here I have brought some for you." So saying she handed over to the Sun the burnt bodies of her own children which the Sun, not knowing their fate, unwittingly ate up, taking them to be burnt *sagarkand*. When the day broke, the Moon, for fear of her sister's revenge hid her own children. After some time, when the children of the sun and the moon did not turn up and shine as before, the sun enquired of the moon, saying, "Sister, why are our children late in coming?" The Moon gave an evasive reply, whereupon she grew suspicious and made a search for her children, but found no trace of them. At last the Moon confessed her guilt. This so much enraged the Sun that she caught hold of a sword and chased her sister, overtook and cut her in two. The Moon however fled away with her segmented bodies.

When the Sun retired in the evening, the Moon brought out her own children (the stars now seen at night) and they began to play about their mother. At dawn the Moon hid all her children for fear of the Sun. To this day, the Moon daily hides her children at dawn, so that, when the Sun comes at day-break, the children of the Moon are no longer visible in the heavens and the Sun shines alone, bereft of her dear children. The segmented appearance of the Moon is due to the cut inflicted by the Sun and though the wound heals up at times, it

has been so ordained by Sing Bonga that the wound reopens periodically, so that people on earth might witness the punishment of the Moon for her treachery. This is why the Sun shines alone, and no stars are visible in the day time and the Moon waxes and wanes periodically; and thus has existence been made possible on earth.

Compare with the above the following star-myth prevalent among the Bihhors:

According to the Bihhors, the Sun had a number of children almost as luminous as himself, and between themselves the Sun and his children made the universe so hot as to make existence unbearable. So in order to save creation, the Moon hit upon a clever trick to do away with the children of the Sun. She prepared a delicious dish of curry with the tender stalks of the lotus (*salkid ha*) which tasted like flesh. The Sun was highly pleased with the dish and asked his sister what it was made of. The moon replied that it was prepared with the flesh of her own children (whom she had in reality kept in hiding at the time). The Sun was thus deluded into thinking that the meat of his own children would taste as sweet, and determined to kill all his children and eat their meat. And the resolution was soon put into action. Fortunately one of the sons had been to a dancing party in a different place and he alone thus escaped with his life. This only surviving son of the Sun is now known as the *Bhurka* and is the same as the planet Venus popularly known either as the morning-star or as the evening-star according as it appears in the morning or in the evening. Except this star the other stars that we now see in the heavens are all children of the moon who brings them out of their hiding place at night-time only.

### Anthropological Articles in Indian Periodicals.

*Man in India* is rendering special service to students of anthropology by publishing a bibliography of anthropological articles and notes in Indian periodicals. In the number before us forty-seven items, contained in the first two volumes of "The Indian Antiquary", are mentioned.

### "Anglo-Indian Stature."

We read in *Man in India*:

In the April (1922) issue of the *Records of the Indian Museum* (Calcutta), Prof. P. C. Mahalanobis has published a most careful and

interesting statistical study of Anglo-Indian stature based on careful anthropometric measurement taken by Dr. N. Annandale, in the Zoological laboratory of the Indian Museum in the years 1916—1919. It is expected that no student of Physical Anthropology in India will omit to read this most interesting paper, which is so far as we are aware, the first of its kind published by an Indian scholar.

### "A Better, More Beautiful India."

*The Treasure Chest*, which is a lovely magazine for children, contains in its August number the following children's promises :—

1. I promise not to destroy birds' nests and not to injure animals, trees, plants and flowers in and about.....\*

2. I promise to do my best to sow seeds or plant trees or flowers in and around.....\* at least once a year.

3. I promise not to throw broken crockery, tins, papers or any other rubbish in the fields, lanes, streets, ponds or streams round about.....\*

4. I promise to do all I can to make my home school and town healthful and beautiful.

This list of promises is adapted from one that is being used by the Women's Village Councils Federation in England, in connection with the Beautiful England Scheme. Do you remember what Shakespeare called England? "This precious jewel, set in the silver sea." Yet even a jewel becomes tarnished and unlovely if its owner is careless. It seems that so many of the villages and beauty spots of England have been spoiled by dumping rubbish, that the women of the country have resolved to call on the children to help in making and keeping their country beautiful. Do we not wish to do as much for India?

In connection with the promise to sow seeds and plant trees, it is interesting to know that in Karatonga, the most populous of the Cook's Islands in the Pacific Ocean, it is provided by law that the head of each family shall plant and cultivate a cocoanut tree for each year of a child's age, until the child is old enough to plant trees for himself. It is almost needless to add that the island is noted for the abundance of its fine cocoanuts.

In connection with the khaddar movement, the sowing of cotton seeds would be very helpful.

Supply the name of your own town or village.

### Akbar's Dream.

Miss Ruth E. Robinson writes thus of Akbar's dream in *The Treasure Chest*, which she edits :

Akbar realized that the real hindrance to India's unity was a religious one, and although his effort to overcome this ended in failure, it was a splendid failure. He had been born a Muhammadan, but he could not bring himself to believe that Muhammadanism must therefore be true for all mankind. His contact with Hinduisim through his Rajput wife made him respect that religion, and his friendship with Portuguese missionaries, whom he summoned from Goa to Delhi, made him look favourably upon Christianity. A poem written by his friend, Adul Fazl, which we cannot help feeling was the expression of Akbar's own mind, represents a worshipper going from temple to mosque and from mosque to church, and everywhere finding behind the form and the creed God himself, who recognises in each place His true worshipper. The poem ends with the line, "Heresy to the heretic, orthodoxy to the orthodox. But the Rose-petal's dust belongs to the Perfume-seller's heart." It is not surprising that one with such broad sympathies should have tried to found a universal religion by selecting the best from all faiths. Such a man-made religion, however, could not satisfy the human heart. It had no vital force, and lasted no longer than Akbar's own life. But his was a noble dream of bringing into one family all of God's children, a dream which again and again has haunted the sons of India.

He has often been spoken of as a dreamer whose dreams failed to come true. But this was because they were too great for his age, and are still too great, perhaps, for ours. He was like "the sailor" who "never reaches the north star. Yet, without a north star he could never come to port."

Much has been written of the brilliant manner of his rule, and especially of his land revenue system, a measure so well worked out by him with the help of his finance minister, Rajah Todar Mall, that it is used by the British Government as the basis of the present system. Much also has been written of the buildings he erected, of the wonderful fort at Agra, as interesting as the Taj itself, and of Fatehpur-Sikri, that dream city which is yet so solidly preserved that we can almost imagine on moonlight nights that we see Akbar and the scholars of his court gathered in the audience hall for one of the all-night debates which were his chief delight. And when we stand in the noble tomb at Sikandra, near Agra, we feel that it is a fitting resting place for the body of so great a spirit.

But he will be chiefly remembered for his magic touch upon life, which made itself so wonderfully felt, except during his last years when grief and disappointment clouded his brave spirit. Few men called out such trust and confidence as he did, few had such loyal friends, few knew both how to work and play with such eager intensity. Above all, he had the wonderful gift of imagination, which caused him to come with fresh interest to every subject, and to cast a glamour over the most humdrum occupations. He always did the ordinary thing in an extraordinary way. He put a spiritual, flame-like quality into the dull routine of life. And so, long after the buildings which bring him to mind have crumbled to dust, his vivid, adventurous spirit will be remembered and loved in India.

### The Stage in Southern India.

In the course of an article on "The Regeneration of the Stage in India" which Mr. E. V. Subramaniya Iyer contributes to *Everyman's Review*, he observes :

Who among us does not know that our Indian stage, especially the stage in Southern India, does not occupy the status that it does in other countries and that, for reasons more than one, its influence as a popular educator is almost nil. There are not enough respectable men in it : it mostly depends for its existence on the uncertain vagaries of the scum as opposed to the respectable section of the public and money-grabbing adventurers. It is mostly manned by needy loafers, the illiterate scum of society, who have nothing but a melodious voice to recommend them. It does not represent the real life of the people as it should : it is not the world's audophone.

In fact, as matters stand it seems improbable that the future of our theatre will become bright. Nay, it is even quite possible that if this playing to the gallery is persisted in, a time will come when respectable people will cease to go to the theatre and the latter will come to be regarded not as a national institution worthy of public support, but merely as one of the so many accursed civilised institutions like gambling, debauchery, etc. It is the duty of all well-wishers of the nation to see that an important institution should not go into disrepute and devise means to improve its position so that it might take its rightful place in the National life as an institution for popular instruction and public amusement.

Our readers in different parts of India will be able to judge to what extent these observations are applicable to the stage in their respective provinces.

### Labour Organizations in India.

In *The Young Men of India* for September, Mr. N. M. Joshi of the Servants of India Society regrets that

Although there is a great field and opportunity for organization among the labouring classes, the work that has been achieved so far is very little indeed. We have recently begun to form trade unions. But if you look into the working of these organizations, you will find that they are very imperfect and weak. Their membership is not great and very solid. Moreover they have not enough funds to support their members during the time of strike. The whole movement is very new and comparatively very small. In the whole country, I think there are not more than 100 unions, and their total membership will come to not more than three lakhs. The only unions we see are in some big cities, like Bombay, Ahmedabad, Madras, Calcutta, and those generally for railway and postal employees. And even these unions are not very strong; the strongest among them cannot go on strike and hold on for even a few months. A strong union must be able to support its members while on strike for several months. We have developed to some extent the co-operative credit movement, which also benefits the working classes; but even in this field there is ample room which is not yet covered over. We have hardly begun establishing the co-operative stores or co-operative building societies. There are no organizations yet for insuring the workman against sickness or unemployment.

The greatest difficulty in organizing labour in India is the ignorance or illiteracy of the population in our country. We have not got even six persons in a hundred who can read and write, and these six per cent. come from classes other than the labouring classes. There is hardly one per cent. of literacy in the working classes. We cannot expect, under these circumstances, to strengthen our organizations. We cannot send out letters or circulars to the members of the unions, because they cannot read, and so a meeting becomes necessary for every small matter. Although this is a great difficulty in our way, I am not one of those people who say that we must postpone the work of organization until all the workmen can read and write. I hold the educated classes responsible to help the illiterate labouring classes to organize themselves. I am sorry to say that our educated classes have not yet given sufficient attention to this subject. We are not in touch with the working classes. We do not live in the quarters where the labouring classes live. I am afraid very few of us have an idea of the real living conditions of our working classes of this city. This is very unfortunate. We must always try to understand the conditions of our fellowmen. If not out of a sense

of philanthropy, at least with a motive of self-interest, we should try to lift up our working classes. If we do not try to improve the condition of our labouring classes, there will be a limit to our own progress. You cannot rise beyond a certain limit unless you take the masses of your country along with you. Take any movement started by the educated classes, you will find that they do not succeed when not supported by the masses.

### A Possible Sir Horace Plunkett for the Deccan.

In reviewing Dr. Harold Mann's "Land and Labour in a Deccan Village" in the pages of *The Bombay Co-operative Quarterly*, Professor Patrick Geddes hopes that

Dr. Mann's experience may be increasingly applied to the great questions he has in these volumes been raising. We can well imagine that his conclusions are not always congenial to the more prevalent optimism as to agricultural conditions; but his enquiries have been so much more intimate and thorough than those on which more encouraging views have been based that they constitute a challenge which cannot be ignored. By all means let other economists and agriculturists apply themselves to independent surveys; and let us have their conclusions too. From Dr. Mann also some further, and fuller, statement as to the practical policy desirable to improve village prosperity, will be anxiously awaited; and we trust this will not be long delayed. For with every respect for his administrative and his technical labours in detail, have we not in him—of all men in Bombay Presidency, perhaps indeed in all India—the nearest type, in character and devotion, in training and experience, and, above all, initiative and courage, to Sir Horace Plunkett in Ireland? If so, would it not be a wise policy which would at once set him free and give him the resources for the corresponding tasks of establishing agricultural co-operation in the Deccan and extending its beginnings throughout the Presidency?

### The Fiji Deputation.

In *Navayuga* Dr. Manilal thus describes the genesis of the Fiji Deputation:—

The Fiji Government had sent a lying mission to India in 1920 to fool our easily-self-important members of the Viceroy's Council such as Mr. (now Sir) Surendranath Banerjee into believing (1) that in Fiji, Indians earned Rs. 2-8-0 a day (whereas that was the *desideratum* for claiming which they were shot

down), (2) that there was equality before the Law Courts (a partial truth only with *suppressio veri suggestio falsi*). (3) that no distinctions at all were made by law on Railways (a diplomatic way of presenting the ugly fact that there are no Railways in Fiji such as are understood outside Fiji). We have only the Sugar Company's tram-lines used gratis according to their whims or convenience and they can always keep a place reserved for white passengers in an irresponsible manner, sometimes stoning, maiming or killing Indian passengers who may often be permitted to climb up the empty or loaded cane-trucks and can be told to get off whilst the train is in motion. Photographs were taken of Indians from North and South India in possession of lands and cattle and they even seriously thought of showing them in India with bioscopic appliances. Of course the indebtedness of the possessors of wealth was not to be exhibited. It could safely remain in the keeping of the Registrar of Mortgages (Mr. B. Venkata-patiraju has now arrived at the conclusion that about a hundred individuals out of 63,000 possess properties to the value of £1000 or more). So the Bishop of Polynesia and the Hon. R. S. D. Rankine (Ag. Colonial Secretary) succeeded in putting under chloroform our Indian leaders whom the Government had appointed with a pat on their back to grant a hearing to the Deputation from Fiji. Even the cable news about the strike in Fiji and the shootings and the prohibition orders (taking effect as Deportations) of the Governor of Fiji could not disturb the artificial sleep of Indian leaders looking for smiling approbation from the Viceroy and the European bureaucrats and their kinsmen from the Pacific. So our "leaders" felt flattered like little children at the sight of Europeans from Fiji (and British Guiana) going on their knees before them for a deputation to visit their country and see if it be not a paradise such as they described and not a "hell" as the "agitators" had tried to make out. With the usual European tactics and diplomacy they promised to grant equality of status to Indians and various other "boons". And the Indian leaders' intellect was no match for such diplomacy (whilst in Grant Duff's time "Indian chicane was no match for European honesty") and our Rotary Club Indians consented to send the deputation.

### Knowledge of Ancient India.

Professor Sylvain Levi has contributed to *The Calcutta Review* an article on "Ancient India" in which he appeals to Indian students of their country's past to carry on the work of discovering and making known that past by the study

of the evidence to be obtained in the country itself and in the history and literature of all the nations with which our forefathers came into contact in some way or other.

From the Mediterranean to the Pacific Ocean, nations near and far gather round India and bring together converging rays to shine upon the voiceless night of her past. The picture that emerges is not, to be sure, as clear and complete as we could wish; too often the documents say nothing or break off just at the moment when curiosity is on the track; too often, besides, the portions upon which light is thrown give us minute details which, by their seeming insignificance, weary and discourage the student. However it is, this is the work which I am pressing you to pursue, for the sake of truth and of your own country. Some people may tell you that it is an idle and useless work, and that the crying need of the present is for chemists and engineers. I do not at all belittle their work, in so far as it can make that painful human life easier and smoother. But we have been taught of late by a dreadful instance how much the most technical civilisation can be foreign to real civilisation, civilisation of the mind. Never has the beautiful saying of Buddha proved so deeply true as now :

मनःपूर्वगमयन्ती मनःत्रेता मनामयाः

"Mind takes the lead of the world; mind excels the whole world; the world is a creation of mind."

In this time of sky-scrapers and gigantic bridges, mind only can build and will build a safe bridge for India to cross over the ocean of darkness and storms and to reach that "other shore" of peace and dignity for which she has been longing through centuries. India wants you to be her *Tirthankaras*; but how can you show her the way forward if you have not traced back the steps which have brought her to her present state? You wish your motherland to stand honoured and respected among the nations, but how tremendous the experimental stages you have to pass through, if you are not fully aware of the genuine forces which allowed her to play, long ago, such a big part in the development of Eastern civilisation? Old India, the mother of numberless children, who has passed through days of triumph and ages of sorrow, the ever-rejuvenating mother of numberless children to come, is standing before you, anxious about her way. It is not enough to worship your mother. Help her!

### Welfare Work Among Workers.

In the *Social Service Quarterly* of Bombay Mr. K. V. Doodhar tries to give

a definite idea of the aims of welfare work. Says he :

Welfare work makes for health, efficiency, cheerfulness, loyalty, commonsense, morality, and a higher type of workmen and workwomen. It tends to lift the workers out of the disheartening rut of being mere slave attendants upon mechanical process. Besides making the factory a better place, welfare work tries to elevate social life and to add to domestic happiness.

Mr. Joseph Baptista, the President of the second Trade Union Congress held at Jharia, declared that in the Indian labour movement war between capital and labour should be avoided, and capital and labour should be organized on a co-operative basis, and neither excessive profits at the expense of the workers, nor greedy demands at the expense of capital should be encouraged.

The welfare work movement is doing this very work. It is trying to improve the conditions of labour by improved sanitation, by creating facilities for education and recreation, and securing the economic emancipation of men through the co-operative movement. A welfare worker is a sort of intermediary between capital and labour. He tries to have petty grievances of the labourers redressed by making a representation of those grievances before the employers and tries to bring about co-operation and harmony in the factories. The welfare work movement will put a check to petty troubles in factories which cannot be solved by trade unionists, but which can be solved by friendly settlement, and thus it will put an end to strikes that are occasionally declared in a light-hearted manner. So the welfare work movement conducted on right lines does not at all interfere with a genuine trade union movement. The trade union movement has its uses in solving labour questions.

### Proposed Vihara at the Deer Park, Benares.

*The Mahabodhi and the United Buddhist World* says :

Since eight hundred years the sacred site at the Deer Park, Benares, where our Lord, the Blessed Tathagata proclaimed the Noble Doctrine 2511 years ago, has been abandoned by the Buddhist world. Indian Buddhism has ceased to exist since the destruction of the holy shrines at Savatthi, Benares, Nalanda, Buddhagaya, &c., by the invading cohorts of Islam.

We are now witnessing the dawn of an era of enlightenment since the decipherment of the rock edicts of Asoka by James Prinsep. The establishment of British Rule in India has given the Buddhists hope to revive the



forgotten Doctrine of Mercy, Renunciation and Happiness. The Maha Bodhi Society began work at the Deer Park in 1900, and we are now able to erect a vihara at the sacred site, thanks to the munificence of the noble-minded, heroic lady, Mrs. Mary Foster of Honolulu.

### Supply of Electricity at Rutlam.

*Indian Industries and Power* observes:—

One sure index, in these days of the progressive character of a town or city is the provision in it of electricity supply for lights and motors.

First the bigger and then the smaller Indian states have given evidence of this kind of mechanical progress.

The larger Native States have long had their electric installations. Mysore and Kashmir and Nepal are famous for their early installations of a hydro-electric character. Other States are not so favourably situated as regards facilities for installing water-power plants, but have had steam-electric stations in their principal cities. Rutlam State, under the wise guidance of its Maharajah, colonel Sir Sajjan Singh has fallen into line with the other progressive States of Central India and can now boast of having an up-to-date electric supply system in its capital.

The rate for energy consumed is 6 annas a unit (or kilowatt-hour) for lamps and fans and 4 annas a unit for motors. In view of the fact that the railway authorities are such a valuable customer, the rates for them will be reduced by one anna per unit in each case, after four years or whenever their monthly consumption exceeds 9,000 units. For the convenience of the small consumers, *e.g.*, shop-keepers in the bazaar, a flat rate of Re. 1-4 per month per lamp of 20 watts (about 16 c. p.) is charged. Such lights are switched off at 12 at night.

### India's East African Trade.

We read in the same journal:—

East Africa is a vast field for the sale and consumption of Indian goods, and as more and more of the African tribes are being converted to the use of clothing, the trade will rapidly grow. But, unfortunately, the Indian mills are rapidly losing the trade, especially that in sheeting known as "American", as a result of very keen competition from Japan. The Japanese prices are low. A piece of 30 yards of Bombay product weighs 7 lbs. while a piece of Japanese at the same price weighs 10 lbs. Indian cotton blankets have got

a good sale, but imports thereof from Holland are increasing, thus displacing the Indian product. The Dutch blankets are supplied in brighter colouring so as to attract the African, and also at cheaper prices than the Indian, which necessarily command large sale. The trade in prints is divided among other countries and Indian mills have no share in them, as they are not yet able to manufacture this kind of goods.

Mr. Lelfwich therefore suggests that the Bombay Millowners' Association ought to keep a joint agent in East Africa, at an important distributing centre like Zanzibar, whose duty should be to keep himself in touch with the distributing firms, so as to know the requirements of the different tracts and then place orders in India. The present unorganized, haphazard system cannot but fail in competition, especially with the Japanese. In like manner, a reduction in prices should be immediately effected.

### Import Duties on Motor Vehicles.

*Indian Motor News* protests against the 30 per cent. *ad valorem* import duties on motor vehicles and spare parts. It says that the Motor Trades Association have wisely decided to bring prominently before the motoring public certain broad aspects of the question.

Emphasis is rightly placed upon the absurdity of the position taken up by the Government of India who have classified motor cars and motor goods as "luxury articles." A luxury is a thing desirable but not indispensable. Now this definition may with fairness be applied to race-horses, diamonds, precious stones, unset and uncut, and pearls unset, beer, ale and cider, and, last but not least, champagne. Yet the list quoted here below sets out clearly how these articles of import fare in the matter of taxation in comparison with the requirements of the motorist:—

Articles	Import Duty <i>Ad valorem.</i>
Motor cars ... ..	30 per cent.
Spare parts for motor cars ... ..	
Accessories ... ..	
Tyres ... ..	
Race-horses ... ..	Free.
Diamonds, unset and uncut ... ..	
Horse-drawn luxury carriages ... ..	15 per cent.
Rubber tyres not for motor cars ... ..	
Beer, Ale, Cider, etc. ... ..	Less than 15 per cent.
Champagne ... ..	Less than 25 per cent.

Ten years ago motors might have been described as articles of luxury in this country with some justification, but to-day this is, generally speaking, a travesty of the truth. To the business man, to the touring officer, to the planter motor vehicles are a necessity. President Wilson characterised the motor car as an indispensable instrument in political, social and industrial life. In America 10 million in all are in use, of which nearly 3 million cars, as opposed to lorries and tractors, are actually in use on farms, and no one has suggested that agriculture is a luxury.

On the 5th July last a statement was produced before Mr. C. A. Innes, Member for Commerce and Industry, by a deputation of the Motor Trades Association,

showing the actual import of cars and lorries for the months of April and May, 1922, and giving the figures for the same period of last year. The following are the figures:—

Last year, 1921 ... .. Rs. 99,58,351

This year, 1922 ... .. 68,11,700  
A falling off of ... .. 31,46,651  
This nett loss of trade of Rs. 31,47,000 can only be attributed to the increased duty. The actual increase of revenue was only Rs. 51,743, the figures being:—

Revenue from duty at 20 per cent., for April and May, 1921 ... .. Rs. 19,91,667  
Revenue from duty at 30 per cent., for April and May, 1922 ... .. 20,43,510

The gain of Rs. 51,743 was effected therefore at a loss of Rs. 31,46,651, or in other words the motor trade is seen to have done 30 per cent. less business than last year, which was a record slump year. The increase in revenue is infinitesimal and is gained by depriving the trade of its legitimate business. Government is losing revenue on 31 lakhs worth of cars which would have been imported and would be using tyres, petrol, etc., which are a recurrent source of revenue.

## FOREIGN PERIODICALS

### Women and Nice Clothes.

In *The Ladies' Home Journal* Lady Astor makes some very sensible and instructive observations on fashion in women's clothes, from which we quote a few passages below.

I wonder if we women really care as much about clothes as the ordinary newspaper and magazine make out. Since becoming a politician I have found that the newspaper people, certainly in England, are apt to be a bit misleading about women's interests. There are of course thousands of women in the world who care only for the most foolish and footing things; but we all of us know, men, too, who are only interested in stupid things and things of secondary importance. I am afraid the picture we are sometimes shown of the noble race of men all thinking fine, big thoughts about fine, big things, and of the race of women wholly taken up with thinking about pretty dresses isn't altogether true to life. The ordinary woman is brought too much up against realities—by her experience of marriage and motherhood and of home making—to be satisfied with nothing but trivialities, and yet, when all is said and done, can we escape the charge that women as a whole are more concerned with the body than the mind, and that they do give more time to the furnishing of their outer than of their inner selves?

Everyone wants to be nicely dressed. It is right that they should. Nice clothes are the expression of

a nice mind. But when you get beyond wanting to be just nicely dressed you are getting away from the right motive for pretty dresses. It isn't really at all nice to want to make anyone else feel uncomfortable, and that is all that happens when your object is merely to outshine or outdo. You simply want to cause envy and jealousy.

You may say: "No; we want to cause admiration."

Admiration for what—your character or your clothes or your figure? It must be one of those three things.

But a truly fine character never thinks of being admired; only an egoist does that.

To have clothes admired as clothes is sheer vulgarity.

To wish to attract attention to your figure is just a desire to attract the male sex through its most vulnerable point. Is that really worth doing? Don't we women have to pay for these methods in the long run?

A deliberate appeal to that instinct is the basis of many profoundly unhappy marriages, because a marriage founded merely on that short of attraction has never lasted. Ever since the world began, a really happy marriage must be based on something more lasting than physical attraction or attractiveness. It makes my heart ache to see some flappers with their pretty little faces painted and their poor little bodies in their tawdry finery flaunted like flags on a circus tent. I don't believe half of them know what they are doing. And how can they know unless we tell

them? And how can they understand unless we show them by our own example?

I am full of hope that, now women are responsible citizens, we can help to make this poor old world—yes, and the new world too—a little better.

She does not wish to give the impression that she thinks nice clothes unimportant.

It is really a case for a little more thought and a little less thoughtlessness. It is the point of view and the attitude of mind that matter. We need to cultivate our taste and our intelligence about clothes so that we may choose the right ones. But, having chosen them, can't we get our minds off the eternal fussing and changing and contriving, and set our energies to work on some of the thousand and one interesting and worth-while things in the world? The more one looks into life, the more one finds waiting to be done; and as far as women are concerned, there is real pioneer work as hard and as interesting as any that the pioneers of American history had to face.

I believe that our citizenship has come to us in this time of the world's greatest need for a definite reason and for a definite purpose. Women have never failed to respond to a need, and they will not let civilization down now. And, strange though it may seem, I am sure that a right attitude about clothes is vital to our worth as citizens.

### Some Russian Realities.

Thus *The New Republic* :—

Of Russia's men of working age, the years since 1914 have wiped 28·8 percent from the face of the earth. The total of women of the same category is less by 11·7 per cent, and of the children born since then not more than two-thirds are now alive. In one particular the chart is cheering: the black line has not eaten its way into the children between six and sixteen. Everything else has been sacrificed to keep them alive.

What of the famine? M. Osinski (Assistant Commissary for Agriculture) shows plainly that its shadow will not be banished so long as the terrible deficit in horses, seed grain and implements is not made up.

This paper and *The Communist Review* give gruesome details of cannibalism in Russia which we have not the heart to reproduce.

### "The Spoken Newspaper."

News of a novel enterprise—the "spoken newspaper", comes from Paris. We read in *The New Republic* :—

When the first number was issued not long ago, the staff of journalists and literary men were assembled on the stage in a well-filled public hall. One man delivered a "leading article" on the financial situation, the budget and the exchange rate. Another

followed with a discussion of economy in government administration; while successive members of the staff talked on various subjects such as any well-rounded journal should include in its contents. News of the assassination of Rathenau arrived just as the "edition" was being completed, and some one (the foreign editor, no doubt) improvised an obituary, described as "rapid but learned." The idea of this "newspaper" is one at which it is easy to poke fun; yet there is something in it after all. That large masses of people want to know the news of the world and are yet below the intellectual level necessary for reading is shown (in America especially) by the enormous vogue of popular lecturers on current events.

### England's Traffic in Honours.

Ancient the sale of honours in England, *The Morning Post* states positively that knighthoods are obtainable for 10 to 12 thousand pounds and baronetcies for 30 to 40 thousand pounds. *The Nation* and the *Athenaeum* writes of a tout for this sort of "business", who was ready to negotiate a knighthood for £7,000. *The Outlook* tells the following story :—

A largehearted lady, seeking funds for a worthy charity, received a letter from an aspirant for a title in which that gentleman offered to contribute thirty thousand pounds for her cause if she would procure him a baronetcy. She thoughtlessly wrote to a Noble Lord in the Cabinet, explaining the offer, and asking him to get a baronetcy for the aspirant.

She received by return mail, as was right, and indeed inevitable, a severe lecture from the Noble Lord. Such champions take care never to soil their hands. She decided that she had been misinformed about the sale of Honours. Her respect for those who received them increased—until, on opening her morning paper some months later, she found her friend the aspirant gazetted, for distinguished public service, as a baronet! She did not get the thirty thousand pounds, and she wonders who did.

### The Great Wall of China.

Dr. Frank Crane writes in *Current Opinion* of the great Chinese Wall, which "was intended to protect China from the outside world."

It was the original Monroe Doctrine in stone. To those who have eyes to see and gray matter wherewith to understand, it is more than a curiosity, it is a type. It is a symbol. It is a prophecy.

For it stands for those of every nation to whom nationalism is synonymous with isolation, to whom patriotism is an expanded family feud, to whom the past is a changeless god and to whom the splendid claims of humanity and the appeal of the whole world are but a thin and dangerous dream.—*Current Opinion*.

## The Punishment Delusion.

*Current Opinion* observes :

The root cause of failure in our courts, the root cause why prisons graduate criminals instead of reforming them and why crime is on the increase, is the old delusion that the wrong-doer can be cured by hurting him.

The London *Outlook* reminds us that until the past century prisons were not institutions of punishment, but merely for the detention of those awaiting trial; felonies were punished by death, misdemeanors by the stocks, the pillory or whipping. "The modern jail is a factory of demoralization," says the *Outlook*.

Bernard Shaw, in his preface to "English Prisons Under Local Government," by Sidney and Beatrice Webb, remarks that if the prison does not underbid the slum in misery, the slums will empty and the prisons fill. Therefore, nothing will be done until a city without a slum ceases to be regarded as a city without civilization. He holds that modern imprisonment demoralizes its victims and makes the bad worse because it aims at retribution. Punishment, he says, is not the only way to deal with impossible people. We do not now punish madmen or invalids, but we restrain them and prevent them from injuring us effectively. Similar treatment is available for criminals.

The idea of punishment, which is that of cancelling evils by duplicating them, should be abandoned. The sooner the better.

## Fallacy of the Hunger and Sex Theory of Human Motive.

The same magazine has summarised the views of Professor F. H. Knight of Iowa University on the hunger and sex theory of human motive, in *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*.

It has been well observed, notes Professor Knight, that the love of life, so far from being the most powerful of human motives, is perhaps the weakest. In any case, it is difficult to name any other motive or sentiment for which men do not habitually throw away their lives. When we turn from the preservation of individual life to that of the race as a motive a similar situation is met with.

Men will give up their lives for the group, but not for its mere life; it is for a better or at least a worthy life that such sacrifices are made. The life of the individual is logically prior to that of the group, as our physiological needs are logically prior to the higher ones, but again that is not the actual order of preference. Probably few civilized men would refuse to die for their fellows if it were clear that the sacrifice were necessary and that it would be effective.

But when materialistic interpreters speak of the perpetuity of the group as a motive, they are likely to have in mind not this result in the abstract, but rather sex-feeling, the means by which continuity and increase are secured in the animal world. Here again they are squarely wrong; social existence and well-being in the abstract are more potent than sex

attraction in any crude interpretation. With sex experience as with food, it is not the thing as such which dominates the civilized individual. It is again a question of fact, and the fact patently is that when the biological form of the motive conflicts with the cultural, æsthetic or moral part of it—as more or less it always does—it is the former which gives way.

This whole purely biological interpretation of human conduct falls down. No hunger and sex theory of human motives will stand examination. Human interests have no doubt evolved out of animal desires, and an understanding of animal behavior can throw light on human problems, but only if interpreted with the utmost caution. Man has risen clear above, or if this seems to beg any philosophical question, he has at least gotten clear away from the plane where life is the end of activity. He has in fact essentially reversed this relation.

It is not life that he strives for, but the good life, or at the ultimate minimum a decent life, which is a conventional, cultural concept, and for this he will throw away life itself; he will have that or nothing.

## A Tremendous Leap into Space and Time.

*Scribner's* contains an astronomical article from which we gather that some clusters of stars as bright as the sun send us rays which reach us through the immense space of 36,000 light-years. There are others lying at distances of from 200,000 to 300,000 light-years. Curtis estimates the distance of many others to range from 500,000 to 10,000,000 light-years. A light-year is the distance which light would travel in one year, the distance which it travels in one second being 186,000 miles!

## Indian Jugglers' Tricks.

M. E. McGregor describes in *Chambers's Journal* some Indian jugglers' tricks which he saw with his own eyes. Some of these are quoted below.

In a casual way, he asked if we should like him to suspend his animation and sit just where he was for two days. We told him we thought a quarter of an hour would be quite long enough, when he instantly closed his eyes and relaxed his muscles. I got a mirror and held it close to his face. I felt his pulse, tried to find the beating of it even in his elbow-joint—in any artery. There was no sign of life; the mirror remained absolutely unclouded; the eyes were dull. At the end of fifteen minutes I spoke to him, and said we were quite satisfied. He woke as from a sleep. We told him we thought it very wonderful, and asked how he did it. He answered in an apathetic manner "I was not here. It is quite easy."

Then he asked if we had a strong, heavy iron chain, and one was brought that was used on an ox-cart as a trace. He put it across his chest, under his arms, and said, 'As it is too large, lash it securely with a rope, or knot it, so that it may not open.' This was done, and he merely expanded his chest, and the chain snapped like a bit of cotton—a clean break, just over his chest.

He asked us to give him something to eat that no human being could ever digest. We could not think of anything, but he did; he swallowed, one at a time, two packets of darning-needles, a quantity of thin, broken glass, and some mercury! Without moving from the place he sat in, he asked if any of our servants had a tin cylinder, such as they sometimes keep important papers in. After a little delay one was produced which he said would do. He asked me to put some money into it, and I dropped in, one by one, eight rupees. He did not touch the cylinder, but requested me to pass it to my neighbour and let her count the money. She did, and there were nine rupees in it. It was passed on to three others, till the sum amounted to twelve rupees. He then said to me, 'Take it back, and open it carefully. And do not be afraid; no harm will befall you.' I took it back, opened it, and a small snake, about fourteen inches long, glided out. How it could have got into such a limited space I cannot think. The tin dropped into my lap, as I was startled. It felt light, and I peered inside. It was empty. I put the lid on, and as I did so I heard the chink, chink of money falling, as it were, into it. I pulled off the lid and poured out eight rupees.

The Brahmin told me to get him a small cane or a thin walking-stick. A cane was brought. He asked me to string on to it a jewelled ring, one we could recognise. A ruby ring was put on and dangled in the centre. I held the cane firmly on each side, a few inches away from the ring. The juggler then requested me to come up to him. I did so, and he put out his hand and pulled the ring off *through the cane*, not with a quick, jerk, but just a casual pull. We were, of course, lost in astonishment, and said, 'Do it again'; but he replied, 'Why repeat what you have seen? Let one of your women-servants give me one of her metal anklets; one without a join, and very heavy.' A young girl at once began the process of removing one from her foot. It took quite a little time and some oiling to remove it, but it was eventually got off and given to him. He pushed it up his arm till it stuck and could get no farther. Then, as if he was measuring a span, he put his thumb on one side of it and his little finger on the other, and lightly pulled it *through his arm* and handed it back!

I have twice seen the 'walking on fire' trick which no one can explain. The first time, I saw at least thirty men walk through a fire of red-hot burning charcoal, over seven feet wide; but the second time I saw the trick, a trough of lighted burning charcoal, a foot deep, was made, and every now and then bellows at one end made a burning mass of it. The juggler made five or six men walk along it. He then asked the English magistrate and the police officer to remove their shoes and socks and do the same. At first they refused, but he was so earnest about it that,

in the presence of at least a hundred spectators, they quietly walked the whole length of the trough unhurt.

### A Singing Community.

Music has often been lightly talked of. But *Child-Welfare Magazine* asks:—

Are you a singing community? Do you meet regularly to sing with joy the fine sincere songs of the world—songs of sentiment, of patriotism, and of praise? If you do, your community is to be congratulated, for a good live community chorus is the best possible indication of a high type of civic spirit. People who sing well together are pretty certain to work well together. The war taught us this. Who can doubt that we did our part better, bought bonds more liberally, stood hardships better, lived better, because we sang together?

Then, under the stress of strong emotions, men women and children everywhere sang with genuine enthusiasm.

Now, more than ever, the country needs inspired citizens. There is no occupation more uplifting and inspiring than singing together.

We must admit, however, that really successful community singing—singing that is vital, that refreshes and stimulates, and that carries on into every-day living—depends on at least two factors in addition to the willingness to sing. These other factors are a good leader and good songs.

It is true that a good song leader is born, not made, and it is almost equally true that a good song is born and not made. At least not commercially made, for the most fundamental quality of a good song is sincerity. Let us be discerning and look for the songs that are a genuine expression of honest thoughts and feelings common to us all. There is an abundance of such songs.

If physical realization were all we sought it could be found in a cheap or vulgar song, but with such realization would go a mental and moral relaxation that would be insidiously dangerous to a community. On the other hand, hearty participation in a *fine* song engages our highest emotions, petty thoughts and nagging cares are forgotten, and we are not only relaxed but refreshed, invigorated, and inspired.

Next to its church the most heartwarming, mentally refreshing, socially reforming institution a community can get up is its Community Chorus.

### What Rathenau Felt and Thought.

That Walther Rathenau, whose tragic death caused a world-wide sensation, was not a mere politician will appear from some extracts given from a book of his in *Frankfurter Zeitung* and translated in *The Living Age*. Worshippers of the pure intellect should read the following:—

Our will, so far as it is not animal, springs from the fountains of the soul. Let us repeat again and again to every unquestioning worshipper of the

pure intellect: the greater and the nobler part of life consists in willing. All willing, however, is, in its profounder and concealed aspects, loving and liking. It is a psychic function, from which the recording, measuring, weighing intellect stands consciously aloof, like a ticket-taker at the entrance of the theatre of the world. What we create is begotten of a deep and unconscious impulse; what we love we long for with a divine yearning; what we solicitously seek belongs to the unknown future world; what we really believe lies in the realm of the infinite. These things cannot be demonstrated, and yet they are the most certain things that exist. They cannot be grasped, and yet there is no really fruitful act of our life that is not governed by this inexpressible truth. What do we do from morning until night? We live for what we will. And what do we will? Something that we do not know and cannot comprehend, and yet believe in implicitly.

This faith rests upon a better proof than intellectual demonstration. Any pettifogger can detect faulty logic in the teaching of Plato, Christ or Paul: and yet that teaching does not die. Every word they spoke is still truly alive, and has a power of kindling faith far beyond any physical, historical, or social theory. When we ask what is demonstrable in the strictest term of word, even the geometry of Euclid does not stand the test. But if the world is profoundly conscious of truth, by what are we to identify this living truth?

*We identify it by the power with which it seizes our heart. Every true word has a quality of its own, and every thought that springs, not from the labyrinth of the dialectic intellect, but from the realm of our feeling, possesses the vital quality that inspires trust. After this, demonstration is merely superfluous persuasion. A man feels himself called upon to proclaim the truth, not because he thinks it, but because he perceives it and experiences it, because the world he feels in his spirit is more real to him than the world he sees with his eyes. If he sees wrongly, at least his dust will level the way for those who follow on the road to truth. If only one word of what he says is inspired, it will become, no matter how carelessly sown abroad, seed for a mighty harvest in the hearts of men.*

And this is for the benefit of those to whom efficiency is only quantitative:

Modern utilitarian quantity-production is deaf and dumb. Its products but glitter for a moment on the way to the rubbish heap where their brief existence ends. The abundance of freely lavished love that gives to the old articles of handicraft a beauty, utility, and grace that self-seeking labor could never create, is an emotion despised by our profit-figuring machine-production.

And this about the intellectuals:

Never before has such a surplus of undisciplined intellects existed upon our globe, encouraging and justifying the haphazard and arbitrary opinions that their emotions suggest. Our æsthetic standards are wavering and uncertain; our affections and aversions shift from their poles abruptly; our ideas of what is proper and just and logical have no

firm foundation. Since anything can be proved, contradictory opinions are demonstrated daily, and we accept each demonstration.

### A Tragi-comic Aspect of Dublin Fighting.

An Irish correspondent of *The New Statesman* gives a graphic description of how curiosity has conquered fear in the heart of the sight-seeing civilian of Dublin. Flying bullets form an attraction which is irresistible to the Irish. Crowds are always partaking of the free entertainment provided by the fighting idealists of Ireland.

Both sets of combatants have shown the most amiable consideration for spectators. Instead of resenting their intrusion, they seemed rather to welcome their presence, provided they did not thrust themselves too recklessly into the line of fire. Even when they did, rival snipers would often suspend their duels until the incautious adventurers managed to dash back to safety. As in 1916, civilians so far have supplied the majority of the casualties, but this is due in a large measure to the fact that they remain in the open while the fighters keep snugly under cover.

The same correspondent tells us of a group of onlookers somewhere in the danger zone.

I was wondering how long it would take the sight-seers to realize their position, when suddenly four Free State soldiers doubled out in front of them. One stood upright on the pavement with his rifle raised as if for a *feu de joie*, another knelt on one knee in the roadway, the others crouched on either side of the pillar box at the corner, spick and span in its new coat of green paint, which, under the Free State, has replaced the British red. The four rifles spoke together, jets of brownish smoke eddying from the muzzles as the men emptied their magazines in desperate haste against the opposite roofs. It was war, or rather it should have been war. But mixed up with the soldiers in their green uniforms was a woman with a brown-paper parcel of groceries in one hand tugging a child obviously reluctant to go, and behind the marksmen's heels two tattered boys jostled and squabbled as they grabbed up the spent cartridges. One felt that any self-respecting cinema-producer, who knew what the dignity of war demanded, would have cut out the scene, and insisted on beginning all over again.

### Virginia Industrial School for Coloured Girls.

Mrs. Janie Porter Barrett, a colored woman, is the "wonder worker" at the Virginia Industrial School for Coloured Girls. One

of her methods is to believe that girls released from prison can be as good as others, as is related in *The Woman Citizen*.

The first thing that happens to the girl who exchanges prison for outdoors and the farm, is that she receives along with her kindly greeting from Mrs. Barrett a sheet of white paper.

"This is your record," explains Mrs. Barrett. "And you can keep it without blot, if you will." And for the first time the poor girl, who usually looks and acts like a kicked cur, realizes that even she can turn a fresh page. Some of those white pages never have the slightest stain on them—that's the thing that keeps up the teachers' courage.

### World News About Women.

The following items are taken from *The Woman Citizen* :

#### Post-Woman.

The name "post woman" may soon become familiar if other women follow the example of Mrs. William K. MacNeil of Belfast Maine. Her husband is a mail carrier who wants to devote his summer to farming, so Mrs. MacNeil has passed the necessary examinations and obtained the credentials which allow her to be a carrier of Uncle Sam's mails. With her horse and light buggy she covers from 25 to 30 miles a day.

#### Progress in India.

Bombay is the premier large city in India to start its scheme of compulsory education on the right principle of applying to girls and boys equally.

#### "Lady Plenipotentiary"

The outstanding piece of woman news of the fortnight is the appointment of a woman to the post of first secretary of a legation. The woman is Nadejda Stancioff, daughter of the Bulgarian Minister in London, and the post is in the Bulgarian Legation in Washington. Miss Stancioff is twenty-five, a graduate of the Sorbonne, and speaks seven languages. She represented Bulgaria, with Premier Stambolisky, at the Genoa Conference, and has, in the absence of her father, been in charge of the Legation in London.

#### Women in the League of Nations.

Mme. Curie and Mlle. Bonneire, professor of zoology at the University of Christiania, have been nominated to serve on the Committee on Intellectual Cooperation of the League of Nations—a committee to consist of twelve members. The announcement was sent to the Council for the Representation of Women in the League of Nations, which includes twenty-one national societies of women.

### Dehydration of Fruits and Vegetables.

The method of preserving fruits and vegetables hitherto prevalent has been canning. But now a period of drying both fruits and

vegetables has commenced. The method is known as dehydration which means a scientific method of controlling the drying conditions. This has been described in *The American Food Journal* (New York).

### Unbreakable Glass.

The engineers of the Cavalir Glass Works recently exhibited, before a meeting of sugar experts in Prague, some remarkable specimens of unbreakable glass. Glass flasks were flung upon the floor from a height of 9 to 12 feet without being broken. The flasks were then subjected with great rapidity to great differences to temperature without cracking. Finally, even thin-walled flasks were used to drive nails into wood without suffering any damage. It would be interesting to compare this Czechoslovakian glass of which we learn from Kosmos (Stuttgart) with the bullet-proof glass recently patented by Inspector Faurot of the New York Police force.

### A Rival of Quinine.

The announcement is made that a plant has been discovered in India which is an effective remedy for malaria and black-water fever. Its Latin name is *Vitex peduncularis*, and it is found in the provinces of Bengal and Bihar. It is administered to the patient in the form of a tea or infusion, having a strength of 2 to 3 per cent., made from the leaves of the plant. Kosmos (Stuttgart) states that a short time after the patient has swallowed this aqueous solution of Vitex, his blood is found to be entirely free of malaria germs. This new drug has an advantage over quinine in that it has no bitter taste.

### Responsibility for Crime and the Criminal.

*The World Tomorrow* observes :—

To say that the criminal is responsible for his crime, but that society is responsible for the criminal, is not soft penology ; it is a scientific statement of the fact of restricted responsibility of the individual for his social delinquency. When the individual fails to measure up to the social standards, he is known as a delinquent ; when the social standards fail to touch individual needs, then the community is delinquent. Only self-control can prevent delinquency ; community help alone can check a delinquent career.

Prisons do not reform the criminal.

The rules governing prisoners' conduct are made for the purpose of promoting ease of administration ; the whole life of the institution is ordered to that end. The welfare of the prisoner, not to speak of his reformation, is in the typical penal institution the last thing thought of.

### Music in the Court House.

What would one think of using our law courts as music houses? *The Playground* says, Minneapolis, U. S. A., has just inaugurated a series of noon-hour concerts in the court house, where thousands come in from the factory, store and office during their noon-hour for the relaxation and inspiration of listening to music.

Just as the soil of agricultural land requires rotation of crops in order to produce the best results, so does the soil of our inner being require variety of treatment in order to remain elastic and fertile and to enable us to produce the best of which we are capable.

I believe that some of the restlessness, of the turmoil, of the lawlessness, even of the crime of the day, arises in a measure from a reaction against the humdrumness and drabness and lack of inspirational opportunity of everyday existence. I believe that much can be done by art, and particularly the art of music, to give satisfaction to the natural and legitimate desire for getting away from unrelieved dullness and drudgery, and to lead the strong impulse underlying it into fruitful, instead of into harmful, or even destructive channels.

What I maintain is, that the best preventive against crime is to encourage and foster in the young—and in the grown-ups, too, for that matter—interest in, and understanding for, that which is beautiful and inspiring and which will bring into their leisure hours influences and occupations tending to counteract the lure of the street and to breed aversion and contempt for that which is vulgar, cheap, brutal and degrading. Toward that end, one of the most potent instrumentalities is art. It is, or can be made, a mighty element for civic betterment. It is, or can be made, one of the strongest among those agencies which have power to form and guide the thought and the sentiments and the conduct of the people. It has a weighty purpose and a great mission.

### Story-telling.

The same journal tells us:—

This summer Boston children are having frequent expeditions into the wonderful land of "Once Upon a Time." Many new storytellers were trained by the course in story-telling and story dramatization conducted in the Dramatic Workshop of Community Service of Boston.

A story club has been formed as part of the activities of Clearfield, Pennsylvania, Community Service. During the spring story-telling hours were held every Saturday morning in each of the town's schools in preparation for the summer's outdoor playground program.

### Ancient Hindu Education.

V. B. Metta discourses in *The Forum* on the ancient Hindu system of education. Some of his views are extracted below.

The ancient Hindu educationists did not create a system of education, and then enmesh all their pupils in it indiscriminatingly. They attached a great deal of importance to individuality, and therefore they tried to understand the nature of each one of their pupils separately. After understanding their pupils individually as well as they could, they then tried to develop them, each according to the bent of his own nature.

The Hindus attached great importance to the capacity for mental concentration. Hindu boys were taught the elements of *yoga*, in order that they may be able to concentrate their attention on any subject or object. The concentration of attention is necessary not only for keeping the mind awake but also for cultivating the memory. Memory-training was considered to be of the very greatest importance by Hindus and other Oriental peoples, and therefore Oriental litterateurs and philosophers of old times, possessed such wonderful memories that they knew whole volumes of their great poets and philosophers by heart.

The modern method of teaching by snippets would never have appealed to ancient Hindus. By this method boys are taught a subject most superficially in five years, which they can learn pretty thoroughly in one year. The Hindus taught schoolboys only one or two subjects at a time, but these subjects were taught so well and so thoroughly, that those who had studied them became not mere mines of information, but really cultured beings. Modern teachers say that the mind of the child is tired by being fixed on only one subject for a long time. But then how was it that ancient children, whether Hindu or Chinese or Greek, were not tired? Either they possessed better and healthier minds, or what is more probable, their interest in their subject was so thoroughly aroused that they were not tired of fixing their attention on it for a long time.

The ancient Hindus relied on the teacher to influence his pupils morally and spiritually. The Hindu *guru* (the word signifies a teacher in the intellectual as well as in the moral and spiritual sense) commanded implicit obedience and admiration from his pupils by his knowledge, wisdom and sanctity.

### Business and the Professions.

Willard L. Sperry's Dudgeon Lecture on "The Call to the Ministry," given at the Harvard Union, and printed in the *Harvard Theological Review*, begins with some important prefatory remarks on the most important question which a man has to decide in this world, namely, that of his work in life.

The majority of men must settle this problem in the light of conscience and common sense, their knowledge of their world, what can be done and what



needs to be done in the world, and their knowledge of themselves, their natural inclinations and abilities.

The broad initial option lies between business and the professions. The opportunities in the business world are perfectly apparent. There is above all else the zest of the great game, so dear to the strenuous temper of America. The prospects for a successful, absorbing and useful life-work in business or industry are so clear that such a career needs no advocates. It should merely be noted, however, that although the single individual may enter business with a social conscience and with altruistic motives and plans, he finds himself in a world that is primarily operated with a view to private gain.

The claim of the four major professions—the law, medicine, teaching, and the ministry—rests upon an entirely different premise. The professional man enjoys certain social recognitions and privileges in modern society which are not accorded the business man. And although, man for man, the broker or banker is often a more high-minded person than the doctor or teacher, it still remains true that the professions as a whole have a certain moral rating of their own, which is in advance of the moral rating of the ranks of trade and industry.

The reason for this felt and recognized distinction is clear and valid. The members of every great profession are organized primarily around the principle of service.

As a Balliol don at Oxford said :—

The difference between industry, as it exists today, and a profession is, then, simple and unmistakable. The former is organized for the protection of rights, mainly rights to pecuniary gain. The latter is organized, imperfectly indeed, but none the less genuinely, for the performance of duties.

### Educational Value of Biology.

John C. Page writes in *Education* :

Biology is fundamental. Elementary biology, in its properly conceived form, studies man and pictures him in his proper setting as one living creature amongst a world of others with which he has relationship sometimes intimate and always vital. It is the root and trunk subject from which spring all the deliquescent branches of the tree of the knowledge of life in all its manifold manifestations. It is unique, and no other subject can take its place for this reason.

The scope of biology is overwhelmingly large. It deals with plants and animals, therefore with humans. It comprehends many subjects heretofore given special names, but it is not a combination of them any more than a trunk is the combination of its branches.

Biology includes principles of health culture, sex instruction, eugenics, sanitation, study of plants and animals, nature study, &c. About sex instruction the writer says :—

I do not mean by this to assume, among other things, that sex instruction as such should be definitely and directly given in a course in biology. But I do agree with Dr. Charles W. Eliot, President-Emeritus of Harvard, and president of the American Federation of Sex Hygiene, when he gave his approval to the statement "that biology is the only subject in which these facts can be presented in a normal way." I do see the potentialities in biology in this respect. We all grant that the child must know; but how is he to learn? Statistics show that both parents and doctors fail pitifully to act, and that the practical work of the clergyman is small.

A capable teacher can and will impart many valuable facts by connotation. He may start with pollination in flowers. This makes an excellent beginning. Fishes and amphibia with their milt and eggs will come still nearer to the point. When he comes to birds he may bring out the mating instinct, the establishment of homes, the care of young. He may even proceed with caution into mammals. If the master in charge of all this be cultured, and possessed of a mind and personality that measure up to his calling, he will awaken no morbid interest, but instead will bring a clear light of understanding. He will awaken, if anything, a spirit of gallantry in the boys, and in the girls one of faithfulness and parental instinct. In general it is within his power to inspire a high sense of social responsibility brought about through a true understanding of the instinct underlying the formation of a home.

Sanitation implies a knowledge of bacteriology and of how disease germs are carried by flies, mosquitoes, &c. From biology spring agriculture, horticulture, floriculture and animal husbandry.

## NOTES

**India and the Empire.**

Mr. Lionel Curtis had been recently lecturing in America. His final address was an apology for imperialism, and specifically for the British Empire as a practical contribution to that ultimate political ideal, a supernatural state. According to *The New Republic* :—

Mr. Curtis admitted that unless the principle of the commonwealth replaces that of empire the whole structure will fall. He further declared that "the relations of the people of Europe and America to those of Asia and Africa are the ultimate problem of politics." The future, then, of the British Empire as a foundation of, or model for, a world state, and the value of its contribution to the solution of this "ultimate problem of politics," depend on the inclusion of India as a willing partner in this commonwealth.

The British Empire is now engaged in the task of reconquering India. Once it took the country physically, by war and chicane, setting native states against each other, entering alliances to subdue enemies and betray friends. Now it must conquer the country spiritually, in the name of the august conception of an imperial commonwealth, of which Mr. Lionel Curtis thinks so highly as the basis for a world state.

"I believe", he said solemnly, "that the cause of freedom in the East has gained immeasurably by the inclusion of India in a commonwealth which centres in the West."

*The New Republic* criticises Mr. Curtis partly thus :

The reference to a commonwealth begs the question. It is the necessary substitution of commonwealth for empire for which Mr. Lionel Curtis is arguing, and so far as India is concerned he will admit that the process has not gone far. But passing this, it may be inquired to what extent or in what way the cause of freedom in the East has gained through the control of India by the British. Was that control sought in the name of freedom? Has it been maintained in that spirit? Is its continuance desired as a means of contributing to the world free state of Mr. Lionel Curtis's imagination? On the contrary, India was acquired by the ambition and self-interest, not of Great Britain, but of certain British citizens: the control of India has been exercised always for the social and pecuniary advantage of certain classes of British, and its future is envisaged chiefly from the point of view of these classes. Mr. Lionel Curtis knows better than any one that the whole structure of law, economics, finance and racial association in India is a monument to the greed and arrogance of the dominant race. The value of India as an outpost of freedom in the East is chiefly as a terrible warning to Persia, China, Japan.

As regards the task of conquering India spiritually in which, according to Mr. Curtis, Britain is now engaged, the American paper remarks :—

The signs of the spiritual conquest of India by the British are not hopeful. Mr. Curtis quoted appreciatively Captain Mahan's apothegm to the effect that "the province of force in human affairs is to give moral ideas time to take root." The moral ideas in the present case seem to be provided not by Lord Reading or the Prince of Wales or even Mr. Lionel Curtis, but rather by the Mahatma Gandhi.

*The New Republic* then proceeds to state a maxim of political science and apply it to India.

There was a principle of political science enunciated by an Englishman a generation ago which might seem to apply to India, as well as to afford a clue to the relations of the peoples of America and Europe to those of Asia and Africa. John Ruskin proposed as a test of the right of a ruler his willingness to die for his subjects. Men charged with high responsibility are expected to meet this question: what should they

for them? Many have actually done so: many more have died for British rule in India, which even to Mr. Lionel Curtis does not mean the same thing. Will Lord Reading die for India? Will the Prince of Wales die for India? He showed extraordinary complacency in allowing scores or hundreds of Indians to die for him on the occasion of his imperial progress; and among his reported utterances we have failed to find one expressing a decent regret at the death and suffering due to the provocation of his visit. Will Mahatma Gandhi die for India? Will the 40,000 non co-operators now in prison die for India? Then they, rather than Lord Reading, Mr. Lionel Curtis or the Prince of Wales have met at least the moral test of their right to rule India.

**Women As Dictators.**

Twenty-four hours after the dedication of the Woman's Parliament in Washington a representative of *The Ladies' Home Journal* asked Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, President of the Woman's Party in the United States of America, what she really meant when she said that henceforth women were to be dictators. She was the fortieth or fiftieth person who had put the same question to Mrs. Belmont in that very limited space of time. Her reply is given in *The Ladies' Home Journal* in the following words, in part :

The end of the dictatorship of the world by men alone is in sight. We women have lived long enough in the cramped confines of a misfit social structure. We have been forced to sit still too long. We have been powerless for such an endless time that we have accumulated enough stored-up energy to shape any structure to our will.

We know we can manage the house. We can reconstruct it. We can put on a left wing and a right wing. We can add a sun porch to let in the light. We could even tear the house down if we liked—and I think men know that too.

The time has come to take this world muddle that men have created and strive to turn it into an ordered, peaceful, happy abiding place for humanity. In its present condition the world is its own worst indictment against the sole dictatorship of men. Men have always obstructed and suppressed the intellect of one-half of the human race. They have always worked for themselves. That is not sufficient. The error lies here.

By excluding women men have interfered for too long with the development, interests and intelligence of humanity. Men have always kept women in subjection. To acknowledge them as equals would have destroyed their own pedestals. They have opposed an even partially woman-governed world, fearing a limitation of their own undisputed freedom. Men have insisted not only that we live in a man-governed world but that we worship in a man-dominated church; and we can no longer accept this.

We are going to make the necessary changes, but not for the sake of women alone. I have no near-sighted idea that what is done for women and children is not to the advantage of men also. In short, we are not working against men, for women, when we speak of women as dictators; we are working for the human race.

### Filipino Independence.

According to the Jones Law the Filipinos are to obtain independence when they have established stable government. This they have done, even according to the Wood-Forbes Mission, which has reported against giving them independence. *The Philippine Press Bulletin* says:—

No American official, whether of the past or the present administration, has denied the statement of the Philippine Legislature, the certificate of the Governor-General, and the finding of the President of the United States to the effect that we have established the "stable government" required by the Jones Law, in accordance with the interpretation that universal usage has assigned to these words. Even the report of the Wood-Forbes Mission, which is unwarrantably severe and critical, does not deny this assertion.

"There are apparently in President McKinley's estimate two main elements in a stable government: First, ability to maintain order and insure peace and tranquility and the security of citizens, and, second, ability to observe international obligations. To those two elements, Mr. Root, in his instructions for the Cuban people, added the following: It must rest

upon the peaceful suffrages of the people and must contain constitutional limitations to protect the people from the arbitrary actions of the Government. All these elements are to be found in the Philippines to-day!"

### Woman Suffrage in India.

An interview with the Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri, published in *The Woman Citizen* of America, contains the following passages among others:—

The delegate who showed the broadest and most generous feeling, and the highest spirit in his attitude toward the woman problem, was Srinivasa Sastri, the British Delegate representing India—the country in which the progress of woman has been retarded more perhaps than in any other because of the prejudices of religion and the social caste system.

"Yet," said Mr. Sastri, "I think that the light is penetrating more than people in the outside world may realize.

"Women in my country, whether married or not, can hold property in their own name under an ancient law. Another ancient law provides a dowry from the parents called 'Stri-dhan'—which means woman's property. This dowry is inherited by the daughters."

As regards the vote given to our women in some provinces, Mr. Sastri observes:

"In their case it is not demanded by the necessities of their lives, but is a mere luxury considered somehow or other a part of civilized life.

"My hope is that this premature granting of the suffrage will reverse the course of the development of women in India and cause her life and acts to become fuller and richer as in more modern countries.

"Where the influence of the Moslem has been felt in Northern India, women are screened and hidden from the gaze of men. But in Southern India they move about freely and even attend public meetings. They figure very often in the list of the delegates to conventions and conferences, and a great part of the work which resulted in granting the franchise to women has been done in every province. Associations of ladies amongst whom several have taken a leading part.

"I see no end or limit to the place that women can reach when she has her chance. And men can hold the one attitude, which is to open every door to her as fast as possible. There can be no greater work in the world than the elimination of suffering and disability, and surely there is no suffering and disability anywhere as ill-deserved as that which so unfortunately has been visited upon women for no other reason than their sex."

We do not think the suffrage has been given to Indian women prematurely.

### The Turks.

Miss Bessie Beatty, for three years editor of "McCall's Magazine" and a distinguished journalist and war correspondent, gives in *The Century Magazine* her opinion of the

Turks and Turkish affairs from personal knowledge of Constantinople and from knowledge gained by personal contact with noted Turks, including the crown prince. American globe-trotters go to Constantinople with the preconceived idea that

The Turk was an amber-skinned man who wore a red fez, and carried a long, curved knife dripping with blood.

But in the case of the party of which she was one,

They went away, these American globe-trotters, quite thoroughly convinced that there are two sides to the Turkish question.

Before the season was over, other ships arrived. The number of tourists mounted from the hundreds into the thousands. More questions were asked and answered. All of them, when they sailed away from Constantinople, had undergone the experience of their predecessors.

She adds :—

No one need minimize the suffering of the Armenians and other minority peoples of the Near East, but it should be possible to look behind the atrocity story and discover the elements that make Turkey what she is to day and find out what she may become to-morrow.

The atrocity story has blinded sharper eyes than ours all down the ages, yet we never seem to become sophisticated about it. Religious antagonisms have long been used for the political and economic advantage of one or another power. Frequently they have been deliberately created and carefully nursed for the benefit of an ambitious ruler.

Those who look on Turkey from a distance with the eye of the casual observer have little idea of the vitality and extent of the nationalist movement. It has what military power there is, what hope, what discipline. It has the support of all but the tiniest portion of the populace of what is left of that once mighty Turkish Empire. Though there are two governments side by side in Turkey, no one pretends that the Constantinople government functions.

The attitude of the resident American of Constantinople was not the least interesting of the things she found there.

He goes to Turkey after having been thoroughly propagandized to hate the Turk as an enemy to all that spells civilization.

When he has lived with him a short time, he frequently swings to the opposite extreme. When he has lived there a little longer, he acquires a footing in that middle ground of judgment which gives him a point of view probably not far removed from truth. He learns from personal experience that every Turk is not an assassin, or every Armenian or Greek either a saint or a corpse. He does not minimize the terrible price of suffering the Armenian has paid, nor does he excuse the Turk; but he learns to search and find causes which modify his judgments. He discovers, too,

that, Turkey of yesterday is not Turkey of to-day and that still another Turkey is in the building.

In Constantinople I found both Turks and Americans asking with some indignation why it is that America publishes only one side of the Greco-Turkish situation? When I asked what they would have us publish, they replied with questions:

"Why was the report of the commission of investigation of the Greek occupation of Smyrna suppressed? Why has no one ever blamed the Greeks for the atrocities committed against the Turks in that occupation?"

"Why does everyone talk of Armenian refugees and never mentions the seventy thousand Turkish refugees in Constantinople, driven out of their homes in Asia Minor by the Greeks?"

"Why does no one ever tell about the efforts the Turkish Nationalists made to prevent the Armenian evacuation of Cilicia?"

Eventually one begins to join them in wondering.

Of Smyrna Miss Beatty writes :—

Smyrna is, of course, the sorest of the Turkish tender spots. The Turk maintains that atrocities there are committed by the Greeks under the eyes of Allied battle-ships, and that the Allies, aware of this, did not lift a voice in protest or a hand in protection.

It is true that the report of a committee of investigation of which the American high commissioner, Admiral Mark Bristol, and other equally qualified representatives of the Allied governments were members, has never been made public. The commission found the facts sufficiently appalling to recommend the immediate withdrawal of the Greek army, but the affair stopped there.

It is fairly understandable why the English Government, actively backing the Greeks, was eager to keep the facts of this occupation from their public. The motive of our own government in also pigeon-holing this report is not quite so clear. Our government had less at stake. It might have considered that it could afford to trust the American people a little more fully with the facts. Atrocities are unpleasant reading at all times, but, after all, if one is to judge, one must have all and not half of the truth.

In Miss Beatty's opinion,

Turkey is a barometer of many things. A student of international politics can tell fairly well how affairs are going with Great Britain by watching her attitude toward Turkey. If she extends a reluctant olive branch to the Turkish Nationalists, it is probable that things are a little unsettled in Egypt, India, or some other corner of the Moslem world. When she proposes a new investigation of the Turkish atrocities and backs a Greek offensive, it is fairly safe to assume that things in the Moslem world are going not too badly from the British point of view, and England can afford to risk the ire of the inhabitants of certain of her possessions or spheres of influence. Sometimes her policy is determined by Turkish concessions to France and Italy.

Some idea of Mustapha Kemal Pasha's

self-abnegation is gained from the following sentences from a young Turk's conversation :

When we speak of our government to-day, we mean Angora. The entire press is an Angora press. Mustapha Kemal could become dictator of Turkey to-morrow if he chose, but he has deliberately deprived himself of power.

### The Bery Loom.

We received two letters of complaint against the Bery Loom a few days ago. The one from Babu Radha Prasad Das, Headmaster, Baidyapur George Institute, states that the loom is "heavy and unmanageable," and that "Messrs. B. D. Bery and Co. and Mr. Hoogewarf could not satisfy the institute authorities and we have been reluctantly compelled to keep the matter hanging." The other from Babu Abinash-chandra Chaudhury of village Charipara, P. O. Uthali (Dacca), who says he holds the firm's invoice No. 1274, states that the loom is too heavy to be worked by a weaver "and it is absolutely impossible for a man to work on the same for an hour even and 30 yards of cloth per day can never be expected on the loom." As we are not weaving experts and have no first-hand knowledge of the loom, we can offer no opinion, and cannot undertake to publish any correspondence on the subject. Our suggestion is that if any party has any grievance, the remedy lies in a place different from newspaper offices.

### Mulshi Petha Satyagraha.

The Poona correspondent of *Swarajya* writes to it from Poona on the 13th September that the Mulshi Petha Satyagraha has recently entered on the third phase of the struggle. He writes, in part:—

#### THE TATA COMPANY.

The Tata Power Company has not yet begun work. It is becoming very difficult for the Company to get contractors and also labourers. It is also understood that the Company is hard pressed for money, as the shareholders are refusing to pay their instalments owing to the Satyagraha movement. Matters have come to such a pass that the Company is obliged to file suits

against the shareholders, and I understand that a suit is going on in the Bombay Court against some prominent Calcutta Marwari shareholders. I also learn that a counter suit has been filed against the Company for deceiving the shareholders by keeping them ignorant of the true state in Mulshi Petha and various other charges.

#### FORECAST.

The Satyagraha campaign will assume a serious aspect by the end of October, as the rainy season would then be over and as hundreds of enrolled volunteers will be going to the scene of action from all parts of Maharashtra. Perfect non-violent atmosphere exists in Mulshi Petha. There is grim determination prevailing in Maharashtra to see the thing through. Unfortunately there is not absolute unanimity in Maharashtra over this matter, but the great majority are for Satyagraha, as can be understood from the resolutions of the Akhil Maharashtra Mulshi Parishad held in Bombay on June 11th this year.

From what I could see, it is affording the Mawalas and the volunteers an excellent lesson in the non-violent fight for one's own rights. The matter may now be taken up by other provinces also, in so far as sympathy may be shown, by sending volunteers and doing propaganda against Andhra, Tamil and Karnatak Labour being recruited here for construction of the Tata Company's works.

### "Morning Post's" Comment on 'Censure on Premier'.

The Indian Legislative Assembly's resolution on the Premier's "steel frame" speech has been construed as a vote of censure on Mr. George. In commenting on it the London *Morning Post* contemptuously refers to the Assembly as "a subordinate legislature eighteen months' old."

The "Morning Post" goes on to advise Indians who profess to be fully grown politicians to develop a better sense of realities and adds that if they claim to be citizens of the Empire they must learn to think imperially and recognise that such a question as the charge of Constantinople and the Straits must be settled by the light of what is expedient for Europe and not by the remoter consideration of what is agreeable to the sentiments of Mahomedans in India.

The position taken up by the London paper would have been correct if "Europe" had not taken upon itself to interfere in

the affairs of "Mahomedans in India," had not subjected them to its rule and had not asked them to fight for it against their Turkish co-religionists. But as matters stand, *The Morning Post's* remarks are sheer impudence.

### Bengal Ministers and the Indian Association.

In our last issue we had occasion to refer to the methods that are being employed now for sometime past by two Ministers of Bengal, with the help of their too ready and willing supporters, for converting the Indian Association into a Ministerial instrument. It appears that these methods are being opposed by a number of independent members of the Association, although their efforts have so far borne no fruit. We are informed that twenty-one members of the Association sometime ago addressed a communication to the Honorary Secretary protesting against the extremely arbitrary, high-handed and discourteous manner in which the President, Sir Surendranath Banerjea, conducted himself at the last Annual Meeting of the Association, held on the 31st July, 1922. The signatories urged that as the procedure adopted at the meeting was illegal, irregular and unconstitutional, the proceedings were vitiated in consequence. The letter pointed out *inter alia* the following irregularities and demanded that a fresh meeting be called for the consideration of the business of the last annual meeting :—

"(1) In the case of the election of the Secretary and Assistant Secretaries, the voting was not by ballot, although voting by ballot was urged. (2) The election of 20 members of the Committee was not by means of voting papers, as provided in the Rules (Rule 23(b)). Certain printed papers containing a list of names were accepted as voting papers, in spite of protest by some members. (3) When two different names were proposed for the Secretaryship, the second name was put to the vote as an amendment, in spite of objection and protest. (4) One name proposed for Assistant Secretaryship was put to the vote as an amendment. (5) One candidate for Assistant Secretaryship was allowed to count the votes

cast in favour of his rival candidate. (6) The counting of votes was not properly done. In the case of the election of the Secretary the accuracy of the counting was challenged and a recount was demanded but refused. In the case of the election of one of the Assistant Secretaries it was proved on a recount that the original counting was wrong. At this a recount was again demanded in the case of the election of the Secretary but was again refused. (7) Division was demanded but was refused by the President. (8) Members were not allowed even to state their points of order or make their submission for the Chairman's ruling and were peremptorily asked to sit down. Lastly, the attitude of the Chairman was throughout arbitrary, high-handed and extremely discourteous."

The requisition was put before the Executive Committee of the Association, who convened a special general meeting to consider it. The Special Meeting was accordingly held on the 12th September last. We have not so far come across any official account of the proceedings of this meeting. The reports that we have received from more sources than one, however, show that the procedure and methods adopted by the President and the Executive of the Association at the Special Meeting were even more outrageous than those of the preceding meeting.

The complaint made by the requisitionists was directed mainly against the President of the Association. When, therefore, the Special Meeting commenced, some of the requisitionists rightly protested against Sir Surendranath Banerjea occupying the chair. But he refused to listen to this most reasonable objection. Knowing that the meeting was a packed one, composed mainly of members who had been brought there on the definite understanding that in voting they should recognise the principle that he who pays the piper should call for the tune, it was easy for the Minister-President to say that he would vacate the chair only if the meeting wanted him to do so. Thereupon, it was formally moved and duly seconded that Sir Surendranath should vacate the chair. It was not surprising that this motion was lost.

The position of the Chairman of a

meeting is analogous to that of a judge. It is a fundamental rule of law that a judge shall not sit in judgment upon a matter in which his own conduct is under enquiry. The meeting in question was held for the specific purpose of discussing the conduct of the Chairman at the last Annual Meeting and definite allegations of high-handedness and irregularity had been made against him. In view of these allegations, we fail to understand how the Chairman could stick to his throne on a show of hands. In fact, he himself stated that he was not going to "abdicate." It was eminently desirable that the Chairman should not only be elected without any opposition but that there should not also be any reasonable ground for suspicion in the mind of even a minority that they might not get justice, and such a suspicion was inevitable when the Chairman, whose conduct was under discussion, himself presided over that very meeting.

It is an unwritten law of public meetings, recognised all over the world, that the Chairman of a meeting, in cases where his impartiality or fairness is impugned, or where his own conduct is the subject-matter of enquiry and discussion, vacates the chair. We cannot believe that the two Ministers of Bengal, who are associated with the Indian Association, are ignorant of this elementary fact. We would ask their followers to look up the proceedings of parliamentary institutions and other important public bodies, in this country and elsewhere. This will show how utterly untenable and indefensible is the position taken up by Sir Surendranath Banerjea and his supporters in the matter.

It is interesting to note in this connection that the Calcutta High Court has held that a Magistrate is not competent to try a Municipal case if he is also the Chairman of the Municipality in question. The law is very explicit in the matter. It distinctly provides that "no judge or magistrate shall, except with the permission of the court to which an appeal lies from his court, try or commit for trial any case to or in which he is a party, or personally interested, and no judge or magis-

trate should hear an appeal from any judgment or order passed or made by himself." What a court takes into consideration in such cases is "not merely the question whether there has been any real bias in the mind of the presiding judge against the accused, but also the further question whether incidents may not have happened which, though they may be susceptible of explanation, and may have happened without there being any real bias in the mind of the judge, are nevertheless such as may create in the mind of the accused a reasonable apprehension that he may not have a fair and impartial trial." This is the rule obtaining also in the case of a chairman of a meeting.

That as Chairman of the last Annual Meeting of the Association Sir Surendranath Banerjea had perpetrated irregularities of the grossest nature was beyond any doubt. The most straightforward course for him, under the circumstances, would have been to acknowledge his mistake and to make amends for the injury that he had done to fellow-members of the Association by his arbitrary rulings and rude and offensive conduct. But this was a course which could not be expected either from the Minister-President of the Indian Association or from his new associates. A spell of "brief authority" has deprived them of their mental equilibrium. They now seem to believe that they can disregard everybody else with impunity. They have begun to comport themselves in a manner which shows, as if they do not consider themselves bound by any earthly rules, legal, constitutional or moral, observed by ordinary mortals.

The terms of the resolution on the requisition that Mr. Jatindranath Basu moved at the meeting show that our observations are not based on fictitious statements or imaginary grievances. Though opposed by a number of independent members, this resolution was supported by Mr. Provas Chandra Mitter, the Minister of Education, and two of his lieutenants, and was accepted by a majority of votes. Mr. Jatindranath Basu laid down in his resolution the

proposition that a Chairman's rulings were to be final. Nothing could be more extraordinary than this. Sir Surendranath Banerjea's friends were unable to advance any valid arguments in support of the proposition that they propounded, but they made up for this by emitting a good deal of sound and fury. The Chairman of a meeting, especially when he was also a Minister, was so superior a person that they seemed to take it to be almost a sacrilege that his rulings should be questioned or his conduct animadverted against. We quite realise that it would have been convenient for the Ministers and their friends if the accepted law of meetings supported their view. Unfortunately for them, however, this is not so. Even a tolerable acquaintance with the law and procedure on the subject will show this. They have, we know, adopted Mr. Jatindranath Basu's resolution by a majority of votes. But even a majority can never have any justification or right for doing anything unconstitutional or illegal. A majority, because it is a majority, cannot validate a thing that is on the face of it invalid.

If the two Ministers and their supporters were to urge that as the Chairman was the sole judge on a question of order, etc., his decision should be regarded as final and conclusive at the moment, there would be some sense in such a suggestion. Even at that very moment a majority of members might constitutionally decline to accept the decision of the Chairman. In any case, there can be no doubt that under the law of meetings, members of a meeting have the right of challenging the ruling of the Chairman given at a previous meeting in cases in which such ruling was obviously improper and wrong.

The way in which the power of closure was used by a majority at the meeting showed that neither Sir Surendranath Banerjea nor his associates were people who could be expected to follow a fair and constitutional procedure. Before this procedure was put in requisition it was

essential that the minority should have been afforded adequate opportunities of expressing their views. One member, who wanted to oppose Mr. Jatindranath Basu's resolution, rose and made several unsuccessful attempts to speak. While Mr. Provas Chandra Mitter and two other supporters of Sir Surendranath, who rose after this member, were allowed to have their say, the aforesaid member was not permitted to speak. All on a sudden the motion for closure was sprung upon the meeting and adopted by a mechanical majority. This was a case of flagrant abuse of the power of closure and a glaring infringement of the rights of the minority.

Sir Surendranath Banerjea has, we find, been allowed to perpetrate a series of irregularities, both at the last Annual Meeting and the Special Meeting. It is because he has at his back a majority that he has dared to act in such a grossly perverse and unconstitutional manner. But when one comes to know how this majority is composed, one realises its extremely unreal and unsubstantial character. What value can we reasonably attach to a majority vote when the majority consists mostly of people whose subscriptions are paid by influential members of the Association. There are also some who stand to gain by their association with the ministers in whose hands lie so much power and patronage. If and when the source of the subscriptions is traced and made known to the public, the disclosures would be startling indeed!

When we say all this we do not, of course, mean to suggest that there are not any honest or independent men among the supporters of Sir Surendranath. But their number is very small. Principal Herambachandra Maitra, a Vice-President, and one of the seniormost members of the Association, who was not present at the Annual Meeting, very appropriately asked the President in the course of the discussion on the requisition, if it was a fact that at the previous meeting a member rose to a point of order, but was not allowed to make his submission. Though the



President did not answer this simple question, a well-known member of the Association bore testimony to the truth of the allegation contained in it. And Principal Maitra, when he left the meeting, was heard to remark that the Indian Association, so long as it acted thus, could never command any respect from the public.

Now, the question is, is there no remedy for such tyranny on the part of the majority? Yes, there is. The remedy is, as an English writer points out while discussing the question of the Rule of the Majority, "the purification of public opinion, the ennobling of public life, the rousing of public spirit, the education of public conscience, the development of the sense of public responsibility." It is now the duty of the public, therefore, to demand that the Ministers should, before everything else, be divested of all influence and authority over the conduct and management of the affairs of public institutions in the country.

### Another Murder Case from U. P.

In our last issue we commented on a clear case of murder tried in the Allahabad High Court, which sentenced the accused to death, but forwarded the jury's recommendation for mercy to the Governor, who commuted the sentence to penal servitude for life. The convict is a European soldier who had deliberately murdered an Indian, for fun's sake, without the least provocation.

Another case, of a European Lance-Corporal who had murdered an Indian cook boy, recently tried at the same High Court, has ended in a death sentence with a recommendation for mercy by the jury. We make some extracts from *The Statesman's* report, which does not show that there was any proof that the murdered man abused the accused Grundy.

The trial of Lance-Corporal S. A. Grundy, 2nd South Wales Borderers, Jhansi, commenced to-day at the Allahabad High Court Criminal Sessions before Mr. Justice Louis Stuart. The charge was that he had murdered Nanhe, a cook boy, by shooting him. The accused pleaded not guilty.

The facts, as related by the prosecution, are

that on the morning of June 28 the accused, who had returned from leave the previous night, had to attend the British Station Hospital, Jhansi, for medical inspection and that on his way there certain persons made abusive remarks about him. While the accused was returning and passing the cookhouse abuse was again used. It is alleged that the accused then went to his barracks, got his rifle, put a cartridge into the breech, went into the verandah and fired at the cook.

Major Berkett, officer commanding the regiment, said that accused told him after the incident that when he was abused he made up his mind "that there would be one native less to send a British soldier to detention." There was an order that every assault by a soldier on an Indian had to be reported to Simla.

Replying to his lordship, accused said that when he heard the abusive remark made about him he went to his barracks, took up a rifle and coming out, fired. He said that his mother was in a lunatic asylum in Cork and he also had an aunt in the same asylum.

The Government Prosecutor submitted that it was a case of deliberate murder. No plea of lunacy had been put forward at any stage in the case.

His lordship, in his summing up, said it was admitted that the accused fired at a group of Indians, that Nanhe was killed was not denied, and if some of the witnesses were to be believed, it was a case of murder, all the elements of the crime being present. As regards the plea of lunacy, no medical evidence had been adduced to prove the insanity of the accused.

The jury returned after about an hour's deliberation and brought in an unanimous verdict of guilty of murder but with a recommendation to mercy.

His lordship, addressing Grundy, said he would forward the recommendation to the proper authorities. His lordship considered the case a very painful one and he had to do his duty. A man had been killed in a premeditated and brutal manner. His life was as valuable as anyone else's. His lordship could not but look on the act as a wanton and brutal one and discreditable not only to the prisoner but to his distinguished regiment and the British Army generally. His lordship then sentenced Grundy to death.

### Mrs. Besant and Indian Home Rule.

It is said that Mrs. Besant has broached the idea that "at the next general election the voters shall be asked to support candidates who promise when elected to help in forming a convention of members of the new legislatures who will have a mandate, so she expresses it,

to formulate an improved constitution. She hopes it will be possible to place that constitution before the legislature and then to present it to Parliament with a request that statutory effect shall be given to it."

### Smyrna.

Smyrna, whose almost total destruction by fire is reported, is a very old city. It was a colony founded by the Greeks about the seventh century B. C. Its name, almost in its modern form, is to be found in both the Attic and Æolic dialects of the Greek language. It is one of the cities which claimed to be the birthplace of Homer.

### Long Distance Swimming in the Hooghly.

In the swimming race from Chander-nagore to Calcutta, a distance of some twenty-two miles, according to the organisers, B. K. Bose of Bagh-Bazar Swimming Club won handsomely by 50 yards, A. T. Dutt (Life Saving Society), B. C. Bhattacharya (Life Saving Society) and H. Chatterji (Bagh Bazar S.C.) occupied the second, third and fourth positions respectively. The official time of the winner was given as 4 hours and 21 minutes, which was very creditable, though the competitors swam with the tide. The loss of three lives on the occasion—not among the swimmers, is very much to be regretted. There was culpable mismanagement. It is also reported by trustworthy eye-witnesses that the real winner was Satish Chandra Banerjee of the Central Swimming Club, being ahead of B. K. Bose by 20 yards.

### Motilal Ghosh.

By the death of Babu Motilal Ghosh India loses her oldest and most experienced journalist. Journalism caught him and his elder and more famous and gifted brother Sisirkumar Ghosh young and shaped their career. Babu Motilal Ghosh did many other things besides editing and writing for *The Amrita Bazar Patrika*. But because of his single-minded devotion



Motilal Ghosh.

to it, he is best known in connection with that paper.

It was at first a Bengali weekly, published 55 years ago from a village in Jessore, named Amrita Bazar after their mother Amritamayi where the brothers were born. The press was a wooden hand-press. The brothers not only owned and edited the paper, but were also its compositors and ink-manufacturers. Even in those early days, the paper was a terror to oppressors and evil-doers. They fearlessly exposed official misdeeds. At that time this required greater courage than now; for, numbers of gentlemen, not to speak of ladies, going to jail for the country's cause had not then become a matter of common experience. The brothers did their duty in scorn of consequence. They were prosecuted, and though they were not convicted, they were financially ruined for a time. After this they removed their press and paper to Calcutta. Then came the Vernacular Press Act of Viceroy Lytton's days, which was intended to gag and crush independent vernacular papers like the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*. But the brothers Ghosh were equal to the occasion and

were able to nonplus the bureaucracy. They procured some old English types, and the issue of their paper which was due to come out just after the passing of the Press Act was published in the English language—to the chagrin of the Government of those days.

*The Amrita Bazar Patrika* has ever been famous for its unsparing and detailed criticism of official tyranny, jobbery, and travesties of justice. For this it has more than once been caught in the meshes of the law. But it has survived these troubles. It has been noted too for the publication of official secrets.

For some years past, there have been in the country many vernacular and English papers to serve as exponents of nationalism. But before their birth the *Patrika* was the only prominent paper doing that kind of work.

Babu Motilal Ghose was an able journalist. His memory was a store-house of information relating to public affairs. He wrote in a clear and popular style. He had at his command both humour and wit and biting sarcasm. His stock of popular stories and political parables was considerable, and these he and his assistants were never tired of repeating deftly and with effect whenever the occasion arose. To chaff Scotchmen with being the subjects of Englishmen was a favourite annual pastime of his after the St. Andrews Dinner. Another periodical humorous performance of his was an article on the Bengali sweet called *sandesh*.

A most remarkable achievement of the *Patrika* was the discomfiture of Sir Lepel Griffin leading to his resignation. Other Residents and political agents at the courts of Indian princes have felt its power; for the *Patrika* has consistently and persistently tried to uphold the cause of these rulers.

Babu Motilal Ghosh wrote much to improve the economic and sanitary condition of the country. Englishmen were under the impression that he was an inveterate foe of the British Government and as such always *agin* the Government. It is true he never made it his business

to win the favour and be in the good books of officials. But he was on good terms with some provincial rulers and was selected by Lord Carmichael to represent Bengal officially at a sanitary conference and he attended the conference as Bengal's official delegate.

In the days of their youth, the brothers Hemantakumar, Sisirkumar and Motilal were attracted to the Brahmo Samaj and exhibited reforming proclivities in matters social and religious. Gradually, however, they ceased to have anything to do with Brahmoism and social reform, of which they became staunch opponents. This was one cause of the popularity of the *Patrika*. They, particularly Sisirkumar, became identified with neo-Vaishnavism in Bengal. They conducted a Bengali Vaishnava periodical called *Sri Vishnupriya Patrika*. Babu Motilal Ghosh was religiously minded and had gentle and affable manners. He was a believer in spiritualism and for some years published a monthly called *The Hindu Spiritual Magazine*.

On his death-bed he expressed regret at being called away at the present crisis of India's affairs when he might have been able to render some little service. He expected, after death, to be able to keep watch over the fortunes of India. He was sorry he was able to do so little for the motherland, and hoped that younger workers of both sexes would be able to do more. He gave them all his love, his blessings, and his good wishes for their success.

### The Kemalist Victory.

It may be a good political principle in the abstract that the indigenous inhabitants of a country should remain in or be restored to possession of it and manage its affairs, and that others who had come in later as conquerors, traders or settlers should not be its rulers. But in practice it is difficult to determine who are the indigenous people of any particular country. From the remotest period in history and in prehistoric days, all countries have known wave after wave of conquest and colonisation, with the

result that it is very difficult and often impossible to definitely name the autochthonous population of many countries. Therefore the only practicable rule to follow is that all those classes of the inhabitants of a country who have their permanent homes in the country should share in the government of the country on a democratic basis.

Therefore, it is not for Greek, Turk, or Armenian, or for European Christians in general, to say that the non-Greek, non-Turk or non-Armenian section of any region in the Near East where it is permanently settled should vacate it or live in it as a subject race or be exterminated. But who is to listen to sober counsels? For decades, generations and centuries bloody racial and religious wars, feuds and recriminations have gone on in many countries where Greeks, Turks and Armenians have their permanent domicile. Revenge is in their blood, and whoever feels himself strong enough for the purpose engages in the diabolical pastime of wholesale murder, rapine, rape and incendiarism. Nobody can say who started this devilish game. In modern times the publicity agents of the world for the most part profess Christianity and are of European extraction. They own and control the cable services and the leading newspapers of the world. Naturally we hear more of Turks and other oriental and non-Christian peoples having perpetrated massacres and incendiarism than of Greeks and other European and Christian peoples having done the same. It is not possible to ascertain which stories of massacres are true and which false and to what extent. The truth, however, seems to be, as indicated above, that all parties have been guilty some time or other according to their opportunities. European and Christian peoples are naturally inclined to believe that Musalmans are more bloodthirsty than Christians. But even according to the histories and other books written by Christian authors, Christian peoples have massacred, poisoned or killed by other means many populous tribes and races in Africa, America and

Australia, leading sometimes to their utter extermination. It may well be doubted whether Musalmans ever caused such widespread havoc.

Coming to the affairs of the Near East, it is a matter of recent history that an Allied commission was appointed to investigate some alleged massacres of Turks by Greeks. It has been repeatedly asserted that strong proofs of these allegations were obtained. But the report of this commission has been suppressed. Therefore, we cannot believe that the stories of the Turkish atrocities are true or that these alone are true without at the same time believing that the Greeks were guilty of similar barbarities. Then again, in the case of the stories of Turkish barbarities and incendiarism, why should one disbelieve Reuter's telegram which states: "A report from Adana says that the Turkish authorities in Smyrna have arrested a number of Greeks and Armenians who have confessed, it is alleged, to setting the town on fire"? Or the message from Rome which states that "the Turks charge the Greeks who remain in the town with hindering the efforts to extinguish the fire"?

We have neither the inclination nor any reason to take upon ourselves the role of the devil's advocate either for the Greeks, or for the Turks, or even for the Armenians. We condemn all according to the measure of their iniquities. What we are against is a condemnation of the Turks alone.

It is said that the Turk is unfit to rule non-Christians and non-Turks. But proofs have been cited from the works of Christian writers to show that the Turk is a tolerant master and neighbour when the non-Turks under him do not intrigue and rebel and otherwise provoke him. Can anything of an entirely different character be said of any conquering and ruling race? Has any empire-building European Christian nation dealt leniently with political intriguers, rebels and thorough-going asserters of native manhood? The hands of which conquering Western race have not at some period of history or other

been dyed with the blood of backward coloured races? Some of these Christian imperialistic nations have even exterminated whole tribes and populations. The Turks have not yet succeeded in doing so with the Armenians, taking it for granted that they tried or wanted to do so.

No nation is fit to rule any other nation wisely, justly and humanely. All nations are unfit to govern others; only, the unfitness is greater or less.

The soil of Asia, Africa, America and Australia is just as sacred as the soil of Europe. If it be insisted upon that Asiatics must not remain as an independent ruling power in any part of Europe, it should in common justice be also insisted upon that people of European race should also vacate Asia, Africa, America and Australia. If the European occupants appeal to the right of might and of age-long occupation, the Turks also are entitled to the same sort of right. If it be argued that in Australia, New Zealand, parts of America, &c., there are no survivors of the indigenous population to set up the plea of self-determination and ancestral possession, then that may be an incentive to the Turks producing a similar state of thing in regions inhabited partly by themselves and partly by Greeks and Armenians.

No; it will never do to try to expel the Turks, bag and baggage, from every part of the former Turkish empire, or to try to keep them confined to narrow strips of land deprived of all real power. Just as the Christian peoples argue that they are civilisers of backward peoples, so were the Musalmans actual educators and civilisers of parts of Europe in the Dark Ages.

We are glad that Mustapha Kemal Pasha has obtained a sweeping victory, because this will partly remedy the wrong done to the Turks by the Allied powers and because it will re-establish the principle that the conqueror-settler's right to remain as a free man where he has been a free man for ages, is as valid in Europe and the lands adjoining Europe as it is on other continents. If it be

felt as a humiliation that Asiatics should bear sway anywhere in Europe and particularly on any European populations, it is good that Europeans should realise this humiliation, for they have inflicted it on the peoples of Asia, Africa, America and Australia.

Nothing European or Asiatic is perfect or self-sufficient in itself. The West should learn from the East as the East from the West. It would be good both for the Europeans and the Turks if they could live peacefully as neighbours. We are glad, therefore, that the crusader's tocsin of alarm which was sounded on the Kemalists occupying Smyrna is heard no more. It was on an evil day that Mr. Lloyd George reminded the Christian peoples of Europe that the age-long struggle between the cross and the crescent had ended in the triumph of the former by General Allenby's crushing victory over the Turks. The tables have now been turned. It would be good if the crusading spirit were not revived. Mustapha Kemal wants a peaceful solution and has no desire to invade European soil. And the latest news received to-day (September 20) is that the European powers concerned are also for a peaceable solution.

### ✧ Guru-ka-Bagh.

A meeting of the Working Committee of the All-India Congress Committee was held at Amritsar on the 18th September. Mr. C. R. Das presided. The members of the working committee of the Shiromani Gurdwara Committee attended. Pandit Madanmohan Malaviya gave a brief account of what happened at Guru-ka-Bagh. The following resolutions were adopted:—

"This Committee places on record its strong condemnation of the brutalities perpetrated by the police on the unresisting and non-violent Akalis and congratulates the Akalis on the calm and cool courage and marvellous self-restraint with which they have borne the sufferings cruelly inflicted on them.

"This Committee appoints a sub-committee of the following gentlemen to enquire into the whole matter and submit a

report to the All-India Congress Committee before the end of October :—S. Srinivasa Iyengar, Chairman. Mr. M. R. Jayakar, barrister of Bombay, Maulana Mahomad I'aqi of Delhi, Mr. J. M. Sengupta of Bengal, and Mr. Stokes (members), Prof. Ruchi Ram Sahni—Secretary."

The disciplined non-violence of the Akalis is beyond all praise. They are among the bravest of the brave. Yet they are suffering without retaliation like helpless invalids. It is the result of their faith in God. It is similar faith, similar courage, similar non-violence and suffering alone that can make our cause victorious.

It is reported that the beating of the Akalis and other barbarities perpetrated by the police for many days have now ceased, and the Akalis who endeavour to walk into ground in the possession of the Mahant are being arrested in large numbers.

The bureaucracy have now expressed readiness to enquire into definite allegations of police excesses. In more instances than we can now bring to mind, first came the beating, the shooting, etc., then the enquiry and then the white-washing report. Why all this bother? Either there should be no excesses at all, or there should be no subsequent effort to excuse or whitewash excesses.

The Sikh temple, its residential houses, and the adjoining garden and lands were formerly in the possession of the Mahant. The Akalis took possession of the temple as the public religious property of the Sikh community. Government allowed them to remain in possession. This may be presumed to have led the Akalis to think that if they obtained similar possession of the houses and other property of the temple, they would be able to restore all these to their original use, which was a religious one. But when some of them went to cut wood at the garden, not for their own private use and profit, but for the *free* kitchen of the temple, they were prosecuted for theft and got six months' rigorous imprisonment each. If those who have good reason to consider themselves owners *de jure* of some property try to become *de facto* possessors,

is the dispute a matter for the decision of civil courts or of criminal courts? And if of criminal courts, should the punishment be as severe for a technical theft as for a real theft? It is very strange that Government, instead of telling the parties to resort to a civil court to settle their dispute, itself simply keeping the peace meanwhile, took the side of the Mahant and tried at first to beat off the peaceful Akalis. If this course, adopted by the Government, was right and lawful, why were not similar steps taken to dispossess the Akalis of the temple when they took possession of it? Again, if this course was right and lawful, why has Government now given it up in favour of arrest? If arresting be the right course, why was it not resorted to from the first? One cannot discover signs of wisdom and humanity in these doings of Punjab officialdom.

Trustworthy eye-witnesses like Rai Sahib Professor Ruchi Ram Sahni, M. A., late of the Lahore Government College, now a pensioner, have borne witness publicly that the police not only beat the Akalis but robbed some of them of their cash and other belongings in broad daylight. There is grim irony in the situation that men have been beaten, made unconscious, two dying in consequence, imprisoned, for cutting wood in a garden which they considered the public property of their temple, whilst the guardians of law and order are alleged to have turned thieves and robbers with impunity.

A few days ago, we received a telegram from the Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee asking us to come and see how the police are behaving. In reply we telegraphed to the Committee that we were sorely grieved to read its telegram but deeply regretted our inability to go to the scene of action. On the third day after this reply had been handed in at the College Square office we were informed that it "cannot be delivered owing to held objectionable." Why it has been held objectionable, we do not understand, nor why the telegraph department has not the common business honesty to return us the money it took from us for the

telegram, seeing that it has not rendered us the service which it was paid to render.

### The Black Hole on Wheels.

At long last the Government of India's resolution on the Moplah train tragedy has been published. There is no satisfactory explanation of the delay in publishing the decision of Government, nor is the decision itself satisfactory. Not one of the higher officers of the Madras Government has been founded worthy of censure, departmental punishment, or prosecution. Traffic Inspector Reeve would have been prosecuted if he had been alive, but he is dead. Sergeant Andrews has been ordered to be prosecuted, because he was in charge of the Moplah rebel prisoners, and did not open the doors of the closed goods wagon and let the prisoners have air to breathe and water to drink even when after crying aloud for help some of them were dead and others about to die. We do not say that he has not deserved prosecution. But why visit all the sin on him?

One of the findings of the Committee of Enquiry runs thus :—

(3) That the use of ventilated luggage vans for the conveyance of prisoners in an emergency was not *per se* objectionable, and that it implied neither inhumanity nor any deliberate indifference to the right of the Moplah prisoners to the same treatment as other prisoners; but that the practice of using such vans should have been abandoned as early as possible or should have been brought under proper regulation and in so far as the practice contributed to the final disaster responsibility falls on Mr. Evans, the Special Civil Officer, under whose authority the removal of prisoners was conducted.

The first part of the finding is not consistent with the last. If the use of ventilated luggage vans for the conveyance of prisoners in an emergency was not *per se* objectionable, why is it laid down that the practice of using such vans should have been abandoned as early as practicable? The use of the word "ventilated" begs the whole question, because the van which caused the disaster was *not* ventilated and it seems to have been nobody's business to see

whether it was a ventilated van before it was used to convey human beings. That there was no such emergency as necessitated the use of closed luggage vans is also clear from the following passage in the Committee's report :—

We observe that rebel prisoners despatched after conviction from other parts of the district (e.g., from Calicut and Cannanore) passed through the rebellion area in open carriages and that police were evidently available to furnish for them an escort of the necessary strength; and we cannot but think that if consideration had been given to the matter it would have been possible to find police to furnish similar escorts from Tirur.

But any detailed criticism at this stage is useless; which remark, again, reminds us that no criticism on the part of the Indian public at any stage would have effectively influenced the action of Government. Siraj-ud-dowla can do wrong, members of a white bureaucracy cannot.

### Calcutta University Finance.

The Statesman having had the enterprise to publish the Accountant-General's report on the financial administration and condition of the Calcutta University as well as the letter addressed by the educational secretary of the Government of Bengal to the University Registrar in consequence of the Accountant-General's report, the public have been in a position to understand how things have been mismanaged in the University and how there was no check on expenditure. The Accountant-General's report also shows that part of the huge deficit of the University was due to the falling off in its income owing to the Non-co-operation movement, for which it was not responsible. The Accountant-General has made certain suggestions for the future better management of the financial resources of the University and the Education Minister has laid down certain conditions on fulfilment of which the University will obtain the grant of 2½ lakhs voted by the Legislative Council as also an additional grant of about an equal amount. The Senate has appointed a committee to report on the conditions,

which seem to us on the whole fair, though slight modifications may be necessary to make it easy to carry out all of them. A question may no doubt be raised as to whether Government has power to lay down such conditions. Our view is that, though the State after creating a corporation and giving it an almost autonomous constitution cannot and ought not to interfere in the details of its administration, if an emergency or a crisis arises, it can and ought to interfere, and that such a crisis has arisen. Seeing that Government during Lord Curzon's regime appointed a commission to alter the very constitution of the University and another commission was more recently appointed which has made some radical recommendations some of which, at any rate, are likely to be carried out, Government is most probably right in holding that it can at the present juncture lay down conditions.

An academic discussion of the question, however, appears now to be unnecessary. For, the Senate at its meeting of the 16th September last adopted some budget rules drawn up by the Board of Accounts which, according to Dr. Hiralal Halder, "were substantially in harmony with the conditions laid down by Government." It need not be enquired whether this harmony is accidental, or due to both the conditions and the rules being reasonable and natural, or whether the rules were so altered after the receipt of the Government letter of the 23rd August as to harmonise with the conditions laid down therein. The important thing to consider is whether the observance of the rules or of the conditions cannot be brought about without either party feeling any loss of prestige or dignity or of the rights or powers vested in either. We think the thing is feasible. An attempt is going soon to be made to reform and reconstruct the University. A thing which is to undergo the process of reform and reconstruction must be enabled to live. It is, therefore, greatly to be desired that squabbles between the parties should cease and the teachers and the students of the University should soon

get to work again earnestly. There has been and still is much in the University that is quite undesirable. There has been a moral canker at work at its core. These it is possible to eliminate or keep in check. The University has been a pioneer and a torch-bearer in many ways; and it is our earnest hope that, purged of all its defects, it may continue to do its great work for generations to come and shine with undimmed lustre.

### **The Vice-Chancellor and Dr. Howells.**

At the Senate meeting on the 9th September during the debate on the appointment of the Committee to consider the conditions laid down by the Government by observing which the University may avail itself of the grant of 2½ lakhs, a desire was expressed that the committee might report within a week. The Vice-Chancellor observed, "It is humanly impossible to report next week." Thereupon Dr. Howells, moved by the courtier-like amiable desire to flatter and please the Vice-chancellor, observed that,

"He did not accept the Vice-Chancellor's judgment that it was humanly impossible to get a report in a week. He knew what was possible to the Vice-Chancellor and he believed that if the Vice-Chancellor took the matter in hand, a reply would be possible even in a week."

The Vice-Chancellor, referring to Dr. Howells' mention of his capacity for work, said,

He repudiated the suggestion that this was his job. This concerned every one of the hundred members of the Senate and he assured them that he was the last man in the world to force his views upon them. He declined to have their support unless he knew that it was a representative and reasoned judgment on their part.

What was the cause of this over-emphatic reply? Had Dr. Howells, in an unguarded moment, divulged the secret process of the manufacture of the reports of recent University Committees?

### **All-Bengal Young Men's Conference.**

The All-Bengal Young Men's Conference which recently met in Calcutta for three



transcended the limits of political parties, occupations, religious groups and, of course, of castes "touchable" or "untouchable." It wanted to have a constructive programme of practical work which all parties might combine to carry out. Mr. Subas Chandra Bose, Principal of the Kalikata Vidyapitha, the chairman of the reception committee, concluded his address of welcome by outlining the conference programme of work, which included mass education, restoration of village industries, village organisation, removal of untouchability and such other social reforms.

Professor Meghnad Saha, D. Sc., of the University College of Science, in the course of his presidential address, said :—

The present deplorable state of Bengal could be improved by such activities of the young men as were outlined by this organisation. Poverty and disease were predominating in every part of the province and it was up to the young men to fight them and to make the life of the future generations worth living. They must build up a national character to successfully carry out their mission. The young men must give up their service-seeking desire, which was one of the principal causes of their degeneration, and devote themselves to restore the lost trade and industries of the country, to stop the exploitation of their wealth by foreigners and thus save the country from poverty and ultimate ruin.

Many elderly leading men of Bengal, of different shades of political opinion, addressed the conference.

The main resolution of the conference was moved by Sjt. Nirendra Nath Ray Chowdhury. He urged that lack of organisation rather than lack of workers was chiefly responsible for the depressed condition of the country. He thought it desirable that a permanent association to be called the All-Bengal Young Men's Association should be formed to co-ordinate the social, educational and other activities of the young men of Bengal and to devise for immediate execution a programme of practical work embracing mass education, urban and rural organisation, spread of Swadeshi, promoting unity among different communities, removal of untouchability, prevention of early marriage, abolition of dowry, social service, moral discipline and upholding truth and justice always and everywhere.

This resolution, slightly amended was unanimously accepted and passed.

— Dr. Saha, the president, then exhorted

the young men present to take up the resolutions seriously and begin the work during the coming autumnal vacation.

He also reminded them that they should not look back towards the past alone, but should look forward into the future. Their present condition forces them to have relations with the nations of the West. If they want to be equal with them, it is their duty to acquire the qualities which have made them great. Sacrifice has now become the ideal of young men, but sacrifice alone cannot lead them to success. It must be supplemented by sound knowledge and solid work. Young men should not be discouraged by the small beginnings of the Conference, for out of small beginnings great things are born.

### Indians and the Turkish War.

On the 19th September a largely attended meeting was held in the Calcutta Town Hall to congratulate Kemal Pasha and "to consider the attitude of the British Government towards the situation created by the Turkish victories in the Near East." The chairman was Mr. A. K. Fazl-ul-Haq. The meeting, which was attended by Hindus also, passed the following resolutions :—

That this meeting of the citizens of Calcutta and its suburbs offers its heartiest felicitations to Mustapha Kemal Pasha and his gallant army on their recent victories and trusts to Almighty God to crown their arms with unbroken success.

That this meeting of the citizens of Calcutta and its suburbs, representing all the various schools of political thought in this country, views with feelings of deepest resentment and indignation the pro-Greek policy of Great Britain in the Greko-Turkish war and the continued attempts which are being made by her to deprive the Turks of the fruits of their victories and thwart them in their attempts to regain Thrace and full control over Constantinople. This meeting further declares that this anti-Turkish policy and unjust attempts are bound to create feelings of great dissatisfaction, not merely in India, but throughout the Islamic world, leading to serious consequences, the responsibility for which must rest with the British Cabinet.

The meeting further resolved that, as a political proof and for giving vent to their feelings, greater efforts should be made for the collection of funds for Angora and for the introduction of *khaddar* throughout the length and breadth of India.

### Indians in East Africa.

Nairobi, Sept. 9.

A meeting of the Executive Council was

held on 9th September presided over by Sir Robert Coryndon, when, it is understood, the final terms of the settlement of the Indian question were discussed. It is believed that the terms include common franchise subject to education test; greater part of the highlands to be reserved for Europeans, but with one Indian district and a very considerable restriction of immigration of Indians.

We are sure our countrymen in East Africa cannot accept these terms. That they have not, is clear from the following subsequent telegram :—

London, Sept. 18.

The Indian National Congress was held over the week-end and was opened by the Governor, Sir R. T. Coryndon.

Numerous resolutions were passed demanding equality of status. One speaker said there should be either equality in the Empire or no Empire at all.—“Reuter.”

### Indian Forest Service.

The Council of State has accepted the following resolution moved by Mr. Phiroze Sethna, recommending

That the present recruitment of a proportion of forest probationers in the United Kingdom, and the present system of training all probationers in the United Kingdom, should cease, and that all probationers should be recruited in India and trained at Dehra Dun, each probationer after a given period of service being sent for a tour of the model forests of Europe.

This resolution is substantially the same as the one carried at the Legislative Assembly on the motion of Mr. K. C. Neogy.

### Indian Railway Management.

The Central Advisory Committee, consisting of over a dozen members of the two Houses of the Indian Legislature, have decided by a large majority to advise the adoption of state management of Railways. The decision is right.

“The future management question was specifically raised in connection with the approaching expiration of the leases of the East Indian Railway Company in 1924, and the Great Indian Peninsula Railway Company in 1925, and the Committee, starting from that point, considered the problem generally.”

### Supply of Food for Indians on Trains.

The Marwari Association's proposal that every through train should be

provided with a car divided into three compartments (with inter-communication) set apart for the supply of various articles of food suitable for Indian passengers and good drinking water, ought to be accepted by the Railway Board.

### Assam's Family Loom.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachar, editor of *Young India*, writes in the course of his editorial notes :—

Assam with its forest-clad hills and broad-bosomed Brahmaputra is a beautiful country. But Assam's greatest beauty is the family loom. Ladies of all grades of society, including wives and daughters of Members of the Legislative Council, lawyers, landed proprietors and Government employees, all without exception, sit at their loom and weave their own cloth. We were taken to several homes, and saw the home-woven silks, towels, dhooties, mosquito-curtains, etc., some woven and kept neatly away for use, some on the looms and others actually worn. We felt a new feeling of liberty as we saw how men and women could live just like the middle classes of other provinces, and yet weave their own cloth during leisure moments. We saw chairs, bicycles, pictures on the walls, and all the other signs of modern respectability, yet in one corner is the family loom and the lady of the house working at it. The Assam girl's first duty is to become expert in weaving silk and cotton. It is the chief accomplishment for marriage. Spinning went out of use in most places with the advent of mill-yarn. The busy housewife had so much to do that cheap good yarn ready-made for the loom, was welcomed; and spinning was gradually given up. But the Congress has revived the lost art and in the many homes we visited we saw ladies spinning most beautifully; and some cloth was shown to us woven out of their own handspun which could bear comparison with the fine products of Andhra. If the men could also give some of their leisure time to the work, spinning as well as weaving could become a household occupation and every home would be self-contained and complete.

Not only in diligence and housekeeping but in courage and cheerful suffering have the daughters of Assam excelled. We saw the wives and mothers of many young men still in jail. There is in them no sadness, no regret, but the light of faith burning calmly and brightly. They are brave sisters who fully deserve to live in such a beautiful country on the banks of the Brahmaputra.

Assam has long been a standing example in respect of weaving at home for the other provinces to follow.

## True and Courageous Brotherliness.

*The Servant of India* writes :—

It was an act of real heroism that the students now learning spinning and weaving at the Sabarmati Satyagraha Ashram performed the other day at Ahmedabad. They were returning to the Ashram after visiting a mill when they saw a night-soil cart ready to topple by one of its wheels coming off. They drew the attention of the scavengers who were in charge of the cart to it and when those two men were unable to lift the heavy cart and push the wheel to position, the students rolled up their sleeves and helped with their own hands. In doing this they have proved themselves thoroughly worthy of their great spiritual guru, and all Indians, whatever their faith or opinions, will be proud of their heroism.

### "Autumn Festival."

The performance of the poet Rabindranath Tagore's play *Sharadotsav* (or the Autumn Festival, of which an English translation by the poet himself was published in this *Review*) in Calcutta on two evenings by the poet and his boys and girls of the Shantiniketan school, helped by some of the teachers of the school and other gentlemen, gave the Calcutta public an idea of what playing ought to be like. It seemed as if the players were not acting but doing the natural thing. There was nothing theatrical—no over-emphasis in speech, no straining after effect, no unnatural gestures. The singing and dancing of the children were ethereal, exquisite and entrancing. The dresses were appropriate and charming in their colour effects. While all did their parts well, the poet's acting was spiritually elevating and inspiring.

### Waste in Education.

Lucknow University is going to spend two millions and a half of rupees for its convocation hall, and this in a province which is among the most backward regions in India in education. Tenders have been "invited from approved contractors, for the construction of the New Convocation Hall at Lucknow from the drawings prepared by Sir Edwin L. Lutyens, K. A., estimated to cost about Rupees twenty-five lakhs." This is extravagance and waste, pure and simple. Truly did Huxley observe in one of his

addresses that people sink capital in bricks and stone and mortar and call them universities. Universities are, however, societies of men of learning and character and original minds and of their students for the advancement of knowledge. What numbers of these do the recent mushroom universities of India possess, that they should spend so much on palaces, instead of so using the money placed at their disposal as to have adequately equipped libraries, laboratories, museums, &c., and the best teachers and students?

Dacca University is doing the right thing by trying to effect economies. But why should it have allowed part of its grant to lapse?

### Notable Speech By Afghan Ameer.

On Independence Day in Afghanistan in August last, His Majesty the Ameer delivered a noteworthy speech, of which the following summary is taken from *The Amrita Bazar Patrika* :—

He began by reviewing the progress made in all directions in the course of the last three years, i. e., from the time he ascended the throne. He touched on all important topics. He insistently dwelt on one point and that was this: "You are the real masters, and I am only your humble servant, though I am called the king. All that I am trying to do is for your benefit." Formerly, continued His Majesty, rich people and higher officers were oppressing poorer persons, but now all irrespective of their religion and social position are equal in the eyes of the law. "None has, including myself, the right to beat and oppress others for personal grudge. Everybody is free now. Officers were taking bribes before and the people were suffering for this, but now no officer, however high his rank and position, may escape punishment for these offences." It was really the Magna Carta of the Afghans, not exacted from the king, but most gladly and spontaneously given by the king to the people.

He added that the money in the treasury was steadily increasing in spite of the higher cost of administration. More than a hundred students have been sent to Germany, France and India at the expense of the state to be trained in different technical branches.

Education has been made not only free but many students are helped with books, food, dress and other things. He also advised the audience to use the articles made in Afghanistan though they may be inferior to the foreign products. He said: "If you use foreign goods, your money will go to your enemy and will come back to you in the form of bombs and

shells." He laid special stress on the use of Khaddar. He said that he was in the habit of praising Khaddar dress, though this made some persons think that he was mad, but he remarked that already the quality and quantity of Khaddar produced in Afghanistan has greatly improved. He pointed towards his dress made in Afghanistan and said that it was also the dress of the commander-in-chief, the biggest officer in the state. He said that he did not think that he looked in any way inferior because of his dress or that anybody would pay him less respect for it. He urged: "In this way you will live more economically and, what is more important, you will supply thousands of your fellow countrymen with work and so food and thus save them from being thieves and mischief-makers. He added that when he was a sahibzada he was spending Rs. 12000 on dress alone per year, but now his expenses on dress were not more than Rs. 600 a year. He advised all to be truthful, dutiful and religious, for without being religious nobody could hope to be happy either in this or in the next world.

In fine he said: "I am always ready to die for the country; but I have not yet served Afghanistan a hundredth of as much as I wish. My one ambition and wish is to serve the cause of Islam and Afghanistan, and since the day I have become 'your servant' I have known no rest and have been always trying to uplift the condition of the country. May God give me strength to serve Islam and Afghanistan or may I die."

The Ameer's speech is in accord with the principle laid down by Ruskin that the right to rule a country is based on readiness and willingness to die for it.

#### Proportion of Women Decreasing in Calcutta.

According to the census of 1911, there were in Calcutta 475 women to 1000 men. The census of 1921 has revealed a still smaller proportion of women, the proportion being 470 women to 1000 men. This is due to the steady growth of the immigrant population of Calcutta. A city which has such a small number of women must suffer to a great extent from proportionate lack of home life and home influence and consequent deterioration in morals and health. In India proper, Calcutta possesses the lowest proportion of women to men, Rangoon, which possesses 419 women to 1,000 men, being in Burma. The following table, based on the census of 1911, is taken from *The Englishman* :

City.	to 1,000 males.	
	No. of females	
Bombay	...	617
Madras	...	984
Agra	...	882
Ahmedabad	...	910
Allahabad	...	875
Amritsar	...	743
Bangalore	...	961
Bareilly	...	878
Baroda	...	853
Benares	...	924
Cawnpore	...	772
Delhi	...	817
Hyderabad	...	931
Jaipur	...	910
Karachi	...	706
Lahore	...	691
Lucknow	...	876
Madura	...	1012
Mandalay	...	964
Meerut	...	802
Nagpur	...	928
Patna	...	1011
Poona	...	915
Rangoon	...	419
Srinagar	...	872
Surat	...	935
Trichinopoly	...	1045

#### The Late Mr. Wilfrid Blunt.

At a meeting of the Indian Muslim Association held last month and presided over by Mr. S. Mahboob Aley, M. L. C., the following resolution was passed :—

"The Indian Muslim Association places on record its sense of irreparable loss to the cause of freedom and humanity occasioned by the death of Mr. Wilfrid Seawen Blunt, a champion of lost causes and a friend of Islam."

Among Mr. Blunt's works "India under Ripon," "Secret History of Egypt," &c., are well-known. He was also a poet.

#### Whipping of Political Prisoners.

In winding up the debate on the treatment of political prisoners,

Mr. O'Donnel emphasised that whipping would be given only under the orders of the Local Government, which meant that the opinions of the Indian members on the Governor's Executive Council would be taken beforehand. It was impracticable to have separate jails for political prisoners and it was equally improbable that any jail authority would agree to the proposition that non-officials should be consulted before a whipping order was given.

This is not at all acceptable. The ideal is the total abolition of whipping. That,

however, has still to be realised, In the meantime, though those who have been convicted of violence to person or of destruction of property or of incitement there-to may not have any special consideration shown them, no one imprisoned for a political cause and not guilty of any of the above offences, should be whipped in jail for any cause whatever. That the opinions of the Indian members of the Executive Council would be taken before the whipping of any political prisoner is no safe-guard. We need not state the reasons. Why did Sir Abdur Rahim, who was in charge of Bengal Jails, give up the charge of the jails department ?

### **The Woman's Cause in the Legislative Assembly.**

On the 20th September, in the Legislative Assembly,

Dr. Gour introduced his Bill to amend the Legal Practitioners Act so as to make it clear that the word "person" under this Act included women.

When the Assembly resumed after lunch Dr. Gour moved that the Civil Procedure Code Amendment Bill be referred to a Select Committee. The Bill referred to the mode of executing a decree for the restitution of conjugal rights made against a woman, which consisted at one time in delivering her to her husband and her imprisonment in case of disobedience. He felt that the abolition of imprisonment altogether would be more in keeping with the dignity of a woman and the maintenance of her self-respect.

The motion was carried by 29 votes to 23.

### **Moslem Deputation to Viceroy.**

On the 20th September twenty-five Moslem members of the Indian Legislature laid their views before the Viceroy regarding the situation in the Near East.

They urged that the present was a favourable opportunity to endeavour to make a lasting peace and in view of the Moslem opinion in India they wished to secure attention to the points which formed the subject of the Government of India's telegram to His Majesty's Government in February, namely, Ottoman Thrace and Adrianople for the Turks and the

restoration of Constantinople to the Turks and neutrality of the states in a manner ensuring Turkey against an attack on the capital and also restoration of Asia Minor to the Turks. His Excellency promised to lay these views before His Majesty's Government.

### **Alleged Police Excesses in Guru-ka-Bagh.**

The Panjab Inspector General of Police wrote a letter to the Secretary of the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee expressing his desire to go fully into certain allegations made against the police at Guru-ka-Bagh. The Secretary's reply is given below.

"In reply to your letter dated 12th September, 1922, I beg to state that the Committee is in possession of evidence of numerous cases of robbery and excesses to the public at large. Their acts were not such as could have been committed without the knowledge of the officers in charge. I have definite evidence that Mr. Beatty while present on the scene was informed by a respectable person of such acts and was requested to see the acts himself and search the offenders but that he paid no heed to it. I am now receiving information that the police now are returning articles and money to the persons robbed and are getting statements from them to the effect that they had not been robbed. I consider that some of the district police officers are directly or indirectly implicated in their acts of lawlessness. Consequently the Committee has not much faith in a departmental enquiry. However, if the Committee is convinced that an impartial judicial enquiry is to be held, it will have no objection to placing before it the evidence it possesses."

### **A Garden City.**

The Model Town Society Limited of Lahore is offering a prize of twelve hundred rupees for the best laid out plan of a garden city of one thousand bungalows to be built near Lahore on co-operative lines. This is commendable. But what are more urgently needed are such model sanitary dwellings for the middle classes and the poor as would give them privacy, in return for moderate rents.

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## LETTERS FROM ABROAD

BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

Hamburg, May 20, 1921.

**W**E are leaving this town for Copenhagen tomorrow morning. I am not an ideal traveller, and I never enjoy the prospect of going to a strange country, continually stumbling upon the unexpected and being held up by the unknown. This roving life tires me. I am seeking my *lost universe* of an easy chair, watched over by its guardian angel, Sadhucharan.\*

A person like myself can never be a perfect vehicle for a mission. For I have not the motor engine of ambition in my heart to lend a steady movement onward. I have my slighty sails, fitfully puffed and pushed by erratic winds. But somehow, in haste, a motor has been joined to my boat. It is Rath's steadiness of purpose. With every roll of the waves, the engine knocks against the ribs of my heart,—for it does not fully fit me. All the same, in spite of the looseness of the screws, the engine gets the better of the recalcitrant boat,—the mission goes on; the applauses are gathered; everybody is radiantly happy. Only I myself know what the jerks mean inside the aching framework; and I am not counting the successes, but the thumping kicks that are administered by the machine.

\* The poet's servant at Santiniketan.

I hope my voyage has now come to its end. Every moment, I hear the call of the beach and see the vision of the evening lamp watching behind the window for the return of the weary traveller. But there is one thought that never ceases to buzz in my mind. It is, that the weather-beaten boat, after its voyage across the sea, may be utilised at the ferry for the miscellaneous errands of daily traffic.

To-day, life is nowhere normal in this world. The atmosphere is swarming with problems. Singers are not allowed to sing; they have to shout messages. But my friend, is my life to be one perpetual polar summer, an endless monotony of a day of lidless light, of ceaseless duties, with never a night of stars to open before my vision the gateway of the Infinite? Is the fact of death a mere fact of stoppage? Does it not speak to us of our right of entrance into a region beyond the boundaries of patriotism? When am I going to make my final adjustment of life and be ready for the invitation to the world of the Spirit?

We are taught by our Western school-master that there is nothing of importance that is not shown in the national school map; that only *my country* is my earth and heaven; that only in *my country* are united my life and my immortality. And when we try to reject the West, in our

pride of *my country* we, like a ragged scamp, pick the pocket of the same West. and pillar that same spirit of rejection.

But our fathers had a clearer consciousness of a truth of freedom, which was never clipped of its wings and shut up in a geographical cage. I feel that my time has come for the realisation of that truth ; and I pray that I may never die as a patriot, or a politician, but as a free spirit ; not as a journalist, but a poet.

—  
Stockholm, May 27, 1921.

I have been following the track of Spring from Switzerland to Denmark, and from Denmark to Sweden, watching everywhere flowers breaking out in a frenzy of colours. And it seems to me like the earth's shouting of *Jai* ; and flinging up its coloured cap to the sky. My path in the west also has had the same exuberant outburst of welcome.

At first, I felt the impulse to describe it to you in detail ; for I was sure it would give you great delight. But now I shrink from doing it. For somehow it does not cause exultation in my own mind, but makes me feel sad. It would be absurd for me to claim what has been offered to me as fully mine. The fact is, there is a rising tide of heart in the West rushing towards the Eastern shore, following some mysterious law of attraction. The unbounded pride of the European peoples has suddenly found a check, and their mind appears to be receding from the channel it had cut for itself.

The weary giant is seeking peace ; and as the fountain of peace has ever flowed from the East, the face of troubled Europe is instinctively turned to-day towards the East. Europe is a child, who has been hurt in the midst of her game. She is shunning the crowd and looking out for her mother. And has not the East been the mother of spiritual humanity, giving it life from its own life ?

How pitiful it is that we, in India, are unaware of this claim for succour from Europe which has come to our door ; that we fail to realise the great honour of the call to serve humanity in her hour of need !

Bewildered at heart by the great demonstrations made in my honour in these countries, I have often tried to find out the real cause. I have been told that it was because I loved humanity. I hope that it is true, and all through my writings my love of man has found its utterance and touched human hearts across all barriers. If it *be* true, then let that truest note in my writings guide my own life henceforth !

The other day, when I was resting alone in my room, in the hotel at Hamburg, timidly there entered two shy and sweet German Girls, with a bunch of roses for their offering for me. One of them, who spoke broken English, said to me,—“I love India.” I asked her,—“Why do you love India ?” She answered,—“Because you love God.”

The praise was too great for me to accept with any degree of complaisance. But I hope its meaning was in the expectation from me which it carried, and therefore was a blessing. Or possibly she meant that my *country* loved God, and therefore she loved India. That also was an expectation, whose meaning we should try to appreciate and understand.

The nations love their own countries ; and that national love has only given rise to hatred and suspicion of one another. The world is waiting for a country that loves God and not herself, only *that* country will have the claim to be loved by men of all countries.

When we cry ‘Bande Mataram’ from the housetops, we shout to our neighbours “You are not our brothers”. But that is not the truth. Therefore, because it is untrue, it pollutes the air, and darkens the sky. Whatever may be its use for the present, it is like the house being set on fire (in Lamb’s ‘Essays of Elia’) which the Chinaman lighted simply for roasting the pig ! Love of self, whether national or individual, can have no other destination but suicide. Love of God is our only fulfilment ; it has in it the ultimate solution of all problems and difficulties.

On the day after to-morrow we shall be leaving Sweden for Berlin. The Czechoslovakian Government has promised us

an air trip from Berlin to Prague, and from Prague to Munich. From Munich we are expected to visit Darmstadt, where a gathering of some notable persons of Germany will be held to meet us. It will be over on about the 15th of June, and then through France and Spain we shall be able to take our ship at the beginning of July,—if not earlier.

—  
Berlin, May 28, 1921.

I am leaving Germany to-night for Vienna. From there I go to Czechoslovakia, and then to Paris,—and then, to the Mediterranean Sea! Our steamer sails on the 2nd of July—and so this letter is likely to be my last letter.

You can have no idea what an outbreak of love has followed me and enveloped me everywhere I have been in Scandinavia and Germany. All the same, my longing is to go back to my own people,—to the atmosphere of continual revilement. I have lived my life there, done my work there, given my love there, and I must not mind if the harvest of my life has not had its full payment there. The ripening of the harvest itself brings its ample reward for me. And therefore the call comes to me from the field where the sunlight is waiting for me; where the seasons, each in turn, are making their enquiries about my home-coming. They know me, who all my life have sowed there the seeds of my dreams. But the shadows of evening are deepening on my path, and I am tired. I do not want praise or blame from my countrymen. I want to take my rest under the stars.

—  
Berlin, June 4, 1921.

To-day my visit to Berlin has come to an end. To-night we are starting for Munich. It has been a wonderful experience in this country for me!—Such fame as I have got I cannot take at all seriously. It is too readily given, and too immediately. It has not had the perspective of time. And this is why I feel frightened at it and tired,—and even sad. I am like a house-lamp, whose place is in a corner, and whose association is that of intimacy of love. But when my life is

made to take part in a fire-work display, I apologise to the stars and feel humble.

I saw 'Post Office' acted in Berlin Theatre. The girl who took the part of Amal was delightful in her acting, and altogether the whole thing was a success. But it was a different interpretation from that of ours in our own acting in Vichitra. I had been trying to define the difference in my mind, when Dr. Otto of Marburg University, who was among the audience, hit upon it. He said that the German interpretation was suggestive of a fairy story, full of elusive beauty, whereas the inner significance of this play is spiritual.

I remember the time when I wrote it, my own feeling which inspired me to write it. Amal represents the man, whose soul has received the call of the open road,—he seeks freedom from the comfortable enclosure of habits sanctioned by the prudent, and from walls of rigid opinion built for him by the respectable. But Madhab, the worldly-wise, considers his restlessness to be the sign of a fatal malady; and his adviser, the physician, the custodian of conventional platitudes,—with his quotations from prescribed text-books full of maxims,—gravely nods his head and says that freedom is unsafe, and every care should be taken to keep the sick man within walls. And so the precaution is taken.

But there is the post office in front of his window, and Amal waits for the king's letter to come to him direct from the king, bringing to him the message of emancipation. At last the closed gate is opened by the king's own physician; and what is "death" to the world of hoarded wealth and of certified creeds, brings him awakening in the world of spiritual freedom.

The only thing that accompanies him in his awakening is the flower of love given to him by Sudha.

I know the value of this flower of love, and therefore my petition to the Queen was,—

"Let me be the gardener of thy flower garden"—the gardener, whose only reward is daily to offer his garlands to the Queen.

Do you think that 'Post Office' has some meaning at this time for my country



in this respect that her freedom must come direct from the King's Messenger, and not from the British Parliament; and that when her soul awakes, nothing will be able to keep her within walls? Has she received her letter yet from the King?

Ask Dinu what is the original of the following translation,—

My *vina* breaks out in a strange disquiet  
measure,

My heart to-day is tremulous  
with the heart-throbs of the world.

Who is the restless youth that comes,  
his mantle fluttering in the breeze,

The woodland resounds with the murmur  
of joy at the dance lyric of the light,

The anklet bells of the dancer quiver  
in the sky in an unheard tinkle,

To whose cadence the forest leaves clap  
their hands.

The hope for the touch of a nearing foot-  
step spreads a whisper in the grass,

And the wind breaks its fetters, distraught  
with the perfume of the Unknown.

To day is the fifth of June. Our steamer  
sails on the third of July!

Darmstadt: June 10, 1921.

In Darmstadt they have a gathering of people from all parts of Germany to meet me. We have our meeting in the Grand Duke of Hesse's garden, where my audience will bring before me their questions. I give them monologues in answer, and Count Keyserling translates them into German for those who cannot follow my English.

Yesterday I reached this place, and in the afternoon we had our first meeting.

The first question put to me by a Canadian German was, 'What is the future of this scientific civilisation?'

After I had answered him, he again asked me, 'How is the problem of over-population to be solved?'

After my answer, I was asked to give them some idea about the true character of Buddhism.

These three subjects took up fully two hours. It is delightful to feel the earnestness of these people. They have the habit of mind to think out the deeper problems of life; they deal seriously with ideas. In

India, in our modern schools, we merely receive our ideas from text-books, for the purpose of passing examinations. Besides that, our modern schoolmasters are Englishmen; and they, of all the western nations, are the least susceptible to ideas. They are good, honest and reliable, but they have vigorous excess of animal spirits, which seek for exercise in racing, fox-hunting, boxing-matches, etc., and they offer stubborn resistance to all contagion of ideas.

Therefore our English educationalists do not inspire our minds. We do not realise that ideas are necessary in order to enable us to live a true life. We do not have a genuine enthusiasm, but rather are losing our gift of aspiration, which is the gift of the soul. Our principal object and occupation are going to be the dissipations of politics, whose goal is success, whose path is the zigzag of compromise—that politics, which in every country has lowered the standard of morality, has given rise to a perpetual contest of lies and deceptions, cruelties and hypocrisies, and has increased inordinately national habits of vulgar vaingloriousness.

Germany to-day has received violent check on her political ambitions, which has produced an almost universal longing in her midst to seek for spiritual resources within in place of external success. Germany appears now to have set out on a voyage of spiritual adventure. And in spite of her dire poverty, she is not thinking merely of the spinning wheel or of some new move in the political game of gambling, but rather of the achievement of that inner freedom, which gives us power to soar above the vicissitudes of circumstance.

The other day, I met the British Ambassador in Berlin. While alluding to the enormous appreciation of my works in Germany, he expressed his feeling of gratification at the possibility of my supplying some philosophy, which might bring consolation to these people. He was glad, I am sure, from his British point of view. He seemed to me to imagine that philosophy was a soothing draught, which might lull the restless activity of the German nation into sleep, affording the victors a better security in their enjoy-

ment of material benefits. He would gladly concede the possession of soul and God to these people, only keeping for the share of his own nation, the possession of the worldly goods. He seemed to smile, as it were, in his sleeve and to imagine that

his own British people would be the gainers in the bargain. Well! Let them laugh and grow fat! Only let us have the good sense not to envy them their material successes.

## INCIDENCE OF TAXATION IN INDIA

BY PROF. C. N. VAKIL, M.A., M.Sc., (ECON. LONDON, F. S.S. )

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It is generally believed that the large additional taxation imposed in recent years both by the Central and Provincial Governments presses heavily on the people. It has been questioned whether that margin of taxation beyond which it would not be wise to go has not been reached. The huge recurring deficits of the Government have added seriousness to the problem; and we have the appointment of the Inchcape Committee to suggest measures of Retrenchment. It will be of interest at this stage to make a study of the Incidence of Taxation in our country at different periods in its recent history. Starting from 1871, I propose to estimate the Incidence of Taxation in the years 1881, 1891, 1901, and 1911. After 1911, the pre-war year 1913 may be taken with advantage. From 1921 the accounts of the Central and Provincial Governments have been separated; and it is better for the purposes of comparison to take the last pre-Reform year, 1920. To ascertain the incidence in the current financial year (1922-23), we shall adopt a special method of estimation which will be explained in its proper place.

The first difficulty that we meet with is—what is Taxation, and what items of Government revenue can be classed as Taxation. Without going into nice distinctions about the different definitions of Taxation, we shall say that "that portion of the annual wealth of the country which is taken for the purposes of Government may be considered to be taxation."

In the Budget of the Government of

India for 1920-21, we find the following heads of Revenue :—

1. Land Revenue.
2. Opium.
3. Salt.
4. Stamps.
5. Excise.
6. Provincial Rates.
7. Customs.
8. Income Tax.
9. Forest.
10. Registration.
11. Tributes.
12. Interest.
13. Posts and Telegraphs.
14. Mint.
15. Receipts by Civil Departments.
16. Miscellaneous.
17. Railways : Net Receipts.
18. Irrigation.
19. Other Public Works.
20. Military Receipts.

According to the definition of Taxation that we have adopted, Land Revenue is without doubt an item of Taxation. This is not the place to enter into the controversy whether Land Revenue is a rent or a tax; it is sufficient to point out that whatever point of view be taken, the Government does take by way of Land Revenue a portion of the wealth of the country, which would otherwise be enjoyed by the community. Provincial Rates are cesses on Land, and the same remarks apply to them.

In making any calculation in which Land Revenue figures have to be taken, we must take account of one peculiar inconsistency

in the accounts of the Government of India. Certain portion of the Land Revenue is said to be due indirectly to Irrigation works constructed by the State. An attempt is made to credit the Irrigation Account with this portion of the Land Revenue. In the Irrigation Account, we have direct receipts which are derived from water-rates paid for the use of water. In addition to these, we have an item called "Portion of Land revenue due to Irrigation." An estimate is made of the increase in Land Revenue due to the vicinity of canals or tanks; this is deducted from Land Revenue and credited to the Irrigation account. This system was begun in 1877 and exists till to-day. This is undoubtedly an arbitrary deduction from Land Revenue, the effect of which is to introduce an unnatural element in the accounts. The Land Revenue is shown at a smaller figure and the Irrigation receipts are swelled. On the one hand, the Government can say that the increase in Land Revenue, that is, the burden on the agriculturist is smaller than it really is; on the other hand they can show that their undertakings in the Irrigation Department yield large receipts and hence are very successful. The Departments of a state are interdependent. The success of each department increases in a greater or less degree the success of all others. For example, the Post Office facilitates the work of business men. By consequent increase in business activities, the state derives additional revenue. But we do not credit the Post Office with any extra receipts out of this additional revenue. If such a procedure were adopted, there would be no end to it; it would result only in financial inaccuracy and complexity. We shall, therefore, include this item of "Land Revenue due to Irrigation" in Land Revenue proper in making our calculations. Of course, a corresponding deduction will be made from the Irrigation receipts.

**Opium:**—In consequence of the agreement with China, the Opium Revenue has gone down considerably in recent years. In earlier years, however, the revenue from this source was second only to that from land. There is no doubt that some part of the revenue which Government derives by the Opium monopoly would go to the cultivators and merchants if the monopoly did not exist. If the monopoly be removed, it is true that in consequence of the force of

competition the price of opium would fall. But the cultivation of the poppy is confined to a limited part of the country and the area of poppy cultivation cannot be increased to a very great extent. In fact, at one time, when the demand for Indian Opium was large, a large increase in the area had been made by the efforts of the Government, and the limits to a further great increase had been reached. (cf. Financial Statement, 1882, para. 141.) It may be said, therefore, that to the extent to which the profits of the cultivators and merchants can be increased in the absence of a Government monopoly, to that extent there is an element of taxation in the Opium Revenue. It is, however, difficult to estimate what portion of the Opium Revenue is Taxation according to this principle, and therefore we shall omit this revenue from our calculation of the Incidence of Taxation, which will, therefore, be underestimated to this extent.

With regard to the other principal items of revenue, viz., Salt, Stamps, Excise, Customs, Income Tax and Registration, there is no difficulty in classing them as products of Taxation. The Tributes are taken from the rulers of Indian States; they are not paid by the people in British India, and hence are not Taxation for our present purpose.

**Forests:**—In the case of the revenue from Forests, it can be asserted that some portion of the receipts is the result of Taxation. The Government has a monopoly of forest produce and is able to obtain a net profit (which amounts to more than 150 lakhs in recent years) after covering all expenses. The profit in the early years was however small and the Government will still have to go a long way in the improvement of Forests before they can rely on them as a permanent and important source of revenue. We shall be erring on the safe side, if we exclude Forest receipts from our calculation of the Incidence of Taxation.

**Interest; Receipts by Civil Departments; Miscellaneous; Other Public Works; and Military Receipts:**—The revenue under these heads consists merely of receipts in reduction of expenditure on the corresponding heads. The Government pays interest on loans that it incurs; it receives interest on the sums which it advances out of these loans to local bodies. The Government runs certain departments, for example, the

Education Department. It charges fees to those who take advantage of this Department. These fees help in reducing the expenditure which Government incurs for this purpose, and which falls on the general taxpayer. It is in the fitness of things that those who derive immediate benefit from certain services rendered by Government however important and beneficial in themselves should contribute at least a share towards the expenses of those services. It may be open to argument whether a particular fee or charge thus levied by Government is higher or lower than it ought to be. But for our purposes, these items must be excluded from the calculation of the Incidence of Taxation.

There remain to be considered the following heads of revenue :—Posts and Telegraphs, Mint, Railways—Net Receipts, and Irrigation. These are known as the Commercial Undertakings of Government. They are necessarily run on business principles. The Government renders these services in consideration of special payments. The receipts from these departments cannot therefore be considered as taxation. If, however, Government takes advantage of its monopoly in the case of these undertakings, and realises a large profit from them after meeting all charges including interest on capital invested in them, the excess receipts would certainly come under the category of Taxation.

It is well known, however, that till after the beginning of this century, the Government of India made little or no profit from these undertakings. On the contrary for a long time the Railways were a source of burden on the revenues of the Government. During recent years, however, Government has derived a large net profit from Railways, and this has come to be an important source of revenue in the present financial difficulties of the Government. It is certain that if this source did not exist, or was diverted to its legitimate purposes, namely, Railway extension or the Reduction of Railway Debt, the Government will be required to impose additional taxation to that extent. It is evident, therefore, that the net profits from Railways in recent years come under the category of Taxation. It is likely that opinions may differ on this point ; we have therefore given two sets of figures of the Incidence of Taxation from 1911—one with

and another without the net profits from Commercial Undertakings. Though Railways form the only important item in this connection, it is evidently better for the sake of completeness to take into consideration the net profit or loss in other Commercial Undertakings in our calculation.

The total tax-revenue thus arrived at, less the amount of Refunds which the government has to give, divided by the population in British India will give us the Incidence of Taxation per head of population in the different years which we have chosen. On account of the change in the accounts since the introduction of the Reforms, it is difficult to ascertain the corresponding figures for the current financial year, unless we have recourse to the budgets of all the provincial as well as the Central Governments. We will not be far from the mark, however, if we adopt another mode of calculation. It is easy to ascertain the amount of additional taxation imposed in 1921 and in 1922 both in the Central and the Provincial Governments. If we calculate the amount of this additional taxation per head of population, and add it to the Incidence for 1920, we shall get the Incidence for 1922. This will certainly be subject to correction, when the detailed figures are available, but it is submitted that the Incidence for 1922 thus estimated will be approximately correct within a few pias.

The real burden of taxation in any country is determined not by the amount of taxation paid by the people, but by the amount of wealth, which is left to them after the payment of taxation. The taxation per head may be larger in one country than in another, but the burden may be smaller in the former country if the annual wealth of the country from which the taxes are paid is larger. It is difficult to estimate the annual wealth or income of a country. Such estimates have, however, been attempted in different countries, and if they do not show the whole truth with perfect accuracy, they do help in realising the general tendency of the burden of taxation.

In India such estimates have been made from time to time. Though we cannot be certain of the accuracy of these estimates, and though there is an element of conjecture in them, if we are assured that they have been made very carefully on the best available data, and that the highest authorities agree in accepting them as a basis for a guidance

and discussion, we shall be quite justified in making use of them.

The first estimate of this kind was made by Dadabhai Naoroji in 1870 and subsequent years. (Poverty and Un-British Rule in India, pp. 1—25.) He calculated the annual produce of each province. He took first the irrigated and unirrigated land under cultivation; estimated the produce in each case; and arrived at the total produce. Taking the current prices of the chief articles, he found the total value of this produce in money. He then estimated the value of the non-agricultural income of India from different sources. He allowed for all possible errors in estimating and showed that he did not in any case underestimate the annual income of the country. He made use of the statistics for the year 1867, though in some cases he had to rely on the statistics of the years immediately following. His conclusion was that the average annual income per head was 40s. or Rs. 20 in India. In 1871, Mr. Grant Duff, under-Secretary of State for India gave a similar estimate in the House of Commons and said that the average income per head in British India was £2. per annum. Soon after this, Lord Mayo, then Viceroy, spoke in the Legislative Council with approval, referring to this estimate.

The Famine Commission of 1880 made an estimate of the agricultural produce of India. Sir David Barbour worked on these figures in 1881. He found some errors, made the necessary changes and estimated the agricultural produce of each province. Following the Famine Commission, he valued this produce at the rate of Rs. 50 per ton for food-grains, and at the rate of Rs. 30 per acre for non-food crops. Sir David then proceeded on the assumption that the income of India was divided between the agricultural and the non-agricultural classes in proportion to their numbers; and on this basis he estimated that the average annual income per head was Rs. 27.

In March 1901, Lord Curzon announced in the Legislative Council that he had caused an estimate of the Income of India to be made on the same plan as that of Sir David Barbour and that it was Rs. 30 per head. On 23rd February 1921, the Hon. Mr. Cook announced in the Council of State that further calculations were made on the same lines as were followed in 1881 and in 1901, according to which the average annual income per head was Rs. 50 in 1911.

The following table summarises the Incidence of Taxation (the details are given in an appendix) with reference to the average annual income per head of population (so far as it is available) in British India in different years and shows the real burden of taxation on the people.

<i>Incidence of Taxation in British India.</i>				
Year.	Taxation per head.			Percentage of Taxation or average income
	Rs. As. Ps.			Rs.
1871	1	13	9	20
1881	2	2	3	27
1891	2	3	11	—
1901	2	10	2	30
1911	2	13	11	50
1913	3	1	6	—
1920	5	0	11	—
1922	6	4	3	—
(Including net profits from Commercial Undertakings).				
1911	3	1	5	50
1913	3	0	2	—
1920	5	4	3	—
1922	6	7	7	—

Up to 1901, the percentage of taxation on average income varies from 8 to 9. In 1911 it is less than 6. There was, no doubt, a material reduction of taxation during the years 1901 to 1911; but it is evident that the estimated average income per head for 1911 seems to be exaggerated compared with the earlier figures. In the twenty years from 1881 to 1901, the income per head increases by Rs. 3 only. In the ten years from 1901 to 1911, the income per head is estimated to have increased by Rs. 20. It is this large figure of Rs. 50 as the income per head in 1911 that reduces the percentage of taxation on average income in that year. In the absence of the detailed calculation on which Government has based this estimate, we are not in a position to say anything more than point out the obvious exaggeration.

During the years 1913 to 1920, that during the War period, (including the years of demobilisation etc.), we have an additional taxation of about Rs. 2 per head of population. In the two years following, that is in the first two years of the Reforms, we have a still further addition of more than a rupee of taxation per head of population. The present Incidence of Taxation is more than twice that of the pre-war year. If the real burden of taxation to-day is to be the same as it was in 1913, our average income per head to-day must be about Rs. 110.

Whether our annual income has increased to such an extent remains to be calculated. The materials for such a calculation are in the hands of Government, and it would be a great help in tackling the different problems before us, if Government instituted such an inquiry.

We have not taken into consideration the important question whether the low average income per head in the earlier years and whether the exaggerated income for 1911, were sufficient for the maintenance of life even on a low

standard. Without going into the complexities of this difficult problem, however, we may say that the great increase in the burden of taxation in recent years is evident from the estimates given above. The margin of taxable capacity of the people seems to have been reached; further taxation will be difficult and unwise from all points of view; the Budget must be balanced by the only remedy—a substantial reduction in expenditure. Will the Retrenchment Committee and the powers that be rise to the occasion?

### Incidence of Taxation in British India.

(Figures in thousands.)

Taxes.	1871. £.	1881. Rs.	1891. Rs.	1901. £.	1911. £.	1913. £.	1920. Rs.	1922. Rs.	Remarks.
Land Revenue	20,520	22,430	24,638	19,101	22,115	23,075	34,831	34,831	1871. £ = Rs. 10
Salt	5,067	7,375	8,630	5,939	8,301	8,445	6,704	6,704	1881. £ = Rs. 10
Stamps	2,476	3,381	4,202	3,406	4,815	5,318	10,956	10,956	1901. £ = Rs. 15
Excise	2,300	3,427	3,517	4,076	7,000	8,804	20,436	20,436	1911. £ = Rs. 15
Provincial Rates		2,805	3,502	2,743	548	186	633	633	
Customs	2,376	2,301	1,701	3,833	9,468	7,558	31,898	31,898	
Income Tax	825	536	1,652	1,369	1,052	1,950	22,192	22,192	
Registration		284	300	312	445	518	1,120	1,120	
Total	34,733	42,608	49,907	40,810	47,013	50,938	128,563	128,563	
Deduct Refunds	286	272	54	224	335	330	3,238	3,238	
Total less Refunds	34,447	42,326	49,753	40,585	46,678	50,608	125,325	125,325	m = Millions.
Population	185 m.	198 m.	221 m.	231 m.	244 m.	245 m.	247 m.	248 m.	Est. = Estimate.
Taxation per head	Rs. As. Ps. 1 13 9	Rs. As. Ps. 2 2 3	Rs. As. Ps. 2 3 11	Rs. As. Ps. 2 10 2	Rs. As. Ps. 2 13 11	Rs. As. Ps. 3 1 6	Rs. As. Ps. 5 0 11	Rs. As. Ps. 6 4 3	See Note 1. for the Incidence of 1922.
Railways					3,788	4,780	5,658	4,874	
Posts & Telegraphs					120	326	1834	6796	
Mint					251	207	4802	284	
Irrigation					546	504	1,076	1,076	
Total					3,613	4,808	5,224	5,525	
Profits from Commercial Undertakings per head :—					As. 3-6	As. 4-8	As. 3-4	As. 3-4	
Taxation per head including profits from Commercial Undertakings :—					Rs. As. Ps. 3 1 5	Rs. As. Ps. 3 6 2	Rs. As. Ps. 5 4 3	Rs. As. Ps. 6 4 7	
1 13 9	2 2 3	2 3 11	2 10 2	2 13 11	3 1 5	3 6 2	5 4 3	6 4 7	

"Land Revenue" figures include "Portion of Land Revenue due to Irrigation." Hence the losses under Irrigation. From 1921, the Irrigation receipts have been provincialised.

See Note 1. for the Incidence of 1922.

(Including Net Profits from Commercial Undertakings.)

NOTE 1. On the Incidence of Taxation for 1922 (Budget).

	Crores.
1921—Additional Central Taxation amounted to—	
Customs	8
Taxes on Income	8.5
1922—Additional Central Taxation amounted to Customs	9.64
Addition in March 1921 due to increase in Customs duties	.5
Taxes on Income	2.25
1922—Additional Provincial Taxation amounted to—	1.2
80 lakhs in Bombay,	
40 lakhs in Bengal.	

Total additional taxation in 1921 and 1922— 30.09

We have in all 30 crores of Additional taxation for all India in the years 1921 and 1922. If we take 248 millions as the population in 1922, (the census figure for 1921 is 247 millions), we get Rs. 1-3-4 as the additional taxation per head in these two years.

	Rs.	As.	P.
The Incidence for 1920 is	5	0	11
The additional taxation per head in 1921 and 1922 amounts to	1	3	4

The Incidence for 1922 is, therefore, 6 4 3  
Similarly the Incidence for 1922 will be 6 7 7  
if we include the net profits from Commercial undertakings.

NOTE. 2. In his speech as a member of the Commercial Deputation on Retrenchment to His Excellency the Viceroy on May 30th, 1922, Mr. Purushottamdas Thakurdas gave a table showing the Incidence of Taxation in India. His figures given below are in substantial agreement with those estimated above. He compared the taxation per head with the four well known estimates of the average annual income per head, referred to above. His estimates of taxation per head as under :—

1871 ...	Rs. 1 13 9	1911 ...	Rs. 2 11 3
1881 ...	Rs. 2 2 3	1913 ...	Rs. 2 14 5
1901 ...	Rs. 2 6 6	1922 ...	Rs. 6 1 8

## I'VE LOVED THIS WORLD'S FACE

[Translated from Rabindranath Tagore's Bengali Poem.]

I've loved this world's face splendour-girt  
 With all my heart ;  
 And I have wound,  
 In fold on fold,  
 My life around it and around ;  
 The gloom of dusks, the gold  
 Of countless dawns across my soul  
 have rolled,  
 And sped and passed ;  
 At last  
 My life to-day is one  
 With earth and sea and sky, and moon  
 and sun.  
 Thus life hath won my heart,  
 For I have loved this world's face  
 splendour-girt.  
 And yet I know that I shall have to die ;  
 One day my eye  
 No more the light of day will drink,  
 In the abysmal void my voice will drop and  
 sink,

My soul no more will fly  
 To greet the morning's flaming light ;  
 No more will night  
 Her secrets whisper in my ears.  
 I'll take my final look on earth, and tell  
 My last farewell,  
 When Death appears.  
 As true  
 Is passion's yearning cry,  
 So, too,  
 This bleeding parting when we die.  
 And yet some inner harmony must bind  
 the two ;  
 Or the Universe, so long,  
 Would not endure the fraud, the wrong  
 So grievous, base,  
 With smiling face ;  
 And all its light  
 Would wither like a worm-bit flower in blight.  
 K. C. SEN.

## APPA SAHEB THE RAJA OF NAGPUR

## II

**T**HE Peishwa Baji Rao, at this time, sent a *Khillut*, with the knowledge and approval of Mr. Elphinstone, to the Nagpur Sovereign. This *Khillut* arrived at Nagpur towards the middle of November 1817. The Raja invited Mr. Jenkins to the ceremonial durbar that was to be held to invest him with the *Khillut*. But this he declined to do. He explained his conduct in a letter which he wrote to Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Hislop, Bart., dated 24th November, 1817. He wrote :

"Last night I received a note from Ramchunder Waugh, stating, that a *Khillut* had arrived from the Peishwa for the Raja. This *Khillut*, he said, had been brought by Kundoo Pandit, the Raja's Vakeel, lately dismissed by the Peishwa, under the treaty of Poona ; and that Mr. Elphinstone had been the means of procuring for the Raja this mark of distinction, that tomorrow, as a lucky day was fixed for receiving it with due ceremonies, which consisted in the Raja going out in state to his camp with his *Zuryputka*, firing salutes, and remaining three days at the head of his troops. The Raja requested that either I would attend myself, or send some one on my part to be present at the ceremony : and that I would also order a salute to be fired on the occasion : to this communication I replied, that when the *Khillut* in question left Poona, the Peishwa was still on terms of amity with the British Government and His Highness, that what had since happened, which His Highness wellknew, placed the Peishwa in the light of an enemy to both states : that under such circumstances the accepting of a *Khillut* from the Peishwa, in such a public manner, would have a very bad appearance ; that I was convinced that the Governor-General would not receive a *Khillut* from the Peishwa under such circumstances, and certainly would not expect His Highness to do any such thing ; and having said this, I left the matter to his prudence, and a due sense of what might be the consequence. Notwithstanding this remonstrance, I received this morning a note from Ramchunder Waugh, saying that the Raja intended to receive the *Khillut* in the manner before-mentioned, but that it ought not to raise any unpleasant feelings in my mind, as it had been sent through our channel, and could excite no enmity between the two states, as they are one.

"The Raja accordingly having first received the *Khillut* in public durbar, and the muzzers of all his chiefs and ministers, proceeded to his principal camp on the west side of the town, where he was received with uncommon demonstrations of pomp and show, and with every ceremony indicative of his having received the dignity of Senapati, or general-in-chief of the armies of the Mahratta Empire. On this I have only to remark, that it is generally considered as a

demonstration of the Raja's alliance with the Peishwa and his determination to follow the path already entered upon by Bajee Row."

"It is not necessary to make lengthy comments on the above. Mr. Jenkins should not have tried to obstruct—nay, positively prohibit—a ceremonial occasion as the one which the Raja was going to celebrate. If he could not have joined in the ceremony, he should have kept quiet, instead of from that moment looking upon the Raja as his enemy. How devoted the Raja was to the British is evident from the letter from which extracts have been made above. Mr. Jenkins in continuation of his above-mentioned letter wrote :

"With regard to the project of attacking the British troops at this place, I have received continual communications since my Despatches of the 14th instant, to your Excellency and Sir J. Malcolm, describing the arguments which have been used to excite the Rajah to such a step, and the hitherto successful opposition of his more prudent advisers : but not a word indicative of any complaint against us, or any intention on the part of the Raja to break with us has appeared from any of his public communications : On the contrary, His Highness being alarmed a few nights ago by a false report, doubtless fabricated by the warlike faction, that the British troops were moving out to attack him, sent for my Mahratta moon-shee, and talked for an hour against the treachery of the Peishwa, and the impossibility of his following his example, whether his means were considered, his actual situation, living as he was with his family in an open town and without any fort of consequence, except Chanda to place them in security ; and above all, his gratitude towards the British Government, to whose favour and protection he owed everything, and should always desire to owe everything to it, and it alone."

But all these sincere professions and protestations of goodwill and friendship on the part of Appa Sahib towards the British Government had no effect on the Resident. Appa Sahib, if anything, was a fool and a timid man, and to consider him as capable of harboring any scheme of war against the English is simply preposterous. However it suited the interests of the Government of India at that time to treat him as an enemy.

Prof. H. H. Wilson's opinion that the alliance was not of much profit to Appa Sahib has already been quoted before. The Raja therefore naturally wanted that some modifications should be made in the terms of the



alliance which were pressing very heavily on him. The points which the Raja wanted to be adjusted were as follows :—

"1st Goojibhur be sent back to Nagpore ; 2ndly the contingent be not too nicely inspected ; 3rdly some arrangement be made to prevent the Raja's revenue suffering so much as it did by the remission of duties on grain, &c., for the use of our large armies ; 4thly our troops in the Raja's territory be reduced to the number fixed by treaty ; 5thly some consideration be shewn to the Raja's pecuniary necessities, which, from our demands and those of his own troops almost reduced him to despair."

It cannot be said that these points did not require immediate adjustment. But Mr. Jenkins was of a different opinion. Although he had heard of these grievances before, yet he took no steps to redress them and he looked upon this public mention of them as 'a full admission of an hostile purpose.' For in his dispatch to the Governor-General dated 26th November, 1817, he wrote :

"I had before received private overtures from Nagoo Pundit mentioning these as the Raja's grievances, and offering his services to accommodate everything, but this is the first public mention of these grievances, and is a full admission of an hostile purpose."\*

At the same time Mr. Jenkins ordered the marching in of British troops to Nagpur. In concluding the above-mentioned dispatch, Mr. Jenkins wrote to the Governor-General :

"The detachment under Colonel Gahan has been ordered to march in, leaving its baggage ; and it ought to arrive tomorrow night. Nothing but the Raja's entire submission and full security for the future, which can be a work I conceive neither of time nor of difficulty, ought now to cause any relaxation in the most active means to reduce him, and I hope that either his Excellency Sir Thomas Hislop or Brigadier General Doveton will be shortly on their march."

The words of the above passage are specially commended to the notice of those who think that Appa Sahib forced the British to go to war with him. If anything it was Mr. Jenkins who provoked the Nagpur chiefs to hostilities. It is not human nature to sit idle while one's enemies are busily engaged in making warlike preparations.

On the evening of the 26th November, 1817, the Raja's troops fired on the Residency but were repulsed. The news of the marching in of the British troops and the habitual contempt with which the Raja and his advisers and followers were treated by the Resident must have undoubtedly influenced the Raja's troops to commence hostilities. That the Raja himself did not instigate these hostilities is perfect-

ly certain from his subsequent conduct.<sup>2</sup> His troops must have got out of hand and incited to this rash act by the Raja's enemies. We should not forget what Malcolm wrote to the Governor-General in his letter dated 9th October, 1817, from which extracts have already been given before. He wrote :—

"The recent changes that have taken place in his ministers must have increased the violence of the different parties ; combinations will continue to be formed against the favorite of the day, and his disgrace will be sought through the usual means of misrepresenting and counteracting his measures."

When we take all these circumstances into consideration, it is highly probable that the Raja did not instigate the attack on the Residency. Even if he did, he should be exonerated from all blame, because he had been provoked by the warlike preparations of the Resident himself. The Marquess of Hastings in the 43rd para of his letter to the Secret Committee of the East India Company wrote :—

"His (Mr. Jenkins's) first step was to secure the Residency from surprise, and to enable him to hold it and the adjacent hill until he could be joined by the troops from the cantonment ; a measure, the adoption of which, in the event of necessity, he had concerted with Lieutenant-Colonel Scott, the commanding officer."

Of course it was the policy of the Resident to represent these as defensive measures. But these preparations combined with the news of the marching in of British troops wore quite a different complexion before the eyes of the people of Nagpur. No wonder, if under provocation, they struck the first blow, thinking that under these circumstances, the party which is

\* Mr. Prinsep, in his *History of the Political and Military Transactions in India during the administration of Marquess of Hastings*, Vol. III, pp. 102-103, refers to his "decided pusillanimity", "extreme weakness and irresolution".

Is it not clear from the above, that Appa Sahib did not meditate any attack on the Residency or seriously think of going to war with the British ? It is sheer nonsense to say that he betrayed 'extreme weakness and irresolution'. He knew the consequences that would result by attacking the Residency. Had he ordered the attack it is not probable that he would have shown such want of common sense as not to have persisted in it and tried to cut off the advancing troops that were marching on Nagpur.

It is said that when he was made a prisoner, he confessed to having ordered the attack on the Residency. This alleged confession of Appa Sahib rests on the testimony of Mr. Jenkins himself and as such it is hardly worth much credit. Even assuming he confessed, does it not stand to reason, that this confession was extorted from him under threats and promises the nature of which need not be dilated upon here. Every 'School boy' in India knows how confessions are extorted by the police.

\* Papers relating to the War in India : presented to both Houses of Parliament, by command of the Prince Regent, Feb. 1819, page 70.

## APPA SAHEB THE RAJA OF NAGPUR

first in the field has generally the better chance of success.

But their attack failed. This circumstance alone is sufficient to demonstrate the fact of the thorough preparation which Mr. Jenkins had made to receive the blow, or even to offer it if necessary. Prof. H. H. Wilson may again be quoted to show the nature and extent of the Resident's preparation. He writes :—

"The greater part of the Berar subsidiary force had already taken the field, and there remained within reach a detachment which had been posted at Ramtek, about three miles distant, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Scott, consisting of two battalions of Madras Sipahies, the first of the 20th and first of the 24th regiments of Native infantry; a detachment of European foot and of Native horse artillery, and three troops of the 6th Bengal Cavalry. These, upon the Resident's requisition, marched on the 25th, to the Residency grounds, and were there joined by the escort, consisting of about four hundred men, with two guns, two companies of the Bengal infantry, and a few troopers of the Madras horse. On the morning of the 26th, they were placed in position on the Sitabaldi hills."

Of course, the situation occupied by the Resident and his men was so strong and he had made preparations so very carefully that it was not possible for the Nagpur prince's troops to successfully take it by assault. The nature of the Resident's threatening position must have alarmed them, and they, without carefully making the necessary preparations on the evening of the 26th instant, opened fire on the Residency with disastrous consequences to themselves.

As said before, the subsequent conduct of Appa Sahib showed that he had no intention in bringing about hostilities with the English. He sent a messenger to the Resident expressing his regret at what had happened, declaring that his troops had acted without his orders and that he was ready to abide by such terms as Mr. Jenkins proposed. Of course, the British troops were on their march to Nagpur, and this enabled the Resident to dictate very harsh and severe terms to his "brother" Appa Sahib. What these were may be better described in the words of the Marquess of Hastings :—

"Immediately after the termination of the contest at Seetabuldee, the Raja sent a message to Mr. Jenkins, expressive of his concern for what had happened, and his earnest desire to revert to his former relations of friendship with the British Government. Mr. Jenkins very properly replied to this overture, that the Raja's own proceedings had already placed the whole question beyond his discretion: that the future measures of the British Government would now be devised by higher authority than his: and that pending the receipt of my instructions as to what was to follow, all that he could do after having strenuously exerted himself to avoid the occurrence of hostilities, was to maintain the advantages already gained by our troops, until the reinforcements which he had called for should

come in, and enable him to execute the commands of his Government. At the same time, he declined all further negotiations with the Raja, unless his troops were withdrawn from the positions which they then held to those which they had formerly occupied. This demand was complied with, and the Raja's forces were all withdrawn during the evening and night of the 27th of November."

The Raja's complying with the demand of the Resident immediately shows how desirous he was to try to bring about amicable relations with the British. But if treachery and perfidy are to be attributed to anybody, it is to the Resident. It was convenient and necessary for him to suspend hostilities and to gain time and not to have any regard for the Raja's feelings and meet with his wishes. The Governor-General continues his letter as follows :—

"Mr. Jenkins, in acceding to a cessation of hostilities, was chiefly influenced by the opinion of the commanding officer relative to the harassed condition of the troops after their memorable exertions on the preceding days, and by the consideration of the near approach of the expected reinforcements, as well as of the additional reputation gained by granting it on the request of an enemy beaten by an inferior force; a circumstance calculated to inspire fresh confidence in our troops and the reverse in those of the Raja."

The poor Raja in the simplicity of his heart placed implicit confidence in the words of the Resident and acted as that officer asked him to do. To quote again from the Marquess of Hastings' letter :—

"In answer to the Raja's reiterated professions of concern and desire of renewed friendship, Mr. Jenkins continued to plead his want of authority to decide as to future measures, and took occasion to intimate, that if the Raja left Nagpore, or if a single shot was fired, his throne was irretrievably lost, his only chance of preservation from ruin being unqualified submission."

"Early on the morning of the 29th, a regiment of Native Cavalry with its Gallopers arrived; and on the same evening, a message and a note were sent to Mr. Jenkins by the Raja, in which after repeating his usual expressions of contrition and reliance on our indulgence, he signified his intention of disbanding the greater part of his troops, in the hope that the treaty would be allowed to remain in force, and his former requests, noticed in a preceding paragraph, be satisfactorily adjusted. To this communication was added a solicitation, that our troops marching upon Nagpore might be ordered to halt. Mr. Jenkins was again compelled to go over the same ground of reply which he had already taken and to point out how little dependence could be placed on the Raja's assurances, consequently how essentially vital it was to the British interests, not to neglect every practicable means of security; and also to repeat, that the Raja's own acts had already placed all future procedures with regard to him beyond the reach of his (Mr. Jenkins's) authority....."

The Raja was in the habit of hearing the Europeans boasting of their religion being one of peace, meekness and forgiveness and of their

Divine Founder enjoining His followers to turn the left cheek to those who smote on the right. Acting on that belief he implored the Resident for mercy, but that officer knew not what mercy meant; he showed marked rudeness towards that Sovereign. The Marquess of Hastings writes :—

"From this time up to the 2nd of December, on the evening of which the Rajah returned to his palace, messages of the same character were repeatedly brought :—

"On the 5th of December our troops at Nagpore were reinforced by a detachment of the Nizam's Regular Infantry and Reformed Horse under Major Pittman, and on the 12th, Brigadier-General Doveton arrived with his cavalry and light troops : the remainder of his division marched in on the following day.

"..... Mr. Jenkins and Brigadier-General Doveton, in the absence of my instructions, which had not yet reached Nagpore, and the uncertainty of the period which might elapse before their arrival, resolved to bring matters to a termination. On the 14th, terms were offered to the Raja for his acceptance : his refusal to comply with which, before daybreak on the 16th, it was determined immediately to follow up by a general attack on the positions of his troops.

"The terms offered were, in substance, the following : That the Raja should acknowledge that his recent attack on our troops had placed his whole state at our mercy, and that his only hope was in our forbearance and moderation ; that his whole ordnance and warlike stores should be delivered up to us, a portion of them eventually to be restored on fixing the military establishments of the state ; that he should disband, in concert with the Resident, his Arabs and other troops, as soon as practicable : that his army should immediately move to a position to be assigned for it ; that the city of Nagpore should be evacuated and occupied by our troops, public and private property being protected, the Raja's civil authorities remaining in the exercise of their functions on his behalf and the city being restored on the conclusion of a treaty : that the Raja should repair to the British Residency or camp, and reside there until everything should be settled ; that the terms granted should not go to deprive him of any considerable portion of territory, beyond what might be necessary for the payment of the subsidy and the efficient maintenance of the contingent as fixed by the former treaty, ..... ; and that if the terms should be complied with by four o'clock on the morning of the 16th, the latest period allowed for an answer, the Raja's army should be withdrawn from their positions in and about the city, and the city occupied by British troops at seven o'clock on the same morning the Raja himself being at liberty to come in, either before the execution of the terms or afterwards in the course of the day, as might be most agreeable."

The terms were no doubt most humiliating to the Raja. But that prince was a timid man and besides a great fool, for he reposed confidence in the so-called good intentions of

his allies. It is therefore to be surmised, that he accepted all the terms which were dictated to him. But his troops were not composed of men who like him were cowards. Moreover they would not knowingly agree to their extinction. They resolved to make a stand and tried to prevent the Raja from going over to the British. To quote again from the Marquess of Hastings' dispatch :—

"The next morning, at six o'clock, a message was received at the Residency, that the Arabs would not allow the Raja to come in, and that it would take some time to give up the guns, but that all would be settled in two or three days. On this Mr. Jenkins, in communication with Brigadier-General Doveton, the troops in the meanwhile being drawn out in battle order, gave the Raja time until nine o'clock to come in, intimating that if he did so, more time might be allowed for executing the other conditions, but that if he demurred, the troops would immediately move on to the attack. A little before nine the Raja accordingly arrived at the Residency, ....."

But his troops were not to be so easily coerced by the harsh terms of the Resident and they defied the orders of the Nagpur sovereign to encompass their own ruin. That the Raja could not be charged with the faults of his troops every sensible man would admit. Even Professor H. H. Wilson, who, as a thoroughbred Anglo-Indian, had very little sympathy with the Indian princes, writes :—

"The disregard apparently shown to the orders of the Raja might have been preconceived : but it not improbably arose from the headstrong wilfulness of individual leaders, and was characteristic of the relaxation of authority which prevailed generally in the Maratha armies."

Now ensued another battle, the main object of which was to crush the Raja's troops. To quote again from the Marquess of Hastings' dispatch :—

"The next delay took place in the surrender of the guns, and the removal of the Raja's troops to the positions fixed for them. For these purposes the period allowed was extended until twelve o'clock ; but on our troops proceeding at that hour to take charge of the guns, the heads of the columns were fired on by troops posted in an enclosed garden, and subsequently from several batteries in the front of Brigadier-General Doveton's lines. Our troops were immediately disposed for the attack, and the action commenced, ....."

Of course, the Raja's troops without proper leaders and equipment were merely a rabble, and therefore it was no difficult task to defeat them. Although worsted, they yet did not leave Nagpur. The Marquess of Hastings writes :—

"The 17th and 18th of December, the days following the action, were given to the Raja to prevail on the Arabs to evacuate the city ; but although their arrears had been paid by the Raja, and every security offered on the part of the British Government for their march out of the territories of Nagpur, the

## APPA SAHEB THE RAJA OF NAGPUR

evacuation was not effected. It thence became necessary for Brigadier-General Doveton to commence military operations against that part of the city where they were posted, and in order to increase his means the place being strong, instructions were immediately issued for the march of his battering train from Akolah. Mun Bhub, one of the principal leaders of the War-party, with the other chiefs whom Brigadier-General Doveton had just defeated, were said to be with them, and to be urgent in encouraging them to resist. The Raja's horse remained scattered in every direction, with the exception of a considerable body collected at Ramteg; but although they had plundered some of our cattle bringing in grain, they had not ventured to interfere with our operations."

Of course, these gallant Arabs, although defeated, with bulldog-like pertinacity stuck to their posts, and were not to be so easily persuaded to give up resisting the British troops, on whom they once at least succeeded in inflicting heavy losses. The Marquess of Hastings continues in his dispatch:—

"The efforts of the troops under Brigadier-General Doveton were still directed to the dislodgement of the Arabs from the palace, on the gates of which an unsuccessful assault was made on the 24th of December, in which our troops suffered considerable loss, although the gallantry and steadiness of both officers and men were on that occasion eminently conspicuous. Notwithstanding the failure in the immediate object of the attack, such an impression was created by it that the Arabs soon signified their willingness to evacuate on conditions; and on Brigadier-General Doveton's agreeing to the proposed terms, they marched out of the city on the morning of the 30th. It was occupied by the British troops on the noon of the same day. No formal articles of capitulation were executed, the Arabs only asking for their personal safety, and a British officer with a small escort, to give them and their families a safe conduct to Mulcapore. It being anxiously desired that the city should be secured against hazard of destruction, and it being considered of importance to obtain possession of it as soon as possible, their request was granted."

"On the occupation of Nagpore by the British troops, many of the principal people came in to the Residency, and proclamations, in the name of the Raja and the Resident, were issued throughout the country in order to promote tranquillity."

Mr. Jenkins now gained all his desired objects and it was expected that he would fulfil the promises he had held out to the Raja when he asked him to come over to the Residency and become a prisoner of the British. As said before, the Raja was given to understand,

"That the terms granted should not go to deprive him of any considerable portion of territory, beyond what might be necessary for the payment of the subsidy, and the efficient maintenance of the contingent, as fixed by the former treaty, all other changes being directed solely to the preservation of tranquillity, with a due regard to the respectability of the Raja's government."

When the Raja entered into subsidiary alliance with the British Government, he was required to pay the subsidy in money and not in the cession of any territory, and it has been also pointed out before that the payment of the subsidy cost him about one-third of the gross revenue of his principality. It was on these grounds, he had asked the British Government to make some modifications in the original terms of the treaty of the subsidiary alliance. But then broke out the hostilities and when the Raja was prevailed upon to go to the British Camp as a prisoner, he understood, as it was quite natural for a man in his situation to do, that his allies would be convinced of his innocence and would treat him with that generosity which he deserved. It was therefore that he readily accepted the terms proffered by Mr. Jenkins.

In his letter to the Marquess of Hastings dated 9th October 1817, from which extracts have already been given before, Malcolm wrote that the Raja "always called" Mr. Jenkins "his brother", and that his "lordship stood in the relation of a father." But neither "his brother" nor "a father" was going to behave towards him as such.

The Marquess of Hastings wanted the deposition of the Raja, and the Resident knowing the mind of his chief, was, to use a mild expression, guilty of a flagrant breach of faith; for the terms which he now offered to the Raja to conclude the treaty with the British were not the same on the distinct understanding of which the Raja had come over as a prisoner to the Residency. To quote the words of the Marquess of Hastings:—

"Immediately after the quiet occupation of the city of Nagpore by the British troops, Mr. Jenkins contemplated the return of Appa Sahib to his palace, and had prepared the draft of a definitive treaty to be signed previously to the Raja's quitting the Residency. But in the mean time, my original instructions, framed on my being informed of the attack on the Residency, reached him, and he thus, for the first time, became apprized of my decided reluctance to the restoration of Appa Sahib to power on any conditions. He accordingly desisted from proceeding to the signature of the treaty; but as the return of Appa Sahib to the palace, and his eventual restoration to the throne, had been virtually promised, he judged himself bound to carry that measure into effect, subject to confirmation or annulment from me, and substituted for the treaty a provisional engagement, according to which the Raja was, until my further orders could be known, to retain the throne on the following conditions: That he should cede all his territories to the northward of the Nerbudda, as well as certain possessions on the southern bank, and all his rights in Berar, Gawilgurh, Sirgoojah and Jushpore in lieu of the former subsidy and contingent that the civil and military affairs of the government should be settled and conducted by ministers in the confidence of the British government, according to the advice of the resident; that the Raja, with his family, should reside in the palace at

Nagpore, under the protection of British troops; that the arrears of the subsidy should be paid up and the subsidy itself should continue to be paid, until the final transfer of the above-mentioned territories had taken place; that any forts in his territory which we might wish to occupy should immediately be given up; that the persons whom he described as principally concerned in resisting his orders should receive no favour, but be declaredly cast off by him, and if possible, be seized and delivered to the officers of the British government; and that the two hills of Sectabuldee with the bazars, and an adequate portion of land adjoining should be ceded to the British Government, which should be at liberty to erect on them such military works as might be deemed necessary."

There was no other alternative for the Raja than to put up with these disgraceful terms as best as he could. The Governor-General writes:

"These conditions having been accepted by the Raja, he returned to his palace on the 9th of January, both that and the city being still garrisoned by our troops."

Henceforth the Raja had no shadow or semblance of independence. His lot was a very pitiable one and it was abuse of authority and language to charge him with treasonable designs or perfidious conduct. He had not the power to be guilty of these things, for not only were his resources crippled, but he was virtually a prisoner in the hands of

the British in his own capital. But since the Governor-General wanted to depose him, there was no difficulty in trumping up false charges against him. Let us again quote the words of the Governor-General whom Appa Sahib had looked upon "in the relation of a father to him." The Marquess of Hastings wrote:

"My determination to remove him from power was founded alike on the horror and disgust excited by his atrocious perfidy, on the conviction of its being impossible ever to repose confidence on one so destitute of principle, and on my conception of the importance of holding up to India, as an example, the signal chastisement of so remarkable an instance of political depravity."

Such were the sentiments of the Governor-General towards Appa Sahib. Although he acquiesced in the arrangement which Mr. Jenkins had provisionally entered into with Appa Sahib, yet from the tenor of his dispatches from the passages which have been already quoted above, it is evident that he would have been extremely glad at the deposition of Appa Sahib. Mr. Jenkins seeing which side the wind was blowing, did everything in his power to please his chief. He accused the Raja of several charges the nature of which will be presently mentioned.

(To be concluded)

X.

## H. G. WELLS ON THE FUTURE OF INDIA AND ISLAM

**P**ROPHECY is a very pleasant avocation to any man with an imaginative turn of mind. It is so easy. You cannot have your statements checked or verified. You may not be able to prove your contentions or compel conviction; but at the same time you cannot be demonstrably refuted. Time and time alone can falsify predictions. That is to say, we cannot argue with a prophet. If we find his contentions attractive, we may agree with him; if we think his reasoning fanciful, we may close the book in disgust. It is simply a question of belief or disbelief, and there the matter ends. Now, Wells is a prophet. We should not, therefore, expect him to prove his case irrefragably. No more can the reader expect to disprove it effectually.

But there are prophets and prophets. Some are good, some bad. Some evince such insight and penetration into their problems,

that the reader has every reason to accept probabilities as facts. In other cases, the inferences drawn can be treated as the vapourings of a diseased imagination. Where, then, does Wells stand? A publicist who preaches the gospel of a United States of the World, using one language, one currency, one code of legislation, may well in some quarters raise a smile. Many superior persons there are to point the finger of scorn at the literary quack who would blot out all racial animosities, all patriotic prepossessions, demolish all national barriers, and usher in an era of world-wide peace and plenty. But when we recollect that these are not the hallucinations of a lunatic at large, but the mature meditations of the man who understood the latent virtues of the automobile when it made its first modest appearance and was hailed with a chorus of derision, who gravely debated the possibilities of

## II. G. WELLS ON THE FUTURE OF INDIA AND ISLAM

flying long before the first crude aeroplane left the ground, who predicted the Great War and was trounced as an alarmist for his pains, who foresaw modern battles congealed into trench warfare waged with ineffable engines of torture and destruction, then the laugh appears to be on the other side and we stand confronted with a message of serious and insistent import. We are in the presence of a man who weighs his words and means what he says. It is for us, in turn, to weigh and consider his teaching and be prepared for its ultimate realisation.

Wells is the arch-apostle of the doctrine of the equality of races, of the world brotherhood of man. He tells us that the British sovereignty in India is no heaven-born institution, and that it will go the way of all flesh. Much it has achieved. Much it has left undone. These are minor matters. The unalterable fact is that India demands self government, and not necessarily good government. Men won the vote in England because they wanted it. Women were enfranchised because they clamoured for the suffrage. It was no reply to the agitation to ask: what are you going to do with the vote? what good will it do you? The ultimate, irresistible fact was people insisted on the vote, and they got it. These extensions of the franchise may have been "a leap in the dark"; but no irretrievable disaster has so far resulted.

India now cries with an importunate voice for self-government. She cannot be denied her claim. It is only a question of time. The weary old administrators in India used to say, Indians would be ready for self-government in four or five centuries. "Many Indians think (and I agree with them) that India might be a confederation of sovereign states in close alliance with the British Empire and its allies within the space of fifty years or so". Events have moved rapidly since Wells penned these words in 1916. The recent Reforms have altered materially the situation. Some would say there is no time like the present, and the only topic to discuss is the question of the terms of restoration. Whatever the details may be, India's destiny is to be a politically independent organisation working under the aegis of a world-wide overruling authority, something like what is popularly known as the League of Nations, only more definite, more developed, more

authoritative, guaranteeing the peace and order of the world.

The "white man's burthen" is to sink all petty jealousies, to find out whatever talent and ability exist amongst backward peoples, and train them to the standard of responsible self-government, not within an empire, but within an all-embracing international alliance, which will deal with things on a broader basis than nationalism" or "patriotic imperialism". That is the destiny not of India merely, but of all subject races. The days of suppression and superiority are past.

Despite the ineptitudes of politicians and the greed and grab of nations, the tide seems to be setting in favour of Wells' line of thought. Always partial to the Mussalman, he makes bold to predict a brilliant future for Islam. Africa will be a fertile field for Moslim expansion, because that religion is better adapted to the needs of the native than Christianity. The medium of propaganda will be the Arab. We talk glibly of our debt to the Greeks and Romans, but slur over all we owe to Arabia, our numerals, modern mathematics, and the science of chemistry. When we think of Islam, we think of Constantinople and the Turk. That is not the heart and core of the cult. Too much store in the past has been set by Constantinople, a much-vaunted city which spells nothing but decay and death to its possessors. The Roman Empire crumbled to pieces there. The Turk has followed in its wake. If you wish to ruin a nation, give it Constantinople. Such is Wells' opinion, and, if I am not mistaken, Bismarck thought so too.

But the Arab of the desert is quite another thing. At the moment he may belong to a depressed and despised culture; still he is a factor and a force to be reckoned with. From Nigeria to China his religion is instinct with life, even though it may have sickened at Constantinople. It is an open-air religion, which cannot be destroyed or replaced. At no distant date there will be a great revival of Arabic civilisation in Mesopotamia. The irrigation works destroyed in the thirteenth century will be restored. The deserts will once more become populous and Bagdad will rise from her ashes, arrayed in all her pristine glory. This, says Wells, is as inevitable as the year 1950.

If it is the peace of the world we postulate when we envisage a permanent World Council overriding all sovereign nations,



## MATHS OF LOWER BENGAL

BY N. K. BHATTASALI, M. A., CURATOR, DACCA MUSEUM.

**L**OWER Bengal is unrivalled for its sylvan scenery, as any traveller who has travelled from Calcutta to Dacca or vice versa through the Sundarban route, will testify. The cocoanut, the palm, the date and above all, the betelnut trees in clus-

ters shoot their tall slimness heavenwards on both sides of the route, and the fascination they create can only be felt.

While here and there, the pointed spire of a Hindu *math* suddenly peeps up through the clustering palms, the spectator is at once struck by the symphony which this creation of art is able to maintain with its sylvan surroundings. Built most often on the cremation ground of a lamented relative, by the side of an enchanting tank, with banks shaded by *Amalaki*, *Haritaki*, *Tamala*, *Vata*, and *Aswattha* trees, these neat, slim, tall pieces of architecture shoot up to the sky



The Math of Sonarang, Dacca.



The Math of Kewar, Dacca.





The Navaratna Math of Basanda, Barisal

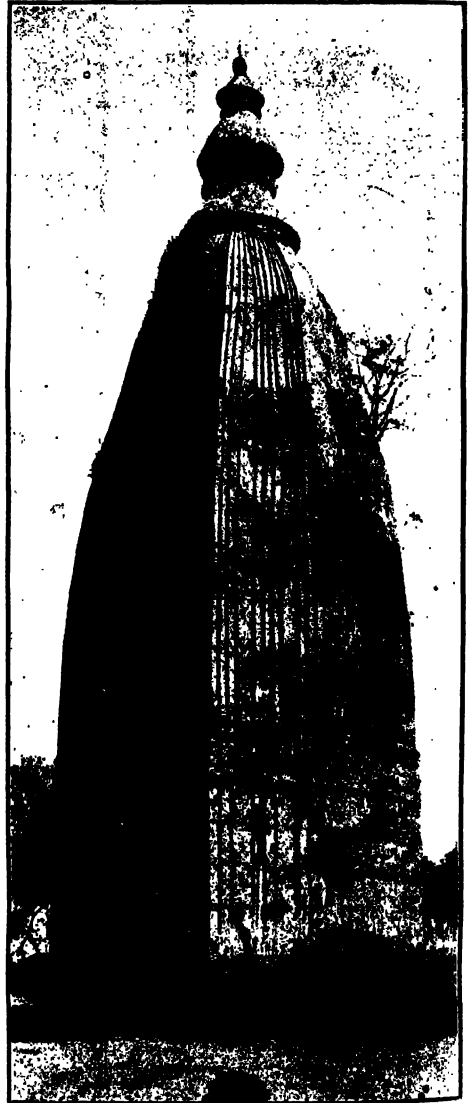
like the silent, everlasting prayer of those left behind, for the peace of the dear departed.

Utilitarianism is here woefully at a discount; for this tall and solid heap of brick and mortar only covers a small vault at the base, with most often a lingam enshrined in it. But the tall spire is left honeycombed with numerous square holes of some depth for the birds of the air to build themselves safe and snug nests and thus allow the departed to be of some use to the living even after death. Apart from being a thing of beauty providing joy for ever to the beholders, the tall spire of the math is of real benefit to the boatman in the rains, providing him with a well-known and conspicuous landmark visible from a long distance, to guide him safely through the intricacies of a village water-route.

There is hardly a single respectable and settled Hindu village in lower Bengal that has not its *math* to glory over. Most of them

are of only local celebrity, but there are some that enjoy a provincial reputation.

The best known and perhaps the oldest *math* in lower Bengal is the *math* at Rajabadi, where the Padma and the Meghna meet. To gaze at this noble relic of antiquity, as long as it is visible, is a pleasant diversion of the passengers by the Goalundo-Narayanganj



The Math of Rajabadi, Dacca.

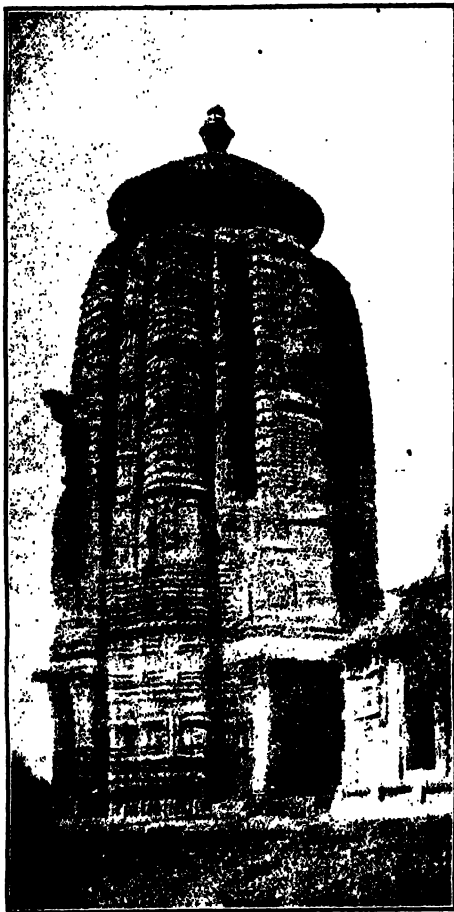


The Decorations on the entrance-door of the Rajabadi Math.

steamer. It stands right on the bank of the Padma, but it seems to bear a charmed life. Many a time has the Padma made a rush on it and its admirers have trembled for its safety; but eventually the capricious and mighty river has always made up her mind to leave it alone.

There is nothing inscribed on the Rajabadi *math* to show when it was built, but its unique rotund appearance, strongly reminiscent of the shape of the Brahmanical stone temples of Orissa, clearly testify that it was

built in days when people still remembered the peculiarities of Hindu architecture. One very peculiar feature of the structure is the series of picturesque, perpendicular corbellings falling like so many tresses from the bell-shaped top to the base. This peculiarity is met with in no other structure of this class except in the stone temples of Bhubaneswar and I find that the same peculiarity is to be met with in another *math* in the Birbhum district, called the *deul* of Ichai Ghosh, traditionally believed to be of pre Muhammadan days. This agree-

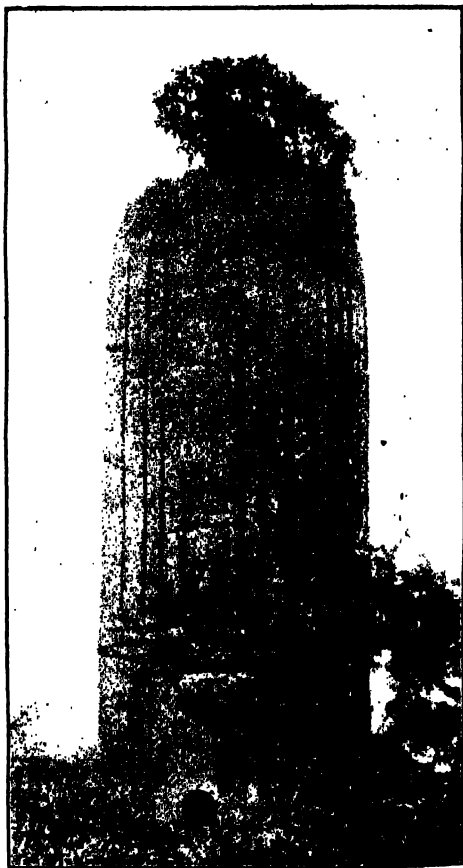


Bhuaneswar Temple.

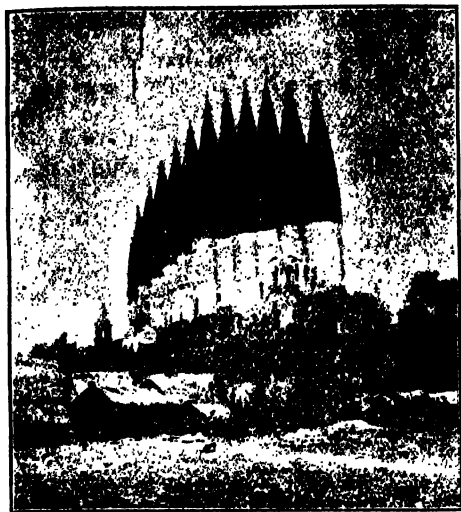
ment between the *deul* of Ichai Ghosh and the *math* at Rajabadi also points to the great age of the structure. Tradition says that it was built over the cremation ground of the mother of Kedar Roy, one of the 12 semi-independent chiefs of Bengal during the reign of Akbar and Jahangir. The *math* is decorated by finely carved bricks to some height from the base. It is now a protected monument. It was once repaired in 1896 at the expenses of Raja Sreenath Roy of Bhagyakul.

The other *maths* illustrated differ remarkably from the Rajabadi *math* by the slimness of their spire and the Gothic style of architecture in churches introduced in the country with the advent of the Europeans may have

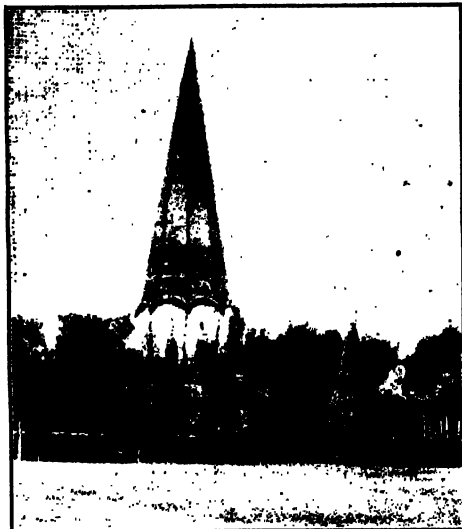
something to do with this change from the fulness of the Rajabadi *math* to the slimness of these latter-day *maths* few of which are more than a century old. The most famous example of a *math* with slim spire, and one that perhaps served as the prototype of the present-day slim-spired *maths*, was the twenty-one-spired (Ekush Ratna) *math* of Raja Rajballabha at Rajnagar in the Faridpur district, now swallowed up by the Padma. The slim spire was adopted in temple architecture also and there are several temples with slim spires in the town of Dacca the most picturesque of which is the Kali temple of Ramna. It was built by Mohanta Haracharan Gir who died in 1232 B. S. So, the structure is barely a hundred years old.



Ichhai Ghosh's Deul, Birbhum.  
( From the History of Birbhum )



The Ekush-ratna ( twenty-one-spined )  
math of Rajnagar in Vikrampur.  
( From the History of Vikrampur by J. N. Gupta. )



The Temple of Kali at Ramna ( Dacca ).

## STATE INDUSTRIES IN THE MUGHAL EMPIRE

BY JADUNATH SARKAR.

**T**HE Mughal Government was forced to supply its own wants by becoming a producer of nearly everything it required, because in the 16th and 17th centuries our country was in an undeveloped economic condition, the modern private organisations of production and transport were wanting, and the Government itself took a somewhat patriarchal attitude in dealing with its servants and subjects. Such State-factories were an ancient institution of the land, as, throughout the middle ages, they were necessitated by the circumstances of the times. Thus, we read that Sultan Firuz Shah Tughlaq, in the late 14th century, maintained 36 'karkhanahs' on which probably fifty lakhs of Rupees were spent every year, at a time when

the Rupee had at least 25 times its present purchasing power. Afif's 'Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi,' pp. 334—340, gives a detailed description of the management of these factories, and the Arab geographer Shihabuddin Abul Abbas Ahmad al Dimashki, writing from the reports of merchants, tells us something about their working. ( Elliot, iii. 578. )

In Akbar's reign, about the end of the 16th century, the system of palace-workshops had expanded, as was to be expected from the development of civilisation for 250 years. His eulogist Abul Fazl, writes,—In the 39th year of the divine era ( 1595 A. D. ), there are in the imperial household "more than a hundred offices and workshops, each resembling a city or rather a little kingdom." ( *Ain*. i. 12. ) Bernier saw

them sixty years later and has left an eyewitness's account of them (p. 259). We also have lists of 'karkhanahs' in the official manuals called 'Dastur-ul-aml' and certain other historical works composed at the end of the 17th century and later.

But in order to get a clear idea of the economic activities of the State, it is necessary for us to distinguish between two classes of things which our Persian authorities designate by the name of 'karkhanahs' and include in the same list, viz.,—(a) STORES of animals, articles of food and drink, and things in a finished or usable condition, acquired by the Government and kept in the palace, which required no further working up, and (b) FACTORIES proper, where, raw materials were worked up by salaried servants of the State into fully manufactured goods fit for use.

## II

It is also necessary, at the outset, to say something about the different treasuries ('khazinahs') in the palace, because they were intimately concerned with the stores and 'karkhanahs'. About these, Akbar's court-historian proudly tells us,—

"In Iran and Turan, where only one treasurer is appointed, the accounts are in a confused state; but here in India, the amount of the revenues is so great, and the business so multifarious that twelve treasuries are necessary for storing the money in,—nine for the different kinds of cash payments, and three for precious stones, gold, and inlaid jewellery..... A separate treasurer was appointed for the tribute ('peshkash') receipts, another for receiving heirless property ('bait-ul-māl'), another for 'nazar' receipts, i.e., presents, and another for the monies expended in weighing the royal person and for charitable donations." ('Ain,' i. 14.)

Here we get the designations and functions of eight of the treasuries, besides the grand or general treasury called ('khazinah-i-amara'). A Persian history written by Shakir Khan in the middle of the 18th century gives the

the names of all the twelve treasuries thus :—

(1) 'Andarun-i-mahal' i.e., the treasury inside the harem. This was the last financial line of defence of the Mughal Emperors, as we know from Aurangzib's letters in the sad closing years of his reign.

(2) 'Baqāyā,' i.e., treasury of arrears collected.

(3) 'Jeb-i-khās,' or the treasury for supplying the Emperor's pocket-money, i.e., for the payments made by him with his own hands.

(4) 'Jeb-i-faiz,' or treasury for pious donations, i.e., the money which the Emperor annually spent in charity as well as his weight in gold, silver and several other things, which were all given away to the poor and to religious mendicants.

(5) 'Khazinah-i-rikab' or the treasury that accompanied the Emperor during his marches.

(6 & 7) 'Khazinah-i-nazar wa peshkash.' These treasuries contained the tributes, presents, gifts made in accomplishment of vows, or donations for averting evil astral influences from the Emperor's body made to the Emperor by his subjects. Abul Fazl makes them two distinct treasuries, but Shakir Khan (early 18th century) joins them into one.

(8) 'Khazinah-i-sarf-i-khās' i.e., the Emperor's privy purse for his personal or household expenses. [This money was disbursed by the Lord Chamberlain ('Khan-i-saman') and not by the Emperor with his own hands].

(9) 'Bait-ul-māl.' Here the properties of persons dying without heir were kept, with a view to afterwards spending them for the relief of the people in general. According to the Quranic law, the Emperor could not touch any part of this money for his own use.

The other three treasuries, as we know from the 'Ain-i-Akbari,' were :—

(10) Treasury of precious stones,

(11) Treasury of gold ware, and

(12) Treasury of inlaid jewellery.

Two Marathi works, namely the *Sabhasad Bakhar* (written in 1694) p. 95

and the *Chitnis Bakhar of Shivaji*, (written in 1810), p. 76 give a different list of the twelve, which is partly due to their writers having made a confusion between treasuries and stores and partly also to the probability of the Maratha administrative system having been in some respects a departure from its Mughal model and exemplar. These are called the 'Bārā Mahāl or Kosh' and named fota, saudagari, palki, kothi, imarat, paga, seri (or 'sair-i-bagh') daruni, thatti, tankshal or mint, chhabina, and bahili (variant, 'jamdarkhana' or wardrobe).

Now, here 'paga' (which means cavalry) is clearly a mistake for 'baqaya' or arrears collected; 'bahili' is 'bahlah,' a Hindi word meaning the privy purse, (see 'Ain,' i. 15); 'chhabina' is a Marathi word meaning a guard of horsemen, and I take it to be a loose translation of 'rikab' or the stirrup, which, as we have seen above, designated the Emperor on the march; 'fota' stands for the general cash treasury; 'daruni' is 'andaruni' or the harem treasury.

The rest are stores and not treasuries at all. 'Sair-i-bagh' means excursion to pleasure gardens, and I doubt whether a special treasury was kept to supply the expenses for this purpose. 'Thatti' is explained as cow-pen.

The *Zawabit-i-Alamgiri*, folio 132b, names 24 treasuries, of which one is the General Treasury, and five others are included in the above list, while 18 are different. These last are the sub-treasuries for 'ashrafis' (gold coins), the Lady Begams, fines, 'rās-mahāl, dām, āhādīs, shagirdpesha,' (menial servants), substitute for jagir, topkhanah, (artillery) record offices, qular Haidarabadi, food of cattle, confiscated property ('āmuāl'), rewards, cash ('mublaghi'), perquisites of the clerks of elephant-stables, total expenditure ('kharch-i-kul'), and one illegible item.

From the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* (ii. 119) we learn that the provinces had only four treasuries, viz., (a) 'Khazinah-i-āmarā,' also called 'bait-i-khiraj' or house of land revenue from the crownlands, tributes

and duties on the goods of Hindus, &c., (b) 'Khazinah-i-baqaya' or dues for 'taqavi' tribute, &c., (c) 'Khazinah-i-sadqa' containing the *tithe* of 2½ per cent., from Muslims and (d) 'Khazinah-i-jaziya' or poll-tax on the Hindus.

### III

In popular parlance there were 12 treasuries and 36 'karkhanahs,' as we find even in Shakir Khan's memoirs. The Marathi histories cited above mention only 'karkhanahs,' though these two works do not agree with each other as to their names. The 'Zawabit-i-Alamgiri' gives a list of 69 'Karkhanahs,' but, on account of the bad writing of the MS. several of the names cannot be read. 'The Ain-i-Akhari' separately describes 26 of the 'karkhanahs' and indirectly or briefly refers to 10 others, making a total of 36 'karkhanahs.'

Before examining these lists critically and enumerating the stores and offices separately from the workshops or true 'karkhanahs,' I shall describe the working of these State-factories.

Shams-i-Afif writes thus about Firuz Shah's 'karkhanahs' from personal observation: "The Sultan had 36 'karkhanahs' and tried his utmost to collect materials in them, each of them being filled with many kinds of valuable goods and things,—[i. e. plants, furniture and materials],—the number of which cannot be computed. .... Every year a large sum of money was spent in each 'karkhanah.' Some of these stores were 'rātibi,' i. e., they had fixed annual money grants; such were the elephant stables, cavalry stables, mule stables, camel stables, kitchen, lamp-room, butlery, and mattress store.\* One lakh and sixty thousand 'tankas' per month was the fixed grant of these 'rātibi' stores taken together, besides the price of their plant and the wages of their accountants and other officers,—making a total of one lakh and sixty thousand silver 'tankas'.....In

\* I read *ashtar khanah* for *shāarb khanah*, and *tushak khanah* for *sig-khanah* of the printed text. An orthodox Muhammadan like Firuz Shah could not have kept a kennel of dogs nor, at least publicly, a winecellar, as the text ascribes to him.

the 'ghair-ratibi' karkhanahs,—such as the 'jamdar khana, ilm khana, farash khana, rikab khana,' &c.—the expenditure every year varied with the amount of the new goods ordered to be made in each ('farmaish').....Each karkhanah was placed in charge of a great lord ('Khan') or notable chief ('malik')...A general Superintendent ('mutasarrif') was placed over them all, and he was Khwajah Abul Hassan...When the Sultan wanted anything to be made, he first of all wrote to this general superintendent, and the latter sent the order to the superintendent of the karkhanah concerned, and the work was very quickly done....Each Karkhanah had a number of accountants." Afif's 'Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi,' text, 337-339.

This Sultan had a standing order that when there were any workmen out of employment in the city, they were to be sent to him. The prefect of police used to inquire through his subordinates in each ward, and bring such unemployed men to the Sultan, who used to give them work in his 'karkhanahs' or in the offices of his ministers or in the households of the nobles, according to their capacity and desire (*Ibid*, 334).

The Arab geographer Dimashki writes, "The Sultan has a manufactory in which 400 silk-weavers are employed, and where they make stuffs of all kinds for the dresses of the persons attached to the Court, for robes of honour and presents, in addition to the stuffs which are brought every year from China, Iraq, and Alexandria. Every year the Sultan distributes 200,000 complete dresses..... Dresses are also distributed to the [Muslim] monasteries and hermitages.....

"The Sultan keeps in his service 500 manufacturers of golden tissues, who weave the gold brocades worn by his wives or given away as presents to the nobles and their wives." (Elliot, iii. 578.)

#### IV

In the middle of the 17th century, the French doctor Bernier saw these factories at work during his visit to the Mughal capital. He writes: Within the fortress, "large halls are seen in many places, called

'karkhanahs' or workshops for the artisans. In one hall embroiderers are busily employed, superintended by a master. In another you see goldsmiths; in a third painters, in a fourth varnishers in lacquer-work; in a fifth joiners, turners, tailors, shoemakers; in a sixth manufacturers of silk, brocade, and those, fine muslins of which are made turbans girdles with golden flowers, and [the fine] drawers worn by females.....beautifully embroidered with needle work.

"The artisans repair every morning to their respective workshops, where they remain employed the whole day; and in the evening return to their homes....The embroiderer brings up his son as an embroiderer, the son of a goldsmith becomes a goldsmith, and a physician of the city educates his son for a physician. No one marries but in his own trade or profession; and this custom is observed almost as rigidly by Muhammadans as by the Hindus." (Bernier, 259.)

In the provinces there were, State factories at Lahore, Agra, Fathpur and Ahmadabad as well as Burhanpur and Kashmir. The governors of the various provinces could not have maintained factories of their own, (except on a very small scale), as they were liable to frequent transfer. But they patronised local products as they had to supply the Emperor all the same with choice specimens of these. "The king and the princes keep officials in every one of these provinces, whose business it is to put in hand the best goods that can be fabricated in each place. With this object in view, they keep an eye continually upon what is being done in that respect" [by the local artisans]. (*Storia*, ii. 431.)

The development of Indian art industries under State patronage is thus described by Abul Fazl,—"His Majesty pays much attention to various stuffs .....Skillful masters and workmen have settled in this country, to teach people an improved system of manufacture. The imperial workshops, the towns of Lahore, Agra, Fathpur, Ahmadabad-Gujrat turn out many masterpieces of workmanship; and the figures and patterns, knots and

variety of fashions which now prevail, astonish experienced travellers.....(On account of the care bestowed upon them, the intelligent workmen of this country soon improved....The imperial workshops furnish all those stuffs which are made in other countries. A taste for fine material has since become general, and the drapery used at feasts surpasses every description. ('Ain.' i. 87-88.)

Masulipatam, long in the Golkonda kingdom, was the home of many artisans skilled in calico-printing, and we have letters in which Aurangzib, then viceroy of the Deccan, requests that some of these artisans might be sent to work in the State factory at Delhi or Agra. It was practically forced labour.

The lot of the labourers was not happy, nor conducive to the true economic development of the country. At the capital, which was the largest and richest city in the land, there were no private factories, no workshops owned and managed by skilful artisans on their own behalf. As Bernier rightly observes, "If the artists and manufacturers were encouraged, the useful and fine arts would flourish; but these unhappy men are condemned, treated with harshness and inadequately remunerated for their labour. The rich will have every article at a cheap rate. When an *umara* or *mansabdar* requires the services of an artisan, he sends to the bazar for him, employing force, if necessary to make the poor man work; and after the task is finished, the unfeeling lord pays not according to the value of the labour, but agreeably to his own standard of fair remuneration; the artisan having reason to congratulate himself if the *kora* (lash) has not been given in part payment. .... How then can it be expected that any spirit of emulation should animate the artist or manufacturer?.....The artists, therefore, who arrive at any eminence in their art, are those only who are in the service of the king or of some powerful *umara*, and who work exclusively for their patron." (Bernier, 255-256.)

V

The Mughal 'karkhanahs' can be classified into six groups :-

#### A. 'ANIMALS':—

1. Horse stables ('paga' or 'astabal-khanah'), described in 'Ain-i-Akbari,' i. 132.
2. Elephant stables ('fil-khanah'), 'Ain.' 117 and Marathi.
3. Cow-pens ('gao-khanah'), 'Ain.' 148 and Marathi.
4. Camel stables ('shutar-khanah'), 'Ain.' 143 and Marathi.
5. Mule stables ('astar-khanah'), 'Ain.' 152; in 'Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi' and 'Zawabit' easily misspelt as 'sher-khanah.' Marathi has 'sheri.'
6. Deer-park ('ahu-khanah'), 'Ain.' 221.
7. Menagerie of tame hunting animals ('shikar-khanah'), 'Ain.' 282—, and Marathi.
8. Hunting leopards ('chita-khanah'), 'Ain.' 285. 'Zawabit' gives a reading, which looks like 'chela-khanah,' meaning the department of slaves.
9. Aviary for falcons ('qush-khanah'), 'Ain.' 293.

#### B. STORES, which were mere collections of things manufactured elsewhere :—

10. Royal insignia ('qur-khanah'), 'Ain.' 50.
11. Arsenal ('silah-khanah'), 'Ain.' 109; Marathi.
12. 'Palki-khana'; Marathi.
13. 'Chandol-khanah' or sedan-chairs.
14. 'Rath-khanah' or carriages. Marathi.
15. Portable throne or litter ('takht-i-rawan').
16. Candle sticks and lamps ('shama' and 'chiragh'), 'Ain.' 48.
17. Torches ('mashal').
18. Library ('kitab-khanah').
19. China ware ('chini-khanah').
20. 'Khilat-khanah,' or store of dresses of honour intended for distribution.

#### C. 'FACTORIES':—

21. Carpets ('farash-khanah'), 'Ain.' 53 and Marathi.
22. Wardrobe or mattresses ('toshak-khanah'), 'Ain.' 87. 'Jamdar-khanah' in Firuz's history and Marathi.
23. Harness, saddles and bridles



( 'zin-khanah' ). I am doubtful whether these formed a separate department.

24. 'Kar-karāq-khanah.' Explained by Blochmann as evidently meaning the wardrobe, though he admits that he could not find this word explained in any Turki, Persian, or Hindi dictionary. But this interpretation is untenable, as the 'Zawabit' (14 a) mentions 'Karkarqi' as a branch of the department of plates and saucers.

25. Bedding and advance-tents for the Emperor's journeys ( 'bistar-khanah' and 'pesh-khana' ).

26. Apparel of children ( 'rakhwat,' wrong plural of 'rakht' ).

27. The same of 'khawases.' But elsewhere the *Zawabit* (14 a) speaks of 'rakhwat' or trappings for (a) leopards, (b) elephants, (c) the 'haveli' and (d) the 'barish-khana' or monsoon-house.

28. Goldsmiths' department ( 'zargar-khanah' ), 'Ain.' 18.

29. Blacksmithy ( 'ahangar-khanah' ).

30. Jewellery store ( 'jawahir-khanah' ), 'Ain.' and Marathi.

31. Goldware ( 'tela-alat' ).

32. Silverware ( 'nuqra-alat' ).

33. Inlaid ware ( 'murassa-alat' ).

34. [?] Copperware and Cauldrons.

35. Gold embroidery ( 'zardozi-khanah' ).

36. Ivory work ( 'dandan-i-fil' ).

37. Setting shells ( 'khatambandi-khanah' ).

38. Perfumery ( 'khush-buh-khanah' ), 'Ain.' 73.

39. Rose-water department ( 'gulāb-khanah' ).

[ If rose-water was included in the general perfumery department, then I am inclined to read the expression as 'kalā-want-khanah' or State musicians' department. Aurangzib however broke up this establishment some years before the *Zawabit* was written in its final form. ]

40. Oil or ghee ( 'raughan' ).

41. Mint ( 'dar-ul-zarb' ), 'Ain.' 16 ; Marathi.

42. Paintings ( 'naqash-khanah' or 'taswir-khanah' ), 'Ain.' 107.

43. Dispensary ( 'dawai-khanah' or 'shafa-khanah' ), Marathi.

44. Shawls, 'Ain.' 91.

45. Cloth store ( 'kotha' or 'kuthi-parcha' ); Marathi.

This was quite different from the mahal of 'Kathra-i-parcha' mentioned in the 'Mirat-i-Ahmadi' (ii. 119 ), as one of the sources of State income in Gujrat. It meant the custom duty on cloth, and this meaning comes out clearly from its popular title, 'mahal-i-sad-panj,' or the branch of five per cent, because in Aurangzib's reign the rate of duty on goods sold was 5 per cent for the Hindus, 3½ per cent for the Christians and at first 2½ per cent, then nothing for the Muslim traders.

D. 'OFFICES OR DEPARTMENT'S of administration and court-life' :—

46. Band-room ( 'naqqar-khanah' ), 'Ain.' and Marathi.

47. Artillery ( 'top-khanah' ), including all classes of fire-arms and munitions.

The Marathas had a separate store for gun-powder, called 'daru-khanah.'

48. Buildings department ( 'imarat-khanah' ); 'Ain.' 222.

49. Records ( 'daftar-khanah' ), Marathi.

50. Emperor's chapel ( 'ja-namaz-khanah' or 'tasbih-khanah' ).

51. Store-room for heirless property ( 'kotha-i-bait-ul-mal' ).

52. Sales department ( 'ibtia-khanah' ).

The Marathas had a 'saudagari kosh,' to designate this.

53. Alms-houses ( 'balghur-khanah' or more correctly 'langhar-khanah' ).

54. School ( 'talim-khanah' ). In Firuz Shah's time called 'ilm-khanah.' A Maratha historian translates 'talim-khanah' as the wrestling school.

55. Department of hire and wages, ( 'kiraya wa ajura' ).

56. Identification records of the army (?) ( 'chihra baqi-khanah' ).

57. Games ( 'chaughan, chaupar,' &c. ) 'Ain.' 297—307.

[ In the 17th and 18th centuries there was a department called 'Bewa-khanah' for the maintenance of the widows of the Emperors, who lived in the Sohag-pura suburb of Delhi. ]

E. 'THE EMPEROR'S PERSONAL SERVICE' :—

58. Kitchen ( 'matbakh' or 'bawarchi-khanah' ), 'Ain.' 57 ; Marathi.

59. Drink or butlery ('abdar-khanah'). 'Ain.' 55 ; Marathi. Some Persian works read 'sharbat-khanah,' some 'sharab-khanah' but the latter term cannot here mean a wine-cellar. The Marathi histories have 'sharbat-khanah' and also 'daru' or 'sharabi-khanah.'

60. Fruits ('mewah-khanah'), 'Ain.' 64.

61. 'Bhanda-khanah' ?

62. 'Sahat-khanah' (conservancy or latrine).

F. 'MEANING OBSCURE' :—

63. 'Charandhar-khanah' (? 'chaupar-khanah').

64. 'Ālāmat-khanah.'

65. 'Kharch-khanah.'

66. 'Majmua-khanah' (? Miscellaneous).

The above five are given in the 'Zawabit,' which contains, in addition, nine illegible names of 'karkhanahs.' The Marathi histories add

67. 'Ambar-khana' or granary,

68. 'Zarayat' or 'jins-khanah' [this

'jins-khanah' would correspond to the 'ajnas' department in the Mughal empire, i.e., the store of things from which the mansabdars were supplied as part payment in kind.]

69. Theatre or 'natak-khanah,' besides the 'shahat-khanah' and 'sharbat-khanah' already noticed under other heads. The printed Persian text of Afif's 'Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi' gives nothing new except 'shakra-khanah' and 'zarād-khanah' (which I correct into 'nuqra' and 'zar-doz' respectively), and 'rikab-khanah,' and 'tasht-dar-khanah,'\* meaning the stores of trays and ewers, which are included by the 'Zawabit' in the kitchen department. In the 'Akhbarati-darbar-i-muala' we find two other names, 'shora-khanah' and what looks like 'balbali-khanah.'

[Patna University Readership  
Lecture, February 1921.]

\* *Tasht-dar*, a servant who pours water on the hands when washing ; an ewer-holder, also, *aftabchi*.

## PASSION-PLAYS—THE MOHURRUM AND THE RAM-LILA

TO recall some great ancient tragedy possessing a strong religious background is in conformity with human instinct and human nature. That is the explanation of passion-plays, the vivid dramatic representations of some past events which deeply stirred some community or a section of the human race, and the memory of which is unforgotten. The passion of Christ has occasionally been reproduced as a human drama in certain European countries but it has failed to become an institution or an annual or a periodical celebration, probably because the European temperament is different from the oriental and is not so deeply imbued with the gift of imagination and the strength of tradition. Of the two passion-plays mentioned in the heading of this article I have elected to place the Mohurrum first as it deals with an incident of comparatively

recent history and is celebrated in various countries, in fact, throughout the Islamic world. Another noteworthy fact is that the Mohurrum is celebrated during all seasons of the year on account of the Mussalmans observing the lunar month. There is difference of about ten days between the solar and the lunar years so that in a cycle of about 36 years the Mohurrum goes the round of all the seasons, winter and summer, the rains and autumn.

During the ten days of the Mohurrum the intense and moving tragedy of the fate of the martyr-brothers, Hassan and Hussein, becomes once again a living and throbbing reality, a passion that fills the heart of every follower of Islam. Mussalmans in all countries are plunged into the profoundest mourning and there is weeping and wailing in every household. The whole tragedy, the betrayal of the youth-

ful, heroic brothers, the march in the desert, the perching thirst without a drop of water to allay it, all come back as a thing of yesterday and wring the hearts of millions of the Faithful. The unreality of the drama merges into the reality of feeling, there is no simulation of grief but the actual passion and exaltation of the most poignant sorrow, the heart-rending experience of a loss and bereavement just sustained. There are no play-actors but genuine mourners whose heart-strings are racked and drawn taut by the intensity of grief. As men and women beat their breasts and the lamentation of "Hai Hassan! Hai Hassan!" is taken up by the slowly moving throng, wave after wave of passion and grief surges through the mass of moving humanity and rises stinging to the stars. Fair-skinned, bare-bodied men follow the charger Duldul; men wild-eyed, haggard and passion-stricken, carrying knotted iron chains with which they beat their backs and breasts till the skin breaks and blood spurts out in a crimson current. Women beat their breasts till the flesh is swollen and is covered with blue and black welts. It is no melodrama or open-air acting, but the very frenzy and apotheosis of passion and grief.

Year after year this tremendous passion play is repeated wherever Mussalmans are to be found and it helps to knit closer the bonds of Islam and to perpetuate the memory of a common grief. It is passion-play at its purest and highest, a sense of impersonal grief which is intensified and exalted into a personal loss, an humbling and a chastening of the spirit which cannot fail to leave an abiding impress on the character of those who partake in this festival of tears. When men marvel at the solidarity and strength of Islam and the recurring recrudescence of Pan-Islamism they overlook the annual amalgam of the Mohurrum which brings all Mussalmans throughout the world under the deep shadow of a grief coeval with the faith preached by the Prophet of Arabia. In this instance sorrow shared is not sorrow soothed but heightened and deepened by the volume of grief. The call to prayer from a thousand minarets is a daily pro-

clamation of faith; the Mohurrum carries the Faithful through the vale of tears and the shadowland of sighs. It is not kinship of race that holds Islam together but the priceless heritage of a holy grief sanctified by centuries of passion and vivified and visualised by an annual celebration in which the coffin of the martyr heroes is the most prominent emblem as representing the actual presence of the long dead. There is nothing like it in the whole range of religious and national festivals, nor is there another instance of a universal outburst of grief repeated every year in memory of two young warrior brothers who died several centuries ago. The Mohurrum is distinctive of Islam and exercises a potent influence in preserving the individuality of the followers of that religion.

The Ram Lila brings back a period when history was not and everything was shrouded in the mist of mythology. The Ramayana is the greatest and most ancient among the epics and the Ram Lila is the animated and living representation of the chief incidents of that lofty work. Were the characters portrayed in the Ramayana mythical personages, men and women and monkeys and demons that never existed except in the imagination of the Rishi-poet Valmiki, the supreme master of song, the creator of the loftiest and purest human ideals in the entire range of literature? The many millions of men and women in India who call themselves Hindus neither know nor care. To them every name and every character in the Ramayana bears the stamp of the living truth and no power and no persuasion on earth can convince them that the main story of the Ramayana is a fable, or that Rama and Sita and the rest of the host in the epic never lived in this ancient land and breathed the air that sustains us to-day. And it is good for their soul that it should be so. If by any conceivable manner of means the faith in the reality of the Ramayana as a narrative of persons who existed in the flesh and of events that actually happened were lost, the ideals of thousands of centuries would be shattered and the Hindu Pantheon would be depleted of its

brightest figures. There is however no occasion for conjuring up a contingency which will not arise so long as the Hindu race endures and it has already survived many other ancient races. Unlike the Mohurum the Ram Lila is not a passion-play of a memorable tragedy and an overpowering grief but a dramatic representation, without the actual words of a drama, of the leading incidents of a great epic, the lessons of which have penetrated Hindu society through and through for thousands of years. The Ram-Lila, which is performed in September-October every year, familiarises millions of spectators from Calcutta to Peshawar in north India with the main events of the Ramayana from the childhood of Rama to the death of Ravana, the ten-headed demon King of Lanka, whose huge paper effigy disappears in a final blaze of fireworks. The marriage of the boy Prince Rama with Sita, his exile to the forest, the meeting with Hanuman, the chase of the golden antelope, the abduction of Sita by Ravana in disguise, her captivity in the Asoka forest of Lanka, Lakshman's battle with Meghnad, the fall

of Kumbhakarna and, lastly, the defeat and death of Ravana are crudely but vividly enacted during the ten days of the Ram-Lila, and men, women and children eagerly discuss the events from day to day. For educative purposes the Ram-Lila is of the highest value. For spectacular effect scenes of recent history are occasionally superimposed on the fabric of the Ram Lila in the Ramdal at Benares and Allahabad, and a figure of the famous Rani of Jhansi at the head of her troops has been seen taking part in the procession. This however does not detract in any way from the absorbing interest in the Ram-Lila itself and is merely a picturesque invention to please the sightseers. There are other great epics in other parts of the world but they have not entered into the life of a nation in the same way as the Ramayana. The Ram-Lila is a passion-play to recall annually to the populace the story of the Ramayana, but the book itself and the characters depicted in it are part and parcel of the life of the nation and among its most priceless and cherished heritages.

N. GUPTA.

## "THE RISING TEMPER OF THE EAST" : BY FRASIER HUNT

IT is not often that one sees an adequate review of a book in one sentence, but the Times reviewer of "The Rising Temper of the East" has given such a summing-up when he describes this book as "a vital and arresting and well-balanced picture of one billion fellow-beings struggling for what all mankind desires."

The author of this book says he is a reporter, an idealist, and—when it comes to the future hopes of the common people—a sentimentalist. His book is what one might expect from such a source. He said of a wonderful night spent among the farmer-fighters of Siberia. "There was a story in every soldier there and a novel in every leader at the table." So one might say paraphrasing his words, of "The Rising Temper of the East"—there is a quotation on every page, and a review in every chapter.

Mr. Hunt is not afraid of the word "social" or any of its derivatives. He talks unreservedly of social unrest and political revolution. He

finds Asia seething with revolt, but one is forced to the conclusion that he fails to appreciate the fact that underlying the unrest and the revolution there is a wide-spread spiritual revolt—the revolt of all Asia against the crass materialistic Mammon-worship that fruited in the tragic world-war and the more tragic peace. He falls into the error of nine hundred and ninety-nine out of a thousand Westerners when he visualizes Asia as a whole in need of "Christian standards and ethics and codes." This, in the light of the experiences of the past eight years—with the apostasy of the Christian church still in mind—is difficult to understand ; and leads one to wish that instead of expressing concern as to "China's soul" Mr. Hunt had manifested a bit of concern about the soul of a country, that upholds mass-murder and lynchings its Negro citizens by the hundreds every year. One wishes, too, that the "untouchables" of this country were as evident to this ordinarily keen observer as the "untouchables" of India

in which case he would not speak of our "gentler social system" and declare in favor of another generation of our rule in the Philippines.

The author's characterization, too, of British rule in India as a "fair rule", as clean, efficient and honest—comes with something of a shock from one who is usually so penetrating and understanding; but this is on a par with his idea that India is "spiritually unready" for self-government. To some of us the nations that stage-managed the most horrible war and the cruellest blockade in all history cannot stand comparison, spiritually speaking, with a nation that has produced a Gandhi. To put it in plain English, Frazier Hunt along with millions of Americans needs to pluck the beam out of his own eye that he may see to locate the mote in his brother's eye. But this is not to say that this man has not seen for the most part clearly and estimated justly. He has. The signs of discontent and revolt against our arrogance and domination, he declares, are "danger signals" that the "conquering West" cannot afford to ignore. If the West be wise, he says, "...it will shift its course while there is yet time. But if it stumbles on, ignoring these danger-signals, the day will come when the work and profits of four hundred years will be swept away."

Asiatics remind us that as sure as this is the day of the conquering West, to-morrow will be the day of the conquering East, and they remind us—as does Mr. Hunt—that the onward movement of Asia is a "youth movement." The latter tells the story of a primary school boy of Korea, with his little heart so full of the national fight for independence that he sat up in bed, dreaming, and crying "Mansai"—Liberty forever! This calls to mind the children of India and Egypt whipped off the streets and even jailed for shouting "Gandhi ki jai" or for hailing the name of Zaghul Pasha, and there come to mind the words—"When the youth of a land dream of independence, the days of foreign domination are numbered." Perhaps it is because in his heart the author of the "Rising Temper of the East" believes this, that he has given us such a thoughtful and true picture of the altogether remarkable students' movements of the various Eastern countries. The fires of revolution in some of the youth, the author says, is only a dull glow—in others it is a "flaming spirit that never can be put out." The "flaming spirit" he found everywhere in India; and in a way the best chapter in this thought-provoking, informative, and truly absorbing book, is the one devoted to India and Mahatma Gandhi who is leading the bloodless fight for freedom there. Mr. Hunt heard the "sullen muttering" of India, he sensed the new spirit of awakening manhood, and he felt the influence of Gandhi's militant pacifism wherever he went—from the Deccan to the Himalayas—among Indians of whatever

type, "untouchable" or intellectual, prince, pauper or priest. He could not but recognize the immense potential strength of a great people whose leader has proclaimed far and wide—"Let not our rock be violence and devilry: let our rock be non-violence and godliness."

Mr. Hunt pictures this "strange, shrunken, little man whom 306 million worship"—this Mahatma "with eyes that were deep with pity and love and burning bright with a great purpose" as one who is shaking the world with a new idea. To him this "Great Soul" is a fighter who is enlisting the souls and hearts of men to break the power of machine-guns—a statesman who is successfully challenging the "divide and rule" policy of the English—a commander who is leading the greatest army in history. The paradox of a saint leading the greatest political movement of all time—of a revolutionist pleading for non-cooperation plus non-hate and non-revenge, is to him a paradox that only the East could understand; but the new spirit of the East has so possessed Frazier Hunt that he does understand it and he declares that "teachers, doctors, mission workers, engineers, organizers—all must be the bearers of this wonderful new idea—the idea of the soldier who will one day 'conquer' the world through kindness and gentleness and generosity." For he realizes Gandhi's influence and he sees the Mahatma's program as a bulwark against the violence that the white peoples in Asia have long anticipated and talked of in whispers—the time when the East should "break loose."

This man who has travelled so widely and reported so vividly has seen that we in the West have too long ignored the hopes and fears, the dreams and aspirations, the struggles and the battles of the men and women that make up the awakening East. He has fraternised with the common people—the Philippine taos, the Indian ryots, the Egyptian fellahs, the Siberian peasants, the Korean farmers—as well as the Mexican peons and the Haitian habitants—and it is plain that he takes always the side of the oppressed "who don't want and won't have our civilization shoved down their throats with bayonets," when there is a better way—Gandhi's way! More than this, he sees them finally victorious—these every-day common people who are "sick and tired of being the under-dogs,"—he visualizes them getting more rice, better homes, and all the precious things of real freedom; and he sets down his conviction that these will be "glorious days," after the white man's domination shall have ceased. "The East," he says, "will take from the West our genius for organization, our inventions, our science and some of our ethics: she will give back much of her priceless philosophies, her meditation, her arts." "It will be a fair exchange," he declares, "and a better, finer East will result,—and a wiser, more tolerant West."

BLANCHE WATSON.

## ALSACE

**A**S Louis the fourteenth, King of France, came for the first time to Alsace, he stopped on the hills at Severne, and looking down on the cultivated land, spread as a carpet at his feet, on the red-roofed villages, the white road winding through fields and orchards, the vines climbing up the hills, on the one-spired cathedral, on the silver line of the Rhine flowing swiftly from south to north with the blue screen of the mountains far away against the sky :

"A beautiful garden," said he. Many a traveller has thought so. Yet the poetry of Alsace is less in its landscape beautiful as it may be, than in its long, still vivid past.

The land is full of it. Many tokens remain of centuries gone by. The smallest village is proud of some wooden window-frame, carved four hundred years ago, and showing the same designs, beasts, human features or grapes, as those one can see on the porch of the many Roman churches.

Others have still their old gates opening on grey rough walls. Cabbages grow in the ditches, and a bunch of red geranium may be seen at the narrow loophole where sentry kept watch night after night.

Ruined towers, high on the mountains, speak of the time when each bit of land was ruled by its own master,—the old people in Alsace know many tales about them—higher still, the Celtic walls remind of still older time. And, on the smooth, scented grass, priests of a forgotten race have sung hymns to the rising sun and worshipped their unknown gods.

Each castle, each little town, even a wood, a mere bush, has its legend, truth or dream, the fairies, the "white ladies" who are the French Apsaras, dance and smile in the moonlight. Sometimes one

of them will slip to the lonely cottage and finish the work left undone.

If the men who carved the wooden frames, those who mastered the land or who built the churches would come back to Alsace, they would perhaps find less difference than in most other places in occidental world.

Fall, heavy Alsatian peasants have still got the same tools, the same houses, the same soul. Girls wear the big black bow on a silver or golden cap; and, on Sundays, in full dress, the green or scarlet skirt, the little embroidered bodice, trimmed with silver lace and spangle, silk apron, silk neckerchief, or the snow-white linen collar.

At the "messti", the annual feast, or at some village wedding, they look like gorgeous flowers.

There are some curious old customs kept at those Alsatian weddings: Bride and bridegroom, as a rule, are not from the same village. First the bridegroom will come riding, surrounded by his many friends. At the village gate other young men are waiting: neighbours, cousins of the bride, pretend not to let him go. The bridegroom has to pay a fee. Now, he can ride on to the house where she is waiting for him, dressed as described above; but the black bow on her head is to-day a spangle crown.

Such weddings last two to three days. After the church ceremony, dances and dinner take place; then the endless, costly meal, perhaps a walk in the wood, a pilgrimage at Saint-Odilia, the beloved and renowned convent, high up in the Vosges mountains.

At last, when friends have gone, the new husband will take his wife to their new home. She has been there already, to carry her furniture, sitting herself on the cart with the big cupboard, the chest,



Alsatian Women in their National Dress.

the wooden bedstead, kitchen pans, above all the spinning wheel.

They are going to be from hence master and mistress of the place. So is the old unwritten law. When son or daughter marry, the parents give over the farm, house and herds, and vines and harvest. They will be kept in some remote room, with a plate on the table, and a seat at the fire.

This new home of our bride is probably to be of a very old style. Long wooden galleries run under the heavy roof. If a huge stork-nest is built on the highest chimney-top, people will rejoice about it as a good omen. Very few, however, can boast of it. There is only one nest in each town or village, often on the church itself. Every child in Alsace will tell you that the long-legged stork-bird brings new babies to young mothers.

Let us enter into the farm. The hall, with white-washed walls, is surrounded by a bench. If it happens to be winter-time, the big iron oven keeps it warm. On the

cupboard, plates and jugs of white tin shine like silver. The clock, higher than a man, is beating time in its wooden shelter.

This room is the living room. The family, three times a day, takes meals at this square table. The children, coming back from school, have to learn their lessons there. The mother sews at the window, and the grandmother may spin. Here go on daily work, midday rest, and evening prayer.

Wooden posts and a heavy curtain separate this place from the bedroom. There also you will find good and old furniture, the beds, the chest of drawers, the floors even shining. Generations of women day by day polished it, proud to see it glitter.

But the new household goods, the mahogany bed with the white knitted counterpane and the red heavy quilt, are kept in an upper room, the best of all, the guest-room. Alsatian people know how to show hospitality.

Very often on the wall, you will see an old picture of Emperor Napoleon, always popular in Alsace. Fifty years ago, many old men would have told you how they followed him in Egypt, Austria, Spain and of the fearful retreat, coming back through Russian snow.

If the family is a Roman Catholic one, the last Pope, the Holy Virgin, will be hanging on the wall; sometimes Saint Odilia, guardian saint of this land. You will know her by her book on which are painted two eyes. If the people are Protestant, a huge Bible in black cloth will rest upon a shelf. Little children have learnt to spell in it, old men and women have bent reverent heads over those leaves. Here are written down the births and marriages and deaths, the joys and sorrows of life.

Pictures and Bible are not the only signs that reveal Protestant or Catholic faith, those two sides of Christian creed. Catholic girls wear red skirts, Protestants green ones. Some villages on "messi" day look like a field of poppies, others like a meadow in early spring. More often the two colours



Alsatians Dancing.

are mixed, and sometimes even the same church will be used for both religions. After the Catholic priest has been celebrating Mass and his congregation is gone, the Protestant clergyman will preach to his own flock.

If old costumes and religious faith are part of Alsatian life, above all in Alsatian hearts there is a great love for their own country, a wonderful knowledge of its past history.

Nearly every man or woman will tell you about the time when Alsace was a part of the Roman empire of the first French kingdom; how later on many masters quarrelled to rule over the land. They will tell you how the towns fought for their own liberty, and burned down the grim old castles nestling amidst rocks and pines.

Even the little children know of that fearful winter, sixteen centuries ago, when barbarians from the east came over the frozen Rhine to make a wilderness of an once prosperous country. Of the French Revolution when at Strasbourg Rouget de l'Isle sang for the first time his fiery "Marseillaise", which ought to have been called the Strasbourgeoise,

the old, beloved hymn, that for fifty years people had to keep silent, as a captive bird, in their heart.

The hymn then came out like the voice of the country itself, when, in the last days of a sunny autumn, only three years ago, the Allied Armies came there amidst cheers of welcome and tears of joy, bringing justice and freedom.

#### SAINT ODILIA

##### An Alsatian Legend.

It was early in Christian time about fifteen hundred years ago. Alsace was just recovering from the terrible shock of barbarian invasion. A French king ruled the land, and under the king mighty lords. One of them, Duke Athic, held for his own the old castle Altitona or Hohen-Burg, once a Roman fortress, high upon the Vosges mountains.

He was a hard and fearless man. He possessed all that he could wish,—power, gold and costly weapons, farms and cattle, vines and fields, all but that one thing—a son, the thing he wanted above all.

At last his wife Bereswinthe gave him her first child, a daughter, and, still worse, a blind one.



"Let her go back to the devil who sent her," cried the father in his anger. "Throw her down from the Mennelstein."

He meant the big rocks which looked down as if they were giant towers on those deep, silent waves, the top of the huge pines.

Then a woman servant secretly came to Duchess Bereswinthe: "Give me the child, lady," she whispered. "I will carry her so far away that her father's anger shall not reach her. I will take good care of her."

The mother wept and submitted.

Through the stormy winter night, amongst snow and frost and darkness, the servant flew with the child. She walked and walked over the mountains, taking rest in woodcutters' huts. At last, stopped at Baume-les-Dames in far away Burgandy. There was a large nunnery and the nuns, for God's sake, kept the woman and the child.

So the little blind girl was brought up in the white, silent cloister, and the nuns called her Odilia.

When she was about twelve years old, a holy priest, Saint Leger, who had been a great statesman, baptised her, as was the custom. And, lo! when the holy water was poured on her head, suddenly her eyes opened. To her was given together spiritual and earthly light.

Years went on. Now duke Athic had three sons and two more daughters. He rejoiced over them, but poor Duchess Bereswinthe pined for her first-born.

Through her servant she heard once from the nunnery at Baume-les-Dames, how Odilia was kept there, and how she recovered her sight.

It happened that Athic's eldest son was as fearless as his father, but of a more gentle heart.

In spite of his youth Bereswinthe trusted him. Once she told him of her longing, of the poor, lonely exile, of his own sister, Odilia.

"Mother," said the boy, "I will go and bring your daughter back to you."

When Odilia heard, that she was the daughter of a mighty lord, a duke, ruling over men and lands, that she had to leave

her convent, she showed neither sorrow nor joy:

"Let God's will be done," said she; and pulling her veil over her face, she followed her brother.

They reached Altitona as Duke Athic was coming back a-hunting.

His keen blue eyes flashed on Odilia:

"Who is this girl?" asked he.

"My Lord," said the boy, "behold, your first-born daughter."

Athic frowned:

"She is dead. And she was blind."

"She was saved from death or evil. A miracle gave her back her sight."

"Who dare to contradict me," cried the Duke. "I tell you your sister is dead."

The boy laughed. Then, in a rage, Athic pierced him with his spear, his strong and sharp-edged weapon, still bloody with wolves' blood. Late in the night, Duke Athic looked over his castle wall. On the heather lay the dead boy. Nobody had been bold enough to take away the young corpse. At his feet, in the moonlight, a veiled figure was kneeling.

Then something like a remorse took hold of Athic's soul:

"Let her come in," said the father.

So was it that Odilia came back to her parent's home, not as a daughter, but as a servant.

Never did she complain, but willingly she chose to do the hardest work. Above all she loved to nurse the sick and the poor. Having nothing of her own, she gave them half of her meals.

The Duke of Allemania came one day to Hohenburg. Like his neighbour, Duke Athic, he was proud and powerful, and he owned a large land on the other side of the Rhine. For years they had fought and quarrelled; but now they were on friendly terms; and, to make peace more secure, the German was coming to ask for one of his last daughters as a wife.

"Willingly," said Athic. "I will give you Odilia, my first-born. She is meek and she is fair."

Cunningly he was thinking that each of his daughters could mean new allies and greater power, so that three were better than two.

Odilia was at once summoned before her father.

"From hence," said he, "I wish you to look like your sisters, to wear jewels and fine cloth."

"I am your servant," said Odilia. And she did as she was ordered.

Once more her father called her :

"Rejoice and praise me, my daughter. You are going to marry the Duke of Allemania."

"My Lord," said Odilia, "I am and wish to remain your servant."

"Nonsense," said the Duke. "You will be lady over many lands."

"Please, my Lord, this cannot be."

"And why not?"

"I cannot marry; I have devoted myself to God."

When Athic heard that Odilia wanted to be a nun, in his anger he groaned and swore.

"Remember your brother," cried he.

But Odilia had fled, she went into her little room, bare and humble like a cell.

She took away her jewels, her stately dress and coat. She put on her poorest frock. As she passed through the gates, the sentry did not stop her, seeing her so poorly clad, a little bundle in her hand, this man thought she was going on some charitable errand.

Odilia went down the mountain.

To-day still one can see the holes her fingers did in the sandstones, as her hands clasped them.

The first stars glittered in the sky. A long night, a still longer day. She went on, through woods and heather. At last exhausted she took shelter under a rock. Hours passed on, and she slumbered.

Suddenly, there was a clamour of voices, bellowing of hounds, the footsteps of many horses. She knew that Athic was near. Before she had time to hide, out he came from the thicket, his guests and men close behind.

He pointed towards the girl :

"There she is, take her."

Odilia fell down on the grass and prayed.

Over her, the big rock suddenly moved and divided.

Then, tenderly, like two arms, it shut itself upon the maiden.

Athic stood still and he gasped, a great fear overcame him.

"God is in the wood," thought he.

His men and the German fled, Athic went towards the rock :

"Daughter Odilia," cried he, "come out. On my head, no harm will befall thee."

Then the rock divided once more and Odilia came to him.

Athic was true to his word. Even more, he gave Odilia his castle Altitona to make a nunnery of it. Towers, fences were pulled down; churches, chapels and cloisters were built.

Pious girls came to live there under Odilia's rule. They fed the poor, the pilgrims; they prayed and they sang hymns.

Later on, a second convent was built at the foot of the mountain. It was called Niedermünster. Crippled and old people came there for shelter and bread.

One day, as Odilia went down to Niedermünster, she met a blind man on the path. He was a beggar and a pilgrim.

Odilia remembered the days when as a child she was herself wrapped in the dull, endless night.

A spring was bubbling at her feet, spreading out from sand and ferns. She took water in her palms, and washed the eyes of the blind :

"May God have mercy on you," said she.

And, as Odilia's eyes opened in the church at Baume-les-Dames, so was sight given to the man.

Since that time many a pilgrim has been cured at the holy spring.

So great was Odilia's fame that still more nuns came to her, women of noble birth, some even of royal blood. to live as servants of the poor.

Time went on, and Athic died. A great fear overtook Odilia, for the Christian faith is so, that in one short life a man must gain Paradise or be lost.

As she was kneeling by the altar, pray-

ing for her father's soul, a vision came to her. She saw Athic dragged into Hell, when the roaring flames were burning at their height.

She prayed and wept bitterly.

To-day still, people may see the pavement worn out by her tears.

At last, the unseen once more was disclosed to her. And this time she saw the Angels taking Athic's soul to heaven.

Hundreds of nuns were now living at Altitona. Kings and lords came there to beg for Odilia's prayers.

When she died, the whole country mourned over that great loss.

"Our mother has forsaken us," said the poor.

She was buried in the convent church, and when the nuns lifted her corpse, a

scent, like the fragrance of heaven perfumed the air. So all knew that indeed she had been a great saint.

Many years, centuries passed; as they once went to meet her at the cloister gate, so the pilgrims now go to her shrine.

Saint Odilia is not only in Alsace a holy figure worshipped for her faith and charity, but also the guardian saint of the land.

During the sad bygone days, when Alsace was suffering under hard German law, many a prayer rose to her for the freedom of the country; and the white convent on the mountains was looked upon by many a faithful heart, as a token of undying hope, of justice coming at last.

MARIE DIEMER.

## ON THE POTTERY OF MR. GURUCHARN SINGH

By E. E. SPEIGHT OF THE IMPERIAL UNIVERSITY, TOKYO.

SOME three years ago there came to the city of Tokyo a young man who, being accomplished as he was modest and unaffected, became a welcome figure in the artistic life of Tokyo. His white turban, black beard and distinguished Sikh features made him at once conspicuous, and he quickly began to win respect for social qualities, none the less engaging because of his quiet independence, and for a wide culture, Oriental and Western alike, rare in one barely out of his youth. His life had been spent largely in the uplands of Kashmir, where his father is a well-known Civil Engineer, and he often delighted his friends with his accounts of the exhilarating experiences of his youth in that romantic region, as well as with aromatic fruits and herbs which had made the three months' journey from Himalayan valleys to far Japan.

He soon won his way into mysterious coigns and coteries quite unknown to foreigners, and became intimate with Japanese craftsmen and critics at the very centre of things, men who most jealously guard their secrets from those who are lacking in the honour which true sympathy involves. Thus he underwent a discipline of the most valuable kind, for it is in Japan, more than in India and China even, that the artistic strength and devotion to ideals

which characterized the greatest periods of achievement of old in the Far East are still venerated and still form an integral part of the most vital elements of Japanese life.

In Japan pottery is a religion; the poetry of utensils connected with the tea ceremony is never exhausted. It is a religion of austerity, of casting aside all that is trivial, unessential or weakly sentimental, and of insistence upon a bold and upright self-declaration. Thus it is allied to the spirit that pervaded not only all the great artists of old Japan, but the priest and the warrior also. And it is precisely this spirit of what Mr. Gurucharn happily terms artistic morality that must come to the rescue of Indian and European art alike.

The first surprise which Mr. Gurucharn gave us was when he announced the nature of his ambition, to revive in India the ancient but decayed art of the potter, for this involved what must have been for him a considerable sacrifice, in so far as he, in the direct line of a proud and martial ancestry, had determined to set an example by becoming a simple craftsman. He entered himself as a student of the Higher Technical School, where he remained for over a year, studying the art in its various branches and in its relations with chemistry. In his leisure he associated himself with various groups



Pottery Prepared by Mr. Gurucharn Singh.

representing later developments of artistic culture, gaining a host of friends of many nationalities by his winning candour, his hospitality, and his deep interest not only in art, but in literature and religion. He became closely attached to Bernard Leach, an English potter who had done the most since the death of Ernest Fenollosa to bring about that most desirable synthesis of Eastern and Western art; and to Tomimoto Kenkichi, one of the leading young potters in Japan. From both of these men he received much direct and stimulating influence. He constantly availed himself of the many opportunities in Japan to investigate the fine arts of the Far East, and he travelled not only in this country but in Korea, visiting districts famous in the history of ceramics.

During last year he began to make experiments at a factory in the suburbs of Tokyo, and in the autumn went to Seto, near Nagoya (a district from which comes the word *setomono*, the generic term in Japan for pottery) to gain further proficiency. There he baked his first kiln of miscellaneous ware, and the result was so interesting that his friends in Tokyo advised him to hold a little exhibition. This was arranged for him by Mr. Awashima and Mr. Heibonji, two Japanese artists, and by Mrs. Raymond, a French lady married to a prominent Czech architect who is rapidly transforming the appearance of many parts of Tokyo by the private and public buildings he is

designing. The exhibition was held in the very centre of the city, and drew a constant stream of visitors for three days. It was a real surprise to everybody that at his first endeavour, and after such a brief apprenticeship, Mr. Gurucharn should have succeeded so well in an alien tradition. The accompanying illustration give but a poor idea of the interest of the Exhibition, though it clearly indicate the nature of the exhibits.

In the pieces illustrated here the influence of the priceless old Korean pottery is supreme. We see a return to a simplicity, in form and colour, that is almost primitive, with something of the great qualities of early art. To these Mr. Gurucharn has added suggestions of Indian and Persian origin which are quaint and by no means incongruous. The little work he has done is full of promise for his future in Delhi, where he will be established in practice by the time these lines appear in print. His progress will be eagerly watched from Japan, and we are all hoping that he will succeed in founding a vigorous school characterised by the best traditions of his own great land and of the other realms of Asia to East and West in whose art he is so deeply interested.

We in Tokyo are very sorry to lose him, for he has been one of the most active helpers in the cause of brotherhood between the people of the many nations represented here.

## HAGGLING OVER PRICES IN ANCIENT INDIA

BY VIDHUSEKHARA BHATTACHARYA OF VISVABHARATI, SANTINIKETAN.

**E**VEN at present haggling over price is in vogue to a large extent in our Indian markets. This practice in the land can be traced back to the times of the *Rigveda* (IV. 24. 9). It is stated there that once a seller received less price from a buyer for a commodity, the real price of which was much more than the price given. So he demanded more, saying that the article was not yet sold, and did not accept the low price. The poet here observes that persons, clever and unclever, thus first dispute (*dūni daksā vi duhanti pra vānam*) and then only receive what is finally settled at the time of actual sale.

The following extract from the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* (III. 3. 3, 1-4) will show that the practice of haggling rose to such a degree that it found its place even in Vedic ritualism. In the Soma sacrifice the priest (*Adhvaryu*) on behalf of the sacrificer is to buy Soma from a seller. The price is not settled until he asks the latter for the fifth time; and the manner in which it is effected is remarkable.\* The priest asks :

'Soma-seller, is thy King Soma for sale ?'

'He is for sale.'

'I will buy him of thee !'

'Buy him.'

'I will buy him of thee for one-sixteenth ( *Kalā* ) of a cow ;

'King Soma, surely, is worth more than that !'

'Yea, King Soma is worth more than that ; but great, surely, is the greatness of the cow. From the cow ( comes ) fresh milk, from her boiled milk, from her cream, from

her sour curds, from her sour cream, from her curdled milk, from her butter, from her ghee, from her clotted curds, from her whey.'

'I will buy him of thee for one hoof ( i. e., for one-eighth of a cow, each foot consisting of two hoofs ) !'

'King Soma, surely, is worth more than that !'

'Yea, King Soma is worth more than that, but great, surely, is the greatness of the cow.'

The priest, having each time enumerated the same ten virtues of the cow, says :—

'I will buy him of thee for one foot,'—'for half ( the cow ),'—'for the cow.'

'King Soma has been bought !' says the Soma-seller.†

The following observation on bargaining deserves to be quoted :—

'And because they first bargain and afterwards come to terms, therefore about any and everything that is for sale here, people first bargain and afterwards come to terms.'

Coming down to the Buddhist period we see in one of the *Jātaka* stories ( No. 1, Fausboll, Vol. I, p. 99 ) a very beautiful saying on bargaining. The line containing it runs thus :—

"*Agghatthapanam nīma manussānam jīvita voropanasadisam.*"

'The settling of price by men is a work similar to that of depriving one of one's life.'

Indeed, nothing better can be said of the trouble accompanying haggling and it clearly indicates the extent of it at the time when this remark was committed to writing.

\* This course of buying has been laid down in the *Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra*, VIII. 8. 1 seq., and it goes without saying that it is based on the following lines of the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*.

† The translation is by Eggeling *SBE*, Vol. XXVI.

## A POET OF LABOUR

**F**EW people in India are acquainted with the works of Pierre Hamp whose Gospel of Labour has for some years held the attention of the French public. Born a workman, he remained one until the age of 24, when, after attending an "Université Populaire" he became a railwayman rising steadily until he obtained the post of station-master. More study followed and after qualifying as Civil Engineer, he began to write and devoted his pen to what he calls "The Holiness of Labour." His books are the result of his personal experience and the assertion of his faith. Unfortunately many of his manuscripts and notes were destroyed in Lille during the War, ten years' work thus being lost.

The first of his books, "*La Peine des Hommes*" (1907-1909) published in the review "*L'Union pour la Vérité*" and divided into two parts: "*Marée Fraiche*" and "*Vin de Champagne*" shows the labour and pain connected with the supplies necessary to our daily life. We live on the sufferings of others: overworked train men, fish-packers with frozen fingers, worn-out glass blowers, "all earn their daily bread in discomfort, often in torture." We are so much accustomed to luxury and comfort that we have forgotten the price which must be paid for them, not by ourselves but by others. In the sensuous enjoyment of an exquisite meal, we forget "the cooks streaming with sweat, lifting from the stoves, faces with eyes half baked by the fire."

The next work, "*Le Rail*", is the story of the railroad with its continual strain and slavery, its sleeplessness and anxiety. A strike breaks out and when, after a hard struggle, the beaten men return to their work, in spite of their rankling sense of injustice, they find consolation in the expert handling of the old familiar tools and solace in the silent power of skilled labour. For notwithstanding its pain and fatigue, the worker loves his work.

In "*L'Enquete*" a rich Paris banker sends a young man of culture to an industrial city to prove that the earnings of the workman are sufficient to provide for the needs of a healthy life and that his poverty is the result

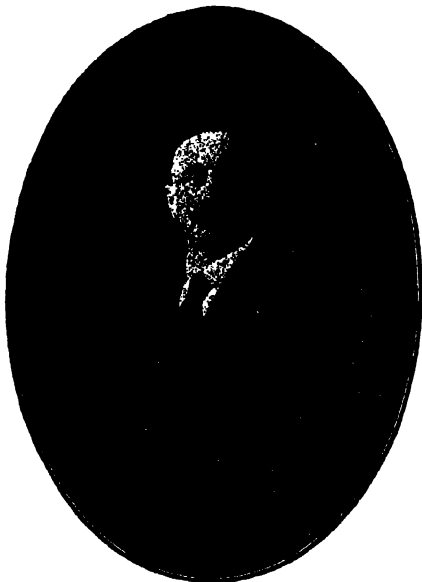
of his spending too high a percentage of his wages on pleasure." Here we find the most terrible pictures of the whole series. On one side, men whose only pleasure is drink and brutality, even cruelty, on the other, men who would sooner dole out their gains in charity than pay honest wages. The last appeal of the book is a heart-breaking one: "O God, strike this world with an angry star, destroy us, if we are eternally to be soul-dung to nourish prayer, flesh-dung to fatten the rich; O Spirit, dream of a world where nothing can be but Justice and Death."

Hamp's first book after the war was an epic of work in the War Zone—the Front of Labour—thus glorifying the heroic men and women who toiled night and day under almost continual bombardment. The daily routine goes on and the workers' thoughts are more of their task than of their possible death. Undismayed, they do their duty while the wheat comes out of the ground and the wings of the old mill are still moved, for "the plain, the wheat and the mill are invincible and war cannot conquer them." Under the stress of invasion and the pressure of increased production, work has everywhere attained a perfection of organization scarcely hoped for. From France, Land of War, will spring France, Land of Labour.

"*Les Chercheurs d'Or*" is the story of an international synoicate for the "working" of the poverty of Austria, for misery is a gold mine. The enemies of yesterday are forgetting their differences and their hatred, so as to make fortune out of human sufferings. The story of the poverty and agony of a large city is a singularly powerful one and Hamp has rarely reached such heights of realistic description as when speaking of the anguish and "insouciance" (carelessness) of Vienna.

We find in Pierre Hamp's last work "*Le Cantique des Cantiques*" a study of the production of perfume, from the flower-fields of Grasse to the dressing table of the woman of fashion.

We here again meet the author's favourite characters: under paid flower-pickers, over-worked perfume packers, all toiling for



Pierre Hamp, A Poet of Labour.

the rich few; and, not only flower-pickers who might find some consolation in the beauty of their surroundings, but men and women employed in factories, for many modern perfumes are produced from chemicals.

Thus the sweet odours which add to the charm and fascination of women are really the essence of the sweat and tears of the weary human beings.

Taken as a whole, Pierre Hamp's works might be termed the philosophy of labour; all sides of economic questions are studied in a scholarly manner, which, though often technical, is never didactic.

More especially interesting is the study of the "mechanization" of labour in which the author compares Ruskin the idealist to Taylor the practical man, whose system has been so successful in increasing production. The English dreamer, in spite of the fact that none of his ideas can be applied to modern industry, "has understood the great misery of man chained to joyless work."

Though foolish from an industrial point of view, the defence of handlabour was true when dealing with human happiness. Taylor, the American engineer, has erected a method which crushes in the spirit of the worker the last hope of finding joy in his labour. One is the poetical champion

of routine, the other the scientific accelerator of production. Ruskin's horror of machines once criticized, we must acknowledge that he was right when speaking of the suffering caused by the transformation of labour. Never has man been so miserable as he is to-day, not so much on account of the "mechanization" of labour which might have lightened his burden, as on account of its "acceleration". Modern work is perpetual strain and panting.

Some day Pierre Hamp wants to write the history of a rope of pearls, beginning with the divers in the gulf of Ceylon and ending in the jewellers' shops in the Rue de la Paix in Paris or the faith Avenue in New York. Before doing this, he hopes to go to India for information and local colour, but also attracted to the wonderful country by his appreciation of Rabindranath Tagore and the message he brings.

The French author's admiration for the Bengali Poet may be gauged from the following dedications culled from some of the works presented by him to the library of Shantiniketan:

"To R. Tagore in homage to the Poet and Liberator."

Again: "To Tagore, poet of the great sweetness and the great compassion, this book, wherein lives the misery and cruelty of man."

"To R. Tagore, hoping that work, today the oppressing demon of humanity, may some day become the God of its Salvation."

So we leave the Poet of Labour with the Poet of Light.

#### THE LABOUR OF MEN.

##### SONG OF SONGS.

\* \* \*

Theoule came down again, glad to have money in his pocket. From the high road one could see the flowery country as far as the Mediterranean and the Esterel. The hawthorn hedges, solid as walls, fortifying the lanes, bore on high stories, which receive all the sun, deep white tufts. Below, buds as green as the leaves, were cut as if by a white thread, by the flower ready to burst forth over the proud thorns. The wild bunches shed sweet-bitter scent on the sunny roads. The last flowers of the mimosa left some yellow in the country red with wild roses, geraniums, the first roses; and white with

the hawthorn, the marguerite plant and the fruit trees. On the cherry trees the bunches on the long stalks left room to see the branches, whilst the almond trees of which the leaves touched each other made a massive and trembling cloud over the gardens. In this enjoyment of the trees abundantly decked, the olives drooping with the weight of their black fruit gesticulated with their crooked branches, which seemed to indicate the suffering of vegetation. Waves of geraniums and wistaria climbed the barrier walls of the villas where the proud green palms were swinging. From the flowers at the side of the road to the last line visible at the end of this space made by the sea all was beauty and sweetness. On scanning the terraces, the distance contained enormous masses of different greens; olives, oranges, roses. The rocks above Grasse were black with pines. Below the town there grew in the watered country rich plants of fruit and flowers. In the olive plantations the field flowers abounded, sown by the caprice of seed and wind. Through the leaves, the light passed like bars of gold to touch the gay meadow. This youth of the grass under the gravity of the rough trees all lighted up seemed an entrance to paradise.

A field of beans spotted black and white was high on the terrace walled with grey stone which the ivy kissed roughly. The three-pronged fork of a peasant striking the red earth was heard regularly as a quiet breath. More sonorous blows touched the stones. This country with its dry and hard soil had not got the large tool with a straight iron, the spade of cold countries which is good to dig deeply into damp clay. Here the instrument was like a pickaxe for striking. The olives moving their tall branches at a breath of wind changed the pictures of light in the shaded field. The gestures of the trees spread over the buttercups, the white daisies and the blue bells. There was as great a richness of colour in the madness of the grass as on the terraces of the villas of which the vegetation spread over the walls. The long bloom of the wistarias like a blue wave crossing over a dike came down as far as the tufts of marguerites; parietaries ended this innumerable wave in pale froth. Under the almond trees the earth was

white with fallen blossoms. Far away the "Alpe Maritime" dipped its white spur in the dreamy water. Above the town of scent began the pine trees; higher lavender, then the great snowy mountains. A hundred kilometers of winding roads lead from the coast to the icy rocks through the flowery terraces. The jolt of a cart proved the hard surface of the stony road paved with unequal blocks from which the wheels came hammering down. Filled with empty sacks of orange blossom the conveyance eclipsed for a time all the other perfumes of the earth so much were the wood and the brown rags that it carried impregnated with scent. A country woman passed by with a severe countenance under a large straw hat. Her clothes discoloured by the sun were of the same gray as the old stones of the walls of the fields. Her thin hands with large wrinkles carried olive sticks to make a fire under her pignata. She dragged amid the great beauty of the flowery country the misery of her old body worn out with having worked so long on this land of flowers. This clear twilight lighted with emerald the shadow under the olives. As Theoule arrived on the road, Rene was squatted, crouched like a beast in its lair against a tree—the friend of his solitude.

\* \* \* \* \*

"Place des Cordeliers". Pairs of women workers from the scent factory carried deep baskets of orange blossoms. The balls of the players hindered their toilsome walk. Margarita said that at this spot which had become a recreation ground she had seen graves. The convent of the old town, formerly a bishopric, had been a place of burial. Margarita related that the excavators digging the foundations of the new theater had found cartfuls of skulls.

An old cemetery all grassy was under the church of the Oratory. Living and dead closely packed on this hill the hovel lent against the charnel house. The names of the streets "rue des Soeurs" "rue des Cordeliers" "rue de l'Oratoire" indicated the monastic population. In the "rue de l'Eveche" Margarita passed quickly notwithstanding Paul who was curious about the ancient residence of the ecclesiastical lords. He understood the bashfulness of the Italian woman to see the big number in the narrow leaning street where the princes of the church had lived. Margarita showed "l'houstou de



li Rouman" the house of the Romans, she said the most ancient in Grasse. The buildings solid as a fortress of the "rue Droite" with the best shops placed their back wall on a lane of sweepings. Columns with capitals ornamented the staircase going up to the Gothic hovels perpetuated in an ancient convent. The house of Queen Jeanne, 39 place aux Aires, spread out its steps on the six caryatides cut half way.

The old work-woman learned in the lore of the ancestors showed the sordid houses where had lived the families of Guigue, Massiera, whose descendants were living to-day in villas on the olive-covered hills. She praised their origin. "They are of Grasse" thus affirming that they came from the old town and that their great-grandfathers had amassed wealth in the bad smell amidst the dirt ; in this way was born their great fortune.

Seven in the morning, the country was already burning but, the old town remained cool in its courts where for a thousand years the sun had not penetrated. Some houses kept during the hottest summers the freshness of a grave. Under the cords stretched at the windows to dry the linen the Virgin who nestles in the holes of the walls blessed with a blue and gold gesture the rotten streets where the fountains resounded.

\* \* \* \*

[ Taken from Pierre Hamp's "Le Cantique des Cantiques" éditions de la nouvelle Revue Française, Paris, 1922.

Specially translated for The Modern Review by a member of the Association Française des Amis de l'Orient with the kind permission of the author ].

### SHRAVANBELGOLA

**O**N my first visit to Hassan, a district in Mysore State, I learnt that I was very near to a Jain temple of pilgrimage, which had excited wonder, admiration and reverence in the heart of travellers from as far as America, Italy and Switzerland. It attracts crowds of thousands from the north of India every year, who come all the way from Dehli, Ajmere and Ambala, to pay their homage to the huge Jain figure, 65 feet high, milk-white, which stands at the top of the Shravanbelgola hillock, surrounded by twenty-four Tirthankars.

Shravanbelgola, a solid piece of rock that forms centre of attraction to the pilgrims, is thirty miles from Hassan. One has either to engage a special car or the usual bullock cart to reach Shravanbelgola. For those who can walk the way there is a foot-path of 14 miles from Mandgiri Railway Station to the hillock. From a distance of 8 miles or even more you can observe the forehead, the eyes, the nose, the lips and the chin in the profile of the image, so beautifully and artistically carved, all in regular proportions. The small hill is a big piece of rock, with no earth or sand or plant or tree—all one solid crag. Visitors to the hill have to go bare-

footed. Thirty years ago there were no steps leading upto the image and the pilgrims had to climb up the precipitous steep which was not always without risk. A generous-hearted Gujrati lady deserves thanks of thousands for having met the cost of cutting out steps upto the top of the hill.

Rishabhadeva, a king, was the first Tirthankar of the Jains. According to the Jain traditions this first Tirthankar had two wives—Nanda and Sunanda. Nanda gave birth to Bharat and Bhramali, and Sunanda to Bhujawali and Sundari. At the death of the king, Bharat was installed on the throne, while Bhujawali was appointed governor of Taxilla. Bharat had a powerful disc with which he set on conquering the whole world and succeeded in the attempt. On his way back to his kingdom he found that the disc won't enter the capital. After a moment's thought he recollected that he had left his brother untouched and the disc won't enter the town till it had conquered Taxilla. And so Bharat declared war on his brother but the disc could not exercise its magic powers any longer, and Bhujawali came out victorious in the battle.

However, this incident left a permanent

impression upon the meditative soul of the governor of Taxilla, who seeing the vanity of the world and emptiness of the inglorious path of pursuit resolved to pass his remaining days in fast, penitence and meditation in some distant corner of the Himalayas. It was on Kailas, says the tradition, that this prince-hermit stood for full one year in nature's garb, without moving even an inch, without food or drink ; there he stood in the posture in which he is seen in the picture. As time passed, creepers began to cover his body and ant-hills grew up at his feet. Bharata, after hearing the accounts of his brother's renunciation, came and worshipped him and established his image at Podanapuri.

This tradition is connected with another tradition which is as follows :—

Chamunda Rai was the minister in the court of Raja Mall the 2nd, a king of Madura. One fine morning a travelling merchant from the north was brought in the presence of the king whom he gave a vivid description of the ways and manners of the people. In the course of his conversation he spoke of a huge image of Bhujawali, of 525 bow's height established by Bharata, Bhujawali's brother, in Podanapuri, some town in Northern India. The minister, who had grown grey in the king's service and was a Jain besides, took into his head to go on pilgrimage to pay his homage to the great image which, if true, was undoubtedly the greatest wonder of the world. He set off on his journey with his old mother and the family Guru and halted on his way at the hill very near the Shravanbelgola rock. Padmavati, the household goddess of Chamunda Rai, the minister, appeared to him in the dream and informed him that his death was very near, that he could not reach Podanapuri which was still a far way off, that a small image of Bhujawali was outlined in ancient times by Ravana at the top of the hill beside his residence and that he should shoot a gold

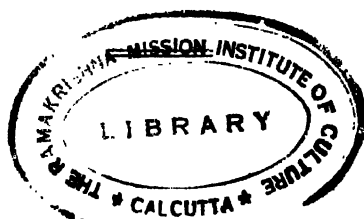


Bhujawali.

arrow to the south which will shatter all the cumbrous rocks which were keeping the outlined Bhujawali out of sight. In the morning Chamunda Rai related his dream to his Guru who also advised him not to continue his journey. A gold arrow was shot to the south which thunderingly struck the hill in the front and the outlined image of Bhujawali appeared at the top, shaking off all the small pieces of rocks that lay hiding the great Jain prince. Great artists were immediately at work and to this day we have a prodigious statue, not in honour of some king who returned from his princely spoils but in honour of him who reigned and renounced, standing stark naked in deep meditation ; not in some municipal garden of some modern city, but far away from the haunt of men.

This is the place called Shravanbelgola ( Shravan, i.e., Jain ; Belgola, i. e. white lake ; there is a white lake near the hillock ) : a Jain place of pilgrimage. Nobody knows where Podanapuri is.

SATYAVRATA SIDDHANTALANKAR.



## CORRESPONDENCE

**Calcutta Degrees and Foreign Degrees.**

SIR,

News has reached Calcutta that three scholars of the Calcutta University—Messrs. Snehmaya Dutt, Rabindranath Choudhury and Haraprasad Choudhury have been awarded the doctorate degrees of the London University.

Mr. Snehmaya Dutt, who is the first Indian after Sir J. C. Rose to receive the D.Sc. of London in Physics, is a first class M.Sc. of the Calcutta University and went to England three years ago as Palit foreign scholar. He worked on spectroscopy with Prof. A. Fowler of the Imperial College of Science, and for a short time with Prof. J. Franck of the University of Göttingen in Germany. He has published several important papers on spectroscopy and other subjects in the proceedings of the Royal Society, and the London Philosophical Magazine. His measurements of the wave lengths of the lines of Alkali metals are now quoted as standard works. He has recently made an important contribution to the theory of Spectral radiation.

Mr. Rabindranath Choudhury, who has been awarded the Ph.D. of London, is likewise a first class M.Sc. of the Calcutta University and went to England as Guruprasanna Ghosh scholar.

He worked with Prof. O. W. Richardson of the King's College, the creator of the important subject of thermionics, which is now having such wide applications in wireless telegraphy. Mr. Choudhury's work chiefly dealt with the omission of positively charged particles from heated metallic filaments.

Mr. Haraprasad Choudhury, first class M.Sc. in Botany and formerly Assistant in the Biological Laboratory of the University College of Science, worked with Prof. Farmer of the Imperial College on Plant Diseases and for some time worked at the Biologische Reichsanstalt, Berlin, Germany. He has received the Ph.D. degree in Botany.

There has been some feeling in the country that the Calcutta University degrees have been made too cheap. The three gentlemen mentioned above are holders of Calcutta degrees, but the fact that they have won the doctorate of London in the minimum time allowed by the rules will go some way in proving that the Calcutta degrees are quite as good as the final degrees of London, or Cambridge, and the education imparted by the Calcutta University enables one to proceed at once for the research degrees of Western Universities.

It may be noted here that very few English or Colonial students have been able to qualify for the doctorate within the minimum period of three years. This certainly tells in favour of the Calcutta students.

In this country foreign degrees are always prized much above their proper value. Instances are not rare where pole graduates of Cambridge and Oxford,

simple pass B.A.'s. and B.Sc.'s., graduates of obscure American Universities; (in their own country, they are sometimes known as Faquir institutions) have been selected for high educational posts in preference to real scholars,—holders of the doctorate degrees or P.R.S.'s of the Calcutta or some other Indian University.

It is not realised what an incalculable harm to the cause of education has been done by such undue preference of foreign degrees. It encourages quite a stupid lot to go to foreign countries, such men as have no chance in their own country, just for the sake of gilding their stupidity with the tinsel gloss of a cheap foreign degree, return to this country, secure a comfortable position (in which they are often preferred to people for whom they are not even fit to mend pencils) and then vegetate for the rest of their life.

It produces a bad effect even on some brilliant scholars who, properly guided, might have won laurels for their country, in the field of research which, by the bye, is regarded as the only criterion of scholarship in all European countries. An example will make this clear. The writer of this article has known two other scholars, having quite as brilliant records as any of the three gentlemen just mentioned, who are at present in England for study. They could have easily secured permission for taking a research course, and qualify for the doctorate. But being worldlywise, they would take no risk; they knew that a foreign degree, whether obtained at Cardiff, Swansea, Aberdeen or Bangor, would serve them better in life than any Calcutta degree, D.Sc.'s and Ph.D.'s not excepted. So, they entered their name for a degree course.

Now many English Universities have a rule that anybody wishing to qualify for the degree course must pass through all their previous examinations. So these gentlemen had to sit successively for the Matriculation and Intermediate examinations of a certain British University.

Just fancy what it means. A first class Calcutta M. A. or M. Sc., one who has probably served as a professor teaching Intermediate or degree courses, appearing for the London Matriculation or London Intermediate! Whom does it profit, the country which probably has to spend more than 10000 rupees on them, or themselves? Can one find a more glaring example of slave mentality? Yet such examples are matters of common occurrence with students who go to foreign countries for study. Such men, on their return to India, will sneer at Calcutta degrees, and make a flourish of their B.A.—Cantabs, Oxons or Popocatepetls—an act for which a member of a free nation would rather hang his head in shame.

The writer of this article wants to impress that real scholarship is independent of place. The mere fact that a man has taken a degree at Oxford, or Cambridge proves nothing. If you go to England, France

or Germany, nobody will ask at what place you have been, they will ask you what contributions you have made towards the advancement of knowledge.

No degree in this country is more valued than a first-class tripos of Oxford or Cambridge, but what are their intrinsic worth after all? Many brilliant students of the Calcutta University, after receiving first class in the Calcutta M.A. or M.Sc. go to Cambridge, and read for the degree courses. It may not be generally known that the courses of study in Physics, Mathematics, Chemistry, and other scientific and literary subjects are identical at Calcutta and Cambridge, or London. The books are almost the same. So the Calcutta M.A. or M.Sc. who enters his name for a degree course reads for the three years he resides at Cambridge or London, nothing else than what he has already done at Calcutta during his last two years there. It gives him the right to write B.A. (Cantab.) after his name, but does not advance his knowledge much. He could have better spent his time by doing research work with some one of the famous professors for whom Cambridge is justly celebrated, but the writer of this article does not know any Calcutta graduate (excepting one or two) who has taken such a course. Cambridge Tripos men, in Mathematics and Physics, having brilliant records both at Calcutta and Cambridge, are occupying high educational posts at the Universities of Dacca, Patna, Madras, and other places, at the Calcutta Presidency College, Allahabad, Agra and other educational centres. But they,\* taken all together, have not produced a single paper worth mentioning within the last five or six years in their respective subjects. If anybody cares to investigate, it will be found that humble lecturers of the Calcutta University drawing the small pittance of Rs. 200 (even which the learned M. L. C.'s want to deprive them of) have each singly contributed more original papers to their credit.

Prof. W. H. Young, who was for some time Hardinge Professor of Pure Mathematics in the Calcutta University, and who is regarded as one of the leading mathematicians of the age, thus describes the state of mathematical education at Cambridge at his own time, and at the present time:

"The Senior Wrangler, as is well-known, used to be the man who came out top in the final examination in pure and applied Mathematics held at the end of three years and one term's residence. For many years, the fellowships, then held for life, at Cambridge, were chiefly filled by men who had been Senior Wranglers, or taken a place among the first few Wranglers. Most of these men never made any contribution to mathematical science; indeed it was the exception to find one who had done so, and many soon forgot a great part of what they had learnt in preparing for the examination. The question even in my time which was asked, when a name came up in conversation, was never "what he has done? but" "where was he," this being short for "where was his place in the Tripos, mathematical or other?"

"In Mathematics accordingly each man had a certain number attached to him for his life, and I remember one wrangler telling another in my undergraduate days, "You will be known in future

by such and such a number." \* \* ..... Even the best students at the end of their University career at Cambridge were at the time in question, some 15 years ago, totally incapable, by their knowledge and their training of undertaking any serious mathematical research. It may be remarked further that even an unusually satisfactory Senior Wrangler would at the corresponding period of his career in Germany have never been regarded as more than a promising young student, while his whole success in life would depend, not on what he had done, or on what he knew, but on what he should do subsequently. During the whole time I may add which I have spent in foreign Universities, I do not remember a single occasion on which any one displayed the slightest interest as to the kind of credit a particular man had secured in passing his examinations. In the academic world of Arts and Science, the sole question asked has been, "what has he written, or what has he done?"

About the present system, Prof. Young expresses himself in a similar vein. The danger of attaching exaggerated importance to the Cambridge degrees is thus described by Prof. Young:

"To understand how unsatisfactory this constantly keeping in mind the degree of academic success attained by a young man of science is, we have only to turn to the entirely different picture offered by the procedure in the selection of professors of Italy. The Committee of the most famous professors in the subject in which the chair is vacant, appointed by the Government ad hoc to report on the various candidates, is only allowed to consider the work done by the candidates during the five years immediately preceding the election. And it is only in the case of candidates of world-wide reputation that work anterior to this period is even tacitly considered. The excellence of this procedure has secured for Italy a succession of brilliant professors, who more than hold their own, when the resources of the country are considered, with those of any other land in the world.

"In England, on the other hand, a large proportion of the Chairs at the Chief Universities are held by men who at the time of their appointment would have been regarded on the Continent as, at best, promising young students. These men have continued to hold the same posts for twenty years or more, and will continue to hold them till the time comes for their retirement, where such retirement is obligatory. Some of them will die in harness, and will, at the moment of their disappearance from the scene, still have nothing to point to but their original academic success at Cambridge. There are, of course, notable exceptions, but it is still unfortunately the case that the majority of professors and lecturers in the Universities and Colleges of England are men of this type. Indeed, as it not infrequently happens that they virtually choose their successors or the successors of their colleagues, it is bound to take a long time before men who have a position in the science they profess, and are not mere teachers of the elementary portions of it, come to be exclusively elected, as is the case almost without exception in all the great countries of the continent."

—Young—Report on the Study of Mathematics in the Continent and in England.

The object of this correspondence is not to discourage our students from proceeding to foreign countries but only to exhort them to proceed along

\* With one or two exceptions, e. g., Mr. Hanumant Rao of Lahore.

the right track. There are numbers of English Professors at whose feet the advanced Indian students may sit for years, and learn what they have got to impart; for example—Prof. Farmer and Blackmann in Potany, Bayliss and in Physiology, Thomson, Rutherford and Ragg in Physics, Hardy and Littlewood in Mathematics. But for reasons stated above, few students risk the research course. They are content to pass through the routine examinations which, in the case of the M.A.'s and M.Sc.'s of Indian Universities, may fitly be described as the "prostitution of intellect for the purpose of shining by the reflected glory of the ruling race."

SCIENTIFICUS.

### Note by the Editor.

The letter printed above has been written so carelessly and unmethodically that we do not know how to deal with it.

It is to be noted that our correspondent writes only of science degrees. Therefore, the heading of his letter ought to have been "Calcutta science degrees and foreign science degrees."

He cites the fact that three of the *best* science graduates of the Calcutta University, after full three (or more or less) years' further study and work in London, have gained the doctorate of the London University. We do not see how one can conclude from this that Calcutta degrees are as good as London University doctorates. It is not stated or suggested by Scientificus that the researches which secured these degrees in London were carried on or even initiated in or under the Calcutta University. How then can the success won by these old boys of Calcutta after some years of study in a foreign University reflect glory retrospectively upon the M.Sc. of Calcutta, which they had taken some years before? We are quite sure that our correspondent does not suggest that the success of these old boys of Calcutta proves that a doctorate of Calcutta is equal to that of London.

Has our correspondent reflected why earnest students of science resort to London or Cambridge and not to Calcutta? What attracts them to the former seats of learning is (a) the reputation of their teachers for scholarship and character; (b) the *impersonal* and impartial character of their examinations, (no boosting, no asking whose son the examinee is, no grace marks in order to lift a man up to the first place so as to make it easy to give him a soft job in the post-graduate department); (c) the *continuity* and permanent character of the studies and researches pursued there, (no sudden multiplication of departments and groups within departments without adequate teachers, equipment and rooms, followed by collapse, and salaries and examiners' fees in arrears, in London, Cambridge or Oxford); and (d) the standing of the examiners, (no boosted-up gold-medalists, no relative or coach-examiner multiplying gold-medalists and Ph.D.'s of the same brand as himself).

So long as the Calcutta University does not reform itself on the lines indicated above, Oxford, London and Cambridge will continue to attract earnest students from *all parts of the world* for higher work; for Scientificus forgets that it is not *dependent* India alone that sends her students to these seats of learning but many most advanced independent countries also.

We have always rejoiced at the success of Indian students at home and abroad, and acknowledged that the Calcutta College of Science contains very promising material, but that, in order to let the promise mature and the College secure an enduring basis and *continuity* of work, Micawberian finance, boosting up and self-advertisement should be rigorously shunned by it.

Our correspondent complains that the Bengal Legislature grudges the salary of Rs. 200 a month drawn by the researcher-lecturers of the Calcutta University. This is not a correct statement. Nor is it correct to suggest, as Scientificus does, that all or most "humble lecturers of the Calcutta University drawing the small pittance of Rs. 200 have each singly contributed original papers to their credit."

Scientificus considers research very valuable. We also do so.

But he appears to consider research the only valuable product of education, which we do not. There have always been great scholars who have done no original work. Has their learning been of no worth? Has it not been of any use to the world? A liberal culture is another aim and fruit of education. Has it no value? Sir P. C. Ray has written and spoken of brilliant research students of his who do not know geography and have not heard of King Lear, Cordelia or Regan. Is not the education of such researchers defective? What proportion of Cambridge, London, and Oxford graduates and what of Calcutta graduates suffer from this want of liberal culture? Scientificus does not take into account the corporate life, the intellectual and other non-material atmosphere of British Universities, the contact with great minds and personalities, the air of political and intellectual freedom one breathes in Oxford and Cambridge, etc. Book learning and research are not everything in education. A University has to be rated also according to its success in turning out citizens and neighbours—statesmen, men of affairs, philanthropists, social reformers and workers, authors in various branches of knowledge and letters, etc. What are the records of Calcutta and of the older British Universities in this respect?

But let us take it for granted that research is every thing. The real test would then be to ascertain the rank and number of researchers out of the *total* number of their graduates, native and foreign, whom the British Universities and Calcutta University respectively can claim during any given period. What figure would Calcutta cut in such a comparison? Surely it is very unfair to measure the value of education in the British Universities by the alleged (but by us unverified) want of capacity for original work of those among their *Indian* graduates alone who are in the Government educational service. For the majority of brilliant Indian students do not go to England, and among those who do, some according to our correspondent's own showing, *have done original work*. Is it just, then, to judge of the worth of education in the British Universities by the lack of originality of a few of their graduates of Indian birth who have entered Government service? The method of reasoning adopted by Scientificus may be summed up as "Heads I win, tails you lose" of Calcutta boys who have finished their education in England, some have done research work and some have not. For the former, he gives the credit to Calcutta; but for the latter, he generously bestows the discredit on the British Universities.

That Calcutta degrees have been made too cheap is a patent fact which no amount of sophistry can disprove. Our correspondent's reasoning is very curious. He takes the case of some of the best students of Calcutta, and then proceeds to argue as if they were average specimens of Calcutta graduates! One may as well argue that as Sir P. C. Ray is a Calcutta professor, therefore it is proved that *all or most* Calcutta professors are noted for original scientific work! How can the achievements of some of the best Calcutta graduates prove that the Calcutta degrees are not cheap? Whether degrees in any university be cheap or dear, its best students would remain the best. The cheapness of its degrees will not blunt their intellect or destroy their originality.

Scientificus speaks of British and Calcutta University courses and text books being the same. We have not been able to verify this statement. But assuming it to be true, surely it should be plain to our correspondent that what matters most is not identity of prescribed courses and books, nor even the identity of question papers, but the capacity and character of the teachers, the mode of teaching, the *honesty, independence* and intellectual standing of the examiners, etc. Does Scientificus think Calcutta can stand comparison in these respects with the British universities he has named? By the by, he speaks of *books* prescribed. Cambridge or Oxford does not thrust books or notes on them or their summaries down the throats of their students, as many Calcutta professors do.

The long extracts from Prof. Young's report prove nothing like what the writer thinks they do. Our correspondent does not give the date of the report. Assuming that what the professor has written is true of present-day Cambridge, it does not prove that Calcutta is in a better position. It does not even prove that Calcutta is as good as Cambridge. Our correspondent himself says that "there are numbers of English professors at whose feet the advanced Indian students may sit for years, and learn what they have got to impart." Can this be said of Calcutta? It is well-known that the late lamented Mr. Ramanujan had to go to Cambridge, *not* to Calcutta, for the full maturity of his mathematical genius and for winning a Fellowship of the Royal Society.

We fully agree that "real scholarship is indepen-

dent of place. The mere fact that a man has taken a degree at Oxford or Cambridge proves nothing."

As for the "prostitution of intellect for the purpose of shining by the reflected glory of the *ruling race*" (the writer does not name the person he has quoted), we wish to remind Scientificus that before the war even students from Germany used to go to Cambridge and at present American, French, Swiss, Spanish, Russian and other students from *independent* countries are to be found at Cambridge, but not in Calcutta.

In conclusion, we wish to take this opportunity to correct a wrong impression. We have subjected Calcutta University to criticism for a number of years, exposing many defects, jobberies, and the moral canker at its core. But, on the whole, taking its past and its present achievements together, it is not inferior to any Indian University. On the contrary, as regards the teaching function of universities and as regards research, it is and has been the pioneer and the torch-bearer among Indian Universities. There has been some plagiarism, some pseudo-research and much puffing; but there has been genuine research also. No Indian University has yet beaten Calcutta in the following respects: (a) teaching function and arrangements, (b) the number of really able graduates produced formerly and now, (c) original work done by alumni, (d) number of teachers and professors and other professional men supplied to provinces outside the sphere of the University, and (e) development of a vernacular literature.

### Help to Historic Studies.

I shall be obliged if the owners of the following books give me access to them and thereby help the historical study of one aspect of the Fall of the Mughal Empire now being conducted under my guidance.

1. Dyce Sombre—*Refutation of the Charges of Lunacy Brought against Him by the Court of Chancery.* (Paris.)

2. *Sardhana*, a pamphlet published by the Catholic Mission of Sardhana.

JADUNATH SARKAR,  
c/o Editor, *The Modern Review*.

### THE FISHERMAN

The white clouds leap up in majestic masses  
Out of the blue sea into the blue sky.  
All quietly their beauty fades and passes  
Leaving within my hollow heart the cry  
Of a twin Beauty that shall never die.

In this great hour I pulse with mystery...  
I glimpse a fisherman alone and dumb

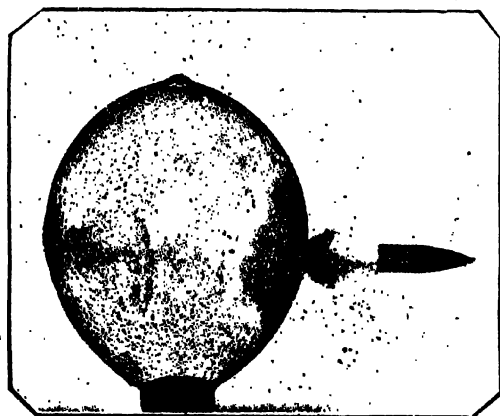
Upon the shore, as if the sky and he  
Were conscious of an age about to come,  
When they would mingle silently and turn  
Part of this Beauty, leaving us who live  
In pride of painted emptiness, to yearn  
Still groping in a world so fugitive.

H. CHATTOPADHYAYA.

## GLEANINGS.

**Bullet Photographs.**

Making photographs of bullets as they fly through the air at speeds as high as 3000 feet a second, the United States Bureau of Standards, by remarkable new flashlight methods, has succeeded in actually snapping pictures of the bullet's whine!



Modified Spitzer bullet, Speeding 3000 ft. a second, and its sharp sound waves.

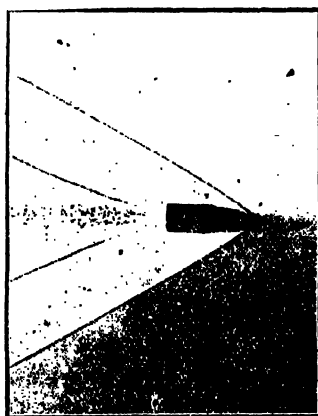
The camera records not only the actions and character of a bullet as it cuts the air—whether it holds steady or tumbles and gyrates in its course—but also photographs the sound waves set in motion by the nose of the projectile. The resulting pictures of the waves make possible accurate measurement of the bullet's velocity.

So rapid is the process that a bullet, after passing completely through the thin walls of a soap bubble, is photographed before the bubble collapses.

Whenever the bullet has a speed greater than that of sound, an image of the bow wave is projected on the plate. This is because the nose of the bullet, as it cleaves its path through the air, causes a high compression immediately at its front, and this compression radiates in a conical wave. But if the bullet has a velocity less than 1080 feet a second as in the case of the ordinary 22-caliber cartridge, this wave will not be in evidence. Conditions are exactly similar to those of a

boat traveling with the current. If its speed is greater than that of the stream, a bow wave of water will be thrown up, the angle of the receding wave becoming sharper as the vessel increases its speed. The faster the bullet, the sharper will appear the accompanying sound wave.

By measuring the angle of the bow wave



Bullet Leaves the Bubble Before It Collapses.

on the developed plate and substituting proper figures representing the known distance between spark, bullet, and plate, and the length of the trajectory between rifle and plate, the Bureau of Standards has developed a formula for using the method as an accurate measurement of the velocity of projectiles.

**Free Telephones Installed To Aid Motorists.**

The Highway Emergency Service Company of Pennsylvania has placed, at intervals of approximately one mile, telephones in special boxes which are mounted on poles at the roadside. These boxes are painted white, having in black lettering the distances in miles to the nearest towns, so that the traveler-tourist can see just where to call for help. Locks are placed on the boxes, the keys for which can be had by anyone at a small fee per year, or in the event of a stranger motoring through the state, a key can

## GLEANINGS

always be obtained at the house nearest to a box. Long-distance calls can be made where the called party agrees to pay the charges, all other service being free within the zone of the exchange making the connection.

### Strong Man Supports Eight Men And Framework.

In an effort to excel in their chosen profession performers are constantly devising new ways of showing their skill or strength. As an example

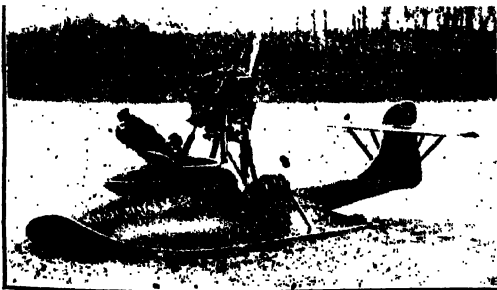


The Berlin Circus Performer supporting the merry-go-round making himself the center pivot.

of this nature, a circus performer of Berlin makes himself the center support of a merry-go-round, on which eight full-grown men ride. The strong man lies on his back on a raised pedestal and supports the frame on his feet.

### Speedy French Hydroglider Looks Like A Giant Fish.

With a speed of 63 miles an hour, claimed to be the world's record, a new French hydroglider



New French Hydroglider goes 63 miles an hour. The Motor is of 300 horsepower.

has much the appearance of a giant fish. Its air propeller is driven by a 300-horsepower motor that is supported and strongly braced above the craft at about its center and just behind the small compartment in which the passengers ride. It glides on horizontal planes, and is steered and controlled like a flying boat, which in other respects it very much resembles.

### Strong Swimmer Tows Boat With Seven Passengers.

An English swimmer who is planning an



The English Swimmer, here seen towing a small boat with seven men in it. He will attempt to cross the channel.

attempt to swim the Channel, performs an unusual stunt, to show his power in the water and as a means of developing his endurance. Using a canvas harness and a short length of rope, he tows a small boat containing seven persons a distance of a mile. As a demonstration of strength and endurance the performance ranks high.

### Sound Made Visible By Use Of Radio Vacuum Tube.

One of the most remarkable developments growing out of the widespread interest in radiotelephony, is the construction of an apparatus for making sound vibrations visible. An adaptation of the



vacuum tube is the basis of the new apparatus, and one of the most striking advantages is that it overcomes the lag occasioned by the mechanical inertia of devices formerly used for this purpose. The new tube is pear-shaped, about 8 inches long by 1 inch diameter at the socket end and 4 inches at the other end. The large end of the tube is covered with a fluorescent screen. The

filament is about  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch long. Four platinum plates around the filament direct a beam against the fluorescent screen. The current fluctuations caused by sound vibrations cause this beam to move up and down the screen with great rapidity, and it is then possible to record these movements in the form of a moving-picture film.

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

[Books in the following languages will be noticed: Assamese, Bengali, English, Gujarati, Hindi, Kanarese, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Punjabi, Sindhi, Tamil, Telugu, and Urdu. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text books and their annotations, pamphlets and leaflets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., will not be noticed. The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged, nor any queries relating thereto answered. The review of any book is not guaranteed. Books should be sent to our office, addressed to the Assamese Reviewer, the Hindi Reviewer, the Bengali Reviewer, etc., according to the language of the books. No criticism of book reviews and notices will be published.—Editor, M. R.]

### ENGLISH.

'KSATRIYA CLANS IN 'BUDDHIST INDIA.' To be had of Messrs. Thacker Spink & Co. Price Rs. 8.

Mr. Bimala Charan Law, M.A., B.L., has just published an admirable albeit a small volume entitled *Ksatriya Clans in Buddhist India*. He has already established his reputation by carrying on original researches in the field of Pali literature. In his present work he has carefully collected every available information specially regarding the Licchavis not only from Pali literature but also from various other sources, viz., the Brahmanical and the Jaina literature as well as Mahayanist Buddhist literature. The work is divided into two parts. The first part deals with the Licchavis—their origin, their manners and customs, their religion and philosophy, their government and administration of justice and their political history. The second part deals with the Videhas of Mithila, the Sakyas of Kapilavastu, the Mallas of Kusinagara (Kusināra) and Pava and some other minor clans. The first part of the work, viz., the portion dealing with the Licchavis is an enlargement of the author's paper on the Licchavis published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*. No scholar whether European or Indian has attempted to give a connected account of these clans. Dr. Rhys Davids in his *Buddhist India*, Chap. II, has given some account of the Sakyas and has merely mentioned the other clans (*Buddhist India*, p. 22). Mr. Law deserves our special thanks for presenting us for the first time a connected account of these clans which played an important part in the political history of India in very early times.

It is now perfectly certain that before the rise of the Mauryas or strictly speaking before the time of Asoka, India was divided into a number of small states and many of these were ganarajyas. Sections of the Indo-Aryan race settled in different parts of Northern India and carried on the government of their clans

either by electing a king or by an assembly of the people. The constitution of the assembly is nowhere clearly given. It was probably of a representative character or a patriarchal one. With the rise of the Mauryas, most of the clans lost their independence and were absorbed in their Empire.

In early times there was no distinction of castes. The Indo-Aryans lived as one people and used to take pride in their beautiful colour. They always tried to keep aloof from the original inhabitants with dark skin whom they designated Dāsas or Dasyus. In the latter part of the Rigveda mention is made of castes. There is a good deal of difference of opinion among scholars regarding the origin of some of the clans such as the Licchavis or the Sakyas. Some traces them to Persian, some to Scythian and others to Tibetan origin. Mr. Law has shown by quoting copious references from various sources that they were Ksatriyas and of Aryan stock. The use of the title "Rāja" by the Licchavis is significant. Mr. Law has quoted Kautilya's *Arthashastra* in which it is stated that the Licchavis, the Vrijis, the Mallas, the Madras, the Kukuras, the Kurus, the Pancalas were Rājasabdopajivinah. This clearly shows that though each of them was not a king yet all of them assumed the title Rāja. This is significant. The author of *Purvamīmāṃsābhāṣya* says that the word Rāja is a synonym for Ksatriya and he supports his statement by the fact that the word was used in his time by the Andhras to designate a Ksatriya. In his commentary he clearly says that though the word Rāja signifies a King with the people of Aryavarta, yet it is still used in the sense of a Ksatriya by the Andhras. Savarasvami flourished before Kumarila Bhatta whose *Tantra-vārttika* is based on the former's bhāṣya on the *Purvamīmāṃsā Sūtras* and both flourished before Sankara. On the other hand, Savarasvami must have flourished after the rise

of Mahāyana as he refutes their doctrine in his bhāṣya. Savarasvami therefore can be placed in the 3rd or the 4th century A. D. Before his time all the clans lost their independence and became incorporated into one or other of the kingdoms and the word Rājā in Northern India signified 'a King' and not a Kṣatriya. In as much as the Licchavis in general used the title Rājā, it can be said on the authority of Savarasvami that they were Kṣatriyas.

Doubt is entertained by Dr. Richard Fick regarding the title, Kṣatriya, so frequently claimed by these clans. According to Manusamhitā, some of these clans, such as the Mallas, the Licchavis, etc., were Vratya Kṣatriyas. The word 'Vratya', according to Smṛiti writers, means a twice-born man who has not been initiated in proper time. So according to the Smṛiti Śāstras, these clansmen were Kṣatriyas who did not observe the Brahmanic sacraments. An interesting chapter in the history of the social systems in India in early times, however, has been opened by M. M. Haraprasad Śāstri's interpretation of the word 'Vratya' as used in the Atharvaveda. He says:—"He (a Vratya) is not, as we commonly understand him, Savitripātāh, a fallen Aryan outside the Antaradesa, the tract inhabited by the Vedic Aryans. He is on all sides of the Vedic settlement. He has no Brahmanic culture, no trade, no commerce. He is a warrior and a keeper of flocks. He has no permanent settlement and lives in a temporary one called Vratya. They roam about in hordes. They fight the Vedic Aryans." The learned scholar has also shown from the Brahmana of the Śāmaveda that when purified they were admitted to all the privileges of the Vedic society—they could study the Vedas, perform the sacrifices, entertain Brahmins with food cooked by themselves, read mantras and even compile the Brahmins. "The Vratyas were," he says, "nomadic hordes Aryans, but when they assumed a settled life, they were fully admitted into the Vedic society." Now the question arises, Were these clansmen really Vratyas in this sense of the word? Most likely they were for the following reasons: 1. All these tribes, the Licchavis, the Videhas, the Mallas, the Śakyas, lived beyond the Madhyadesa which according to Manu, lay between the Himalaya and the Vindhya to the east of the place where the river Sarasvati disappears and to the west of Prayaga; 2. In the Brahmanical literature these clans have been very rarely mentioned with the exception of the Videha; and 3. Both Buddhism and Jainism attracted a very large number of converts from amongst these clansmen, over whom in all likelihood Brahmanic influence was not very powerful.

I have very little to add to what Mr. Law has said about these clans. I wish to make here the following general remarks. The learned author, in some places, indulges in generalisations which appear to be too wide. In conclusion I like to say that I am sorry to find two errors in this scholarly and accurate work, viz., (1) his identification of Vaisālī with Visālā in the Purva Megha and (2) his taking of the Pali word, Malla-suniṣā in the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta in the sense of "subordinate officers". The name Visālī in the Meghaduta refers to Ujjayini and the Pali word 'sunisā' is equivalent to Sanskrit snusa which means a daughter-in-law.

N. CHAKRAYARTY.

WAR POWERS OF THE EXECUTIVE IN THE UNITED STATES (*University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, Vol. IX, Nos. 1 and 2*)—By Clarence A. Berdahl, Ph. D., Instructor in Political Science, University of Illinois. Price \$ 2-25.

"The Executive Power (in U. S. A.)," says the American constitution, "shall be vested in a President of U. S. A." But the exact scope of this power is nowhere specifically mentioned. This enables the President "either to neglect his duties or to enlarge his powers" almost to any extent. "The President is at liberty," says ex-President Wilson, "both in law and conscience, to be as big a man as he can. His capacity will set the limit." Though the consensus of opinion among American constitutional writers seems to be that the powers of the President and other executive officers are limited to those definitely enumerated in the constitution, "the interpretation of these enumerated powers" says Dr. Berdahl, "is frequently such as to give to the President an extraordinary and practically undefined range of authority." How wide this interpretation can be will appear from the following extract from President Roosevelt's "Autobiography." "My belief was that it was not only the President's right but his duty to do anything that the needs of the Nation demanded unless such action was forbidden by the constitution or by the laws. Under this interpretation, I did and caused to be done many things not previously done by the president and the heads of the departments. I did not usurp power but did greatly broaden the use of executive power. In other words, I acted for the public welfare, I acted for the common well-being of all our people, whenever and in whatever measure was necessary, unless prevented by direct constitutional or legislative prohibition."

Such being the ordinary powers of the President of U. S. A., it is not difficult to imagine what his powers would be in a grave national crisis like war. In fact, the makers of the American constitution took care not to impose any limitations on his power at such times. "This power is tremendous; it is strictly constitutional, but it breaks down every barrier so anxiously erected for the protection of liberty, of property and of life" in normal peace time, says one authority. "It is limited only by the laws and usages of nations," says a second. "The war power implies the right to do anything that may seem necessary to carry on the war successfully, even to the extent of performing otherwise unconstitutional acts," remarks a third. This makes the President a virtual dictator in times of war. To a certain extent this power is shared with the congress or exercised through the heads of departments, but the extent to which this shall be done is again left largely to the President himself.

The purpose of this study according to the author, is to try to define more clearly the war powers of the President than has hitherto been attempted, to determine their nature and scope, and to discover the manner of their exercise. The work has been done with a thoroughness that characterises the publications of this department of Illinois University. A very full bibliography at the end considerably enhances the value of the book.

ENGLISH GOVERNMENT FINANCE, 1485-1558, (*University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, Vol. IX, No. 3*)—By Frederick C. Dietz,

*Ph. D., Assistant Professor of History, University of Illinois. Price \$ 2-25.*

This is a history of English National Finance for the first half of the Tudor Period, from the accession of Henry VII to the death of Catholic Mary. The publication is largely of a technical character but will interest students of history and public finance.

In the 15th century, the English people had not yet become reconciled to the idea of regular taxation as a means of financing the Government—it being generally thought that the monarch should 'live of his own', i. e., on the produce of his own estates, supplemented by such fines, perquisites, etc., as he could realise from his wealthier subjects from time to time. Direct parliamentary taxation was not popular either with the king or with the people. To the king it meant an unwelcome surrender of power to Parliament, which took advantage of the king's necessities to interfere with his policies and to increase its control of the state. The people on the other hand, cared much less for political power in the hands of Parliament—which the latter did not yet know how to use—than relief for themselves from the necessity of supporting the state. As indirect taxation was much less unpopular than direct, kings tried to increase their income by levying high customs duties. But the scope of foreign trade was as yet very limited and the yield of such taxation was consequently insufficient to meet their requirements, especially when the expenses of the state increased considerably under the Tudors. This was what led Henry VIII to resort to those contrivances to increase the royal income which will ever remain a blot on his name, viz., forced loans, plunder of church lands, debasement of the coinage, etc. The principal cause of the dissolution of the monasteries was not religious (desire to smite the Pope), or moral (removal of abuses that had crept into many monasteries), but financial—the necessities of the king and his desire to be free for ever of irregular and insufficient parliamentary grants. With his usual brazenness Henry VIII even made no attempt to conceal his real motive.

Reductions in the metallic contents of coins had been made even in previous reigns, but only when these had been found to be undervalued and by the operation of Gresham's law the coins would have disappeared from circulation. But the great debasement of the currency began by Henry VIII in 1544 had no such justification. It was undertaken solely with the idea of increasing the king's income by defrauding the people. But the measure defeated its own purpose. The debasement of the coins lowered the value of money and raised the general level of prices—including the prices of all commodities which the Government itself was purchasing in great quantities to supply its armies—while there was no corresponding increase in royal revenues. As Dr. Dietz says: "In as much as the Crown lands were rented on long term leases, it was not possible for the Government to increase its rentals at once to correspond with lower value of money. Similarly for the other revenues. There was a kind of poetic justice in the situation. The Crown cheated the people to get immediate funds: it had to take back the poor money in payment of its revenues at its face value; it had to pay at increased rates for all its supplies:

the real value of the revenue expressed in terms of purchasing power was seriously reduced."

Thus the attempts of Henry VIII, and of his father before him, to make royal revenues independent of Parliamentary grants failed. And well was it for the future of representative government in England that they did. "For," as the author says, "the permanent success of their plans for securing income for the Crown apart from the will of the people would have meant the end of freedom."

INCREASED PRODUCTION—By *E. Lipson, M. A. Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press.*

"The purpose of this book," says the author, "is to discuss how the workers can best attain a higher standard of life." This cannot be done by bringing about a redistribution of the existing wealth of the community but only by increasing the production of wealth "which is insufficient for the needs of the community as a whole." "Unless there is enough to go round, no scheme of distribution will give everyone an adequate share."

But increased production will not benefit the community unless it is wisely directed—it may even do harm. No one, says the author, has the right to spend his income as he pleases. Possession of money means the possession of economic power, and economic power ought always to be so directed as to confer the greatest benefit upon the community. It is immoral to use it in any other way. The fundamental object of increased production should be to enable every member of the community to satisfy his legitimate needs and not to make the rich richer and the poor poorer, as is so often the case today.

After considering the obstacles to increased production, such as, labour unrest, restriction of output, unsettled state of Europe, hostility to the existing industrial system, psychological reaction following the War, etc., which have resulted in stinting production and raising prices, the author points out that to try to meet this rise by increasing wages is like attempting to square the circle. The true remedy, under the existing industrial system, is to increase the output of labour on the basis of piece-rate remuneration accompanied by a state guarantee against destitution resulting from involuntary unemployment. Side by side, attempts should be made to improve business management. Many businessmen do not adopt the best methods of production but are content to follow the lines of least resistance. "An inefficient employer is more harmful to the community than an inefficient worker, for he endangers the livelihood of all the workers whose interests are confided to his care." Among the methods suggested by the author for the improvement of business management are the proper training of business managers, the adoption of labour-saving devices wherever possible, the harnessing of science to the service of industry, and the more general adoption of the body of business principles known collectively as "scientific management," whose application in many businesses has already produced remarkable results.

We commend this little book to all readers of this Review. The treatment is extremely lucid and the subject-matter of considerable importance.

**MARX AND MODERN CAPITALISM**—By *J. T. Walton Newbold, M. A.* Published by the *British Socialist Party.* Price 2d.

This pamphlet was published in May, 1918, when the end of the War seemed still as far as ever, and the ideas and conceptions of the author are consequently coloured by the peculiar environment of the time. The author finds—as many others who were not socialists also found at the time—in the concentration of production during the War, in restricted private management, in a single purchasing agency and common financial control, and in the vastly increased production with a greatly diminished number of skilled workmen, facts of the greatest significance. Nothing less than an Industrial Revolution has taken place during the war, and the author believes that this revolution would be as favourable to socialism as its predecessor of the 18th century was to capitalism.

In the opinion of 'Scientific' Socialists, this kind of revolution was predicted by Marx, who found in the womb of modern capitalistic society the germs of its own disintegration. Mr. Newbold asks all workers to organise and federate themselves and prepare themselves for the day when all power will naturally and inevitably fall into their hands. He is a believer in direct action. The political institutions of today—being survivals from a time when the state had very little to do with the management of industry—are quite unsuitable for the administrative requirements of a modern state. So workers should do away with them and establish an 'economic' state which will really look to the interests of the working classes.

**INDUSTRIAL ENCYCLOPEDIA**—By *Shiv Dass, B.A., B.T.* Published by the *Capital Industrial Bureau, Lahore.* Price Re. 1-8.

As its name shows, the book seeks to describe briefly the processes of the manufacture of most of the ordinary articles with which we are familiar not omitting even patent medicines. Not being engaged in any industry ourselves we cannot speak of the value of the recipes given. There is a bibliography at the end and the appendix gives the Indian equivalent of many of the names of animals, plants, etc. mentioned in the book.

ECONOMICUS.

**SPEECHES OF AUROBINDO GHOSE**—*Prabartal Publishing House, Chandernagore.*

This is a reprint of the speeches delivered by Mr. Ghose during the stirring times of the Partition agitation in various parts of Bengal and India. The book is well-printed on thick paper, and well-bound.

**AN INTRODUCTION TO CO-OPERATION IN INDIA**—By *C. F. Strickland, I. C. S.* London. *Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1922.* Price Rs. 2.

This is one of the booklets published under the general editorship of the Central Bureau of Information. The economic conditions of the world as now governed by capitalism, and the proposals made by socialists and others for their improvement have first been discussed; this is followed by a brief account of what has been accomplished in the way of co-

operation by England and Italy and of the origin of the movement in India and the progress made up-to-date.

**REVOLUTION OR EVOLUTION**—By *Alfred Nundy, Bar-at-law.* Tandon and Company, Lahore, 1922. Price Rs. 3. Pp. 427.

This book appears, from the hasty glance we have been able to bestow on it, to be a reasoned protest against the non-co-operation movement and its leader, Mr. Gandhi. In assuming, however, a tone of balanced moderation the author seems to have gone over to the other extreme, and his views are less suggestive, and sometimes even less sympathetic, than those profounded by Mr. Rushbrook Williams in the annual official reviews published by the Government of India. As a summary of events the book will be consulted by every political writer who has to deal with the year 1921, but in order to arrive at a correct appreciation of the forces behind the non-co-operation movement and its far-reaching effects, he shall have to go to other sources.

**ABDICATION**—By *Edmund Candler, Constable & Company, Limited.*

This is a political story without any plot, and with no female characters, dealing with the non-co-operation movement in its various phases, and written with penetration and sympathy. The author is naturally appreciative of the official and Anglo-Indian points of view and he is rather hard on Babus and third rate Indians whose sole activity consists in political agitation largely devoid of reality, but what specially deserves praise is his admirable analysis of the forces and ideals which actuate the best minds among the politically-minded classes and of the inevitable trend of the movement. Chatterjee the journalist, and Mr. Gandhi, have both been admirably drawn, and the book abounds in hits aimed at the bureaucracy. We call a few passages at random, leaving the reader to find out others for himself:

"In every country the voice of the intelligentsia is the voice of the people. The masses may not want Swaraj, but they will soon be made to want it."

"All the world's seers and prophets come out of the East. It is easier to be born undetected in Asia." "Because there is less to be attached to?" "Possibly." "Our greater materialism.....only means that we are more vital, more dynamic. We are more everything....."

"Gandhi was like Socrates, dedicated to the pursuit of truth. He had the gentle obstinacy of the seer, unarmed but unafraid, courting martyrdom. There was a great deal in Gandhi that reminded Rby of Christ, virility and meekness, flinging out the money-changers, turning the other cheek."

POLITICUS.

ART.

**DANCING AND THE DRAMA EAST AND WEST**—By *Stella Bloch, with an Introduction by Ananda Coomaraswamy.* Orientalia, New York, 1922.

Mr. Coomaraswamy writing an introduction to an introduction, introduced with great words as Dancing and the Drama East and West" and Miss Bloch, the author, testify their appreciation of Eastern civilisa-

tion by that quality which Miss Bloch discovers to be the keynote of oriental behaviour, i.e. complete impersonality.

Every single sentence of the pamphlet is perfectly right and yet nothing more but a vague generalisation of what every cultured lover of the East realises. It approves of an appreciation and leaves the life of Eastern Drama and Dancing untouched.

STELLA KRAMRISCH.

### SANSKRIT.

**SRIMAD APPAYYA DIKSITANDRAVIJAYA**—By Sri Sivānanda Yogin, edited and published by Ganapati Sastrin, Madras.

The name of Appayya Diksita, the celebrated author of the *Siddhanta Lesa-Sangraha* and other works numbering more than one hundred comes in the first rank among the teachers of the Advaita School of Vedānta philosophy. The little volume gives some incidents of his life in verse. The editor and publisher, Pandit Ganapati Sastrin is a descendant of the great teacher who was also a renowned votary of Siva.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

### HINDI.

**SAMKSHIPTA SURA-SAGARA**—Edited by Prof. Beni-prasad, M. A. Published by Indian Press, Ltd., Allahabad. Pp. 452+xxxii. 1922. Price Rs. 2-8-0.

Suradasa, as is well-known, is the greatest of the Hindi poets who have dealt with the amours of Krishna and Radha. It was not easy to get a really helpful edition of his innumerable poems which are not without repetition and lack of taste though there are several editions of his songs. The Indian Press has done a laudable service by bringing out the present edition, which divides the songs according to their subject-matter which follows the chapters of the Bhagavatam, and gives parallel passages from other great Hindi poets. The introduction is useful. The editor promises to present a life of the poet which will no doubt be welcome.

The editions of the Nawal Kishor Press and of the Venkateswar Press have been laid under contribution—that of the Bangabashi Press of Calcutta could have been consulted with profit.

**TULANATMAK DIHARMA-BICHAR**—Translated by Rajyaratna Atmaram, Educational Inspector, Baroda. Published by Jayadeva Bros., Baroda. Pp. 152+VIII. 1921. Price Re. 1.

This work belongs to the Sayaji Sahityamala, and is a translation of "Comparative Religion" by Dr. F. B. Jevons, which is "Cambridge Manual of Science and Literature."

The cause of useful literature in Hindi is being furthered by the Gaekwar of Baroda who has inspired a zeal for the uplift of vernacular literature. Both the translation and get-up of the book under notice are praiseworthy. This work is a valuable addition to Hindi religious literature.

**ANATHA**—By Siyārām-saran Gupta, Sahitya-sadan, Chirgaon, Jhansi. Pp. 31. Price As. 4. 1921.

This is a plain story of one of the poor and

depressed classes suffering innumerable ills told most plainly in verse.

**GRIHINI CHIKITSA**—By Kanhaialal Agrawal. Published by Vishnu Swarup Goyal, 351 Badshahi Mandi, Allahabad. 1922. Pp. 320. Price Rs. 2-8.

Various female diseases together with those of the children are treated in this work according to the homeopathic system. The style of the book which is mainly a compilation from English and other sources is lucid so that even the female readers may understand it.

RAMES BASU.

### URDU.

**HUZN AKHTAR**—Published by Halqai Adbiah Mahmud Nagar, Lucknow. Price as. 12.

In this book some poems of Wajid Ali Shah, the last king of Oudh have been collected. The poems in themselves are not the best in Urdu literature. But there is at least one peculiarity in them which makes them immensely valuable. The poems were composed by Wajid Ali Shah himself and therefore are a true picture of his court, courtiers, wives and friends. These poems serve to a great extent the purpose of an autobiography.

The public in those days was not fond of books and thus if Wajid Ali Shah had written his biography, or some other person had written his life, it could not be popular. On the other hand, the people in those days were much interested in poetry. The king himself was interested in poetry. This was the reason why he wrote in poetry what ought to have been written in prose.

These poems will prove to be more useful to a historian of Oudh than to a student of Urdu literature.

**INFLUENCE OF ISLAM ON EUROPE**—By Qasi Mian Shaheb Akhtar. Published by Halqai Adbiah, Mahmud Nagar, Lucknow. Price as. 12.

The book in comparison with the vastness of the subject is too small. The civilization of Europe in the Middle ages, the Islamic civilization of the same period and the effect of the latter upon the former, are things too vast to be dealt with, in a book of six and sixty pages.

The author's aim in writing this book has been to show clearly what was the condition of European civilization before the Mohammadans set their foot in Europe, and what were the benefits Europe derived from their contact.

It is interesting to note that the author has not overlooked historical facts. He in order to make his arguments stronger quotes European writers in more than one place.

S. MUTTALIB HUSAIN.

### KANARESE.

**KURUHINA BAKULAHARA or Malati-Madhava**—By K. S. Hungund B. A. Malamaddi Dharwar. Price 12 annas.

This is an adaptation in Kanarese prose of the well-known Sanskrit drama *Malati-Madhava* by Bhavabhuti. The author has spared no pains in rendering the drama into Kanarese in the form of a very interesting and readable story. The lucid, chaste style, and

the beautiful language used by the author have made the novel very attractive to Kanarese readers. The book brings into relief the social manners and customs and the beliefs of the times of Bhavabhuti. The descriptions of various incidents and natural scenery are admirable and fascinating. The book is strongly recommended to all Kanarese readers. The book has been approved by the Department of Public Instruction, Bombay, as a text, prize and library book in Kanarese Training Colleges and primary schools. It can be had of the author.

R. K. PARVATIKAR.

### MARATHI.

**AUDARYACHA DANKA: A Play in Three Acts, By K. H. Dikshit. Publisher: The Bombay Commercial Company, Madhav Bag, Bombay. Price Re. One.**

There is a tendency among the present-day playwrights in Maharashtra to present mythological stories in such forms as to reflect the present situation in them. Mr. Dikshit seems to have made an attempt to present the growing power of Democracy all over the world in the form of the Brahmin boy Vaman (the fifth incarnation of Vishnu) demolishing autocracy or bureaucracy, in the form of Bali and Kamasur. This is the only interesting feature of the play.

**NAVARATNANCHA HAR: A Necklace of Nine Jewels. By L. B. Bhopatkar, M. A., LL. B. Publisher—Shree Saraswati Mandal, Poona. Price Re. One.**

This is a book of nine tales of Maratha heroism narrated in a bright, racy, exhilarating style. The book deserves to be widely read and introduced in schools as a book for rapid reading.

**SHREEPHAL-MAHATMYA: A Poem. By Shree Saroj-kant, B. A. Pages 30. Price As. Eight.**

Shreephal or coconut is looked upon by orthodox Hindus as an embodiment of success. The poet while singing its praise as an article of multifarious use offers the same (i. e. wishes good luck) to those who are prepared to devote their all to the dear cause of their mother-country's regeneration. The illustration given as frontispiece is simply ugly.

V. C. APPE.

### PALI.

**SIMON HEWAVITARANE BEQUEST.**

This Pali Series which is being ably conducted and edited in Sinhalese character is now known to the Pali-reading people. Lovers of Buddhist literature will remain ever thankful to the late lamentable Mr. Simon Alexander Hewavitarane to whom the Series owes its existence. Seven volumes of it were noticed by us in due course in this Review, and now we are glad to receive the following three volumes more from the Trustees, Saraswati Hall, Pettah, Colombo;

1. Vol. VIII. *Buddhaghosa's VISUDDHIMAGGA* edited by P. Buddhadatta Thera. Pp. 544.

2. Vol. IX. *Dhammapala's NETTIPPAKARANA-ATTAKATHA* or the Commentary on the NETTIPPAKARANA, edited by the Venerable Pandit W. Piyatissa

Thera. Extracts from this Commentary were added to the original text of the *Nettippakarana* in the PTS. Series, but the complete work is now published for the first time.

3. Vol. X. *SADDHAMMAPAJJOTIKA* or the Commentary or Tika on the *Mahaniddesa* of the *Suttani-pala*, edited for the first time by B. A. Siri Rebata Thera. The author of the work is Iliadantacariya Upasena Thera who is believed to have flourished in the 6th Century A. D. The commentary was generally out of use among the students and the MSS. are very rare. The present edition is based on five MSS. one of which is in Burmese character and the remaining four in Sinhalese.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

**PALIPATHAVALI, Part 1—Text. Edited by Muni Jinavijaya, Acharya, Gujrat Puratattva Mandira, Ahmedabad. Pp. 107. Price As. 1/2.**

There is still a great want of useful Pali Readers printed in Devanagari character. So we are very glad to receive the book lying before us. It forms the first volume of the series recently started by, and named after, the Gujrat Puratattva Mandira at Ahmedabad which is doing excellent work. As an author and specially as the editor of the *Kumarapala-pratibodha* (Gokhale's *Oriental Series* No. XIV) Muniraja Jinavijaya is well-known to Sanskrit and Prakrit readers. As the very name shows, his present little volume is a selection of Pali lessons which are all taken from Anderson's *Pali Reader* widely read among Pali students. It is, therefore, nothing but the *Pali Reader* of Anderson in Devanagari character. We do not know why the compiler has omitted in his selection the three most beautiful passages in Anderson's book (nos. 55-57) which are culled from the *Milindapanho*.

The book will be complete in two parts. The second part which has not yet been issued will contain notes upon which the importance of the book will depend to a great extent.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

### PRAKRIT.

**PRAKRITA KATHASANGRAHA, Part 1, Text, Edited by Muni Jinavijaya, Acharya, Gujrat Puratattva Mandira, Ahmedabad. Pp. 97. Price Annas 12.**

This is the second volume of the *Gujrat Puratattva Mandira Series* referred to in our notice of the *Palipathavali* in the present issue of the Review, and prepared by Muniraja Jinavijaya. It is a collection of seven interesting stories in Prakrit, some of them being in prose and the others in poetry. All these stories are of Jain origin and found in Devendragani's Commentary on the *Uttaradhyana Sutra*. Prakrit Readers are very rare and so we welcome it. It is intended to introduce one to the Prakrit language. Though the stories given herein are very good, no doubt, we are afraid the purpose of the compiler will not be fully realized. For there are different kinds of Prakrits and the lessons in the book are all only in what is now called Jain Maharastra. Even in Jain sacred books different Prakrits are employed. We wish, the venerable compiler had given specimens of some other important varieties of Prakrit. The book

could be well planned after Prof. Woolner's *Introduction to Prakrit*.

The second part of the book will give notes on the text.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

### GUJARATI.

THE GO-CART ગોચર—By Gijupai. Printed at the Navjivan Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Card board cover. Pp. 53 : 122 : Prices Re. 1-3 : 0-3-0 (1922).

These two little books, called the small and the large Go-cart, are intended for children, and written by an experienced educationist who has made a practical study of the subject. A guide to teachers is separately supplied and it tells them how to teach the books. They are very simple and the subjects chosen are such that they are bound to interest and instruct their juvenile readers. Birds indigenous to the province, plays and sports also indigenous to the province, and other phases of our domestic life are described most pleasantly, though some of the sports are peculiar to Kathiawad, and not known to the children of Gujarat proper. Altogether the books are most useful and sure to be utilised extensively.

MUKTA DHARA—By Karsandas Narsingh Manek. Printed at the Union Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Card board cover. Pp. 110. Price As 6. (1922.)

This is another translation of Tagore's play. One we have already noticed in the last issue and we wonder if there is room in literature for two such translations brought out in hot haste. This one reproduces the original also in a way which does not tax the reader's power of concentration.

SWARGA NI JINDAGI સર્ગની જોડગી—By the late Amratal Sundarji Padhiar. Printed at the Diamond Jubilee Printing Press, Ahmedabad, and published by the Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature. Cloth bound. Pp. 382. Price Re. 1-2 (1922).

"Life in Paradise" is the very significant title of this book, which was written by the late Mr. Padhiar about fifteen years ago. It narrates the lives and aims of

live of those who have dedicated their all to the service of their country ; they in his opinion enjoy the happiness of Paradise though living in this world. In his inimitable and attractive style, he has told us by what means we can attain this happy condition of life, and a perusal of the book only can do full justice to its ennobling character.

SAMUDRA GUPTA : By Bharatram Bhanusukharan Mehta, Printed at the Sayaji Vijaya Press, Baroda. Cloth bound. Pp. 95. Price As. 13 (1922.)

Samudra Gupta was one of the most powerful emperors of ancient India. An attempt has been made to narrate his life on original lines in this book, which for lack of suitable materials does not seem to advance our knowledge of the subject any further than what we already possess.

ARJUN VANI (અરજુન વાણી) Collected by Mahadev Haribhai Desai from the Agra Jail. Printed at the Navjivan Press, Ahmedabad. Paper cover, pp. 248. Price As. 12 (1922).

This is a collection of devotional and religious verses. It is remarkable for two things : for the personality of their author and the personality of the editor. The latter is at present in the Agra Jail, and from there has paid a debt which he owed to the author for nearly six years since 1916 when he came across the manuscript in an obscure village in Gujarat. The Bhagat was a field-labourer કોથી and illiterate, but the songs that he has written and which are collected here, breathe the earnestness and sincerity of a saint, deeply saturated with the religious philosophy of the higher castes. They could not have been written more than twenty-five years ago, because Arjun Bhagat died about that time, but it is difficult to conceive that they could have been the product of our times, so quaint is the language, and so full of the old-world philosophical terms of thought are they. One could only account for this phase of theirs by the fact that this Bhagat lived away from the stir of the modern world in an obscure village and did not come in contact with towns and cities or their dwellers, and contented himself with the society of his own thoughts.

K. M. J.

## AYURVEDIC SCHOOLS :

### A PLEA AND A SCHEME

1  
**T**HERE are at present four systems of medicine practised in our country. Two are Eastern, Ayurveda and Yunani, and two are Western, Allopathy and Homœopathy. The first is the Hindu system, and its practitioners are known as Vaidyas ; the second is the Mahomedan, the practi-

tioners being Hakims. Homœopathy is not much known in villages, and neither Yunani in Bengal. There are thus left Allopathic physicians known as Doctors, and Ayurvedic physicians who are generally called Kabirajes in Bengal, a corruption of Sanskrit *Kaviraja* a great sage, a doctor.

There are medical schools and colleges for

training Doctors; but there are none for Kabirajes. The latter are thus left to themselves and but for the Indian origin of Ayurveda, the science of life, this class of physicians would have been a rarity.

No one will, however, deny the useful service done by the neglected Kabirajes, and in fact the country ought to feel grateful to them for the great work they are silently doing at great odds. For qualified Doctors are not as plentiful as sick men and women in the country. It is said that there is only one such Doctor for every forty thousand of the population of Bengal. Think of the enormous ravages annually wrought by diseases which have made their permanent home in the land, the frequency of epidemics, the rate of mortality, and, worse still, a high level of sickness prevailing in the country. People speak of sanitation, that is, the prevention of disease; but what about the cure? There is thus an urgent call for more Doctors who are assumed to be the only curers, the Kabirajes being regarded as quacks and charlatans. But the medical schools, not to speak of colleges, have been taxed to their utmost capacity, and yet only a fraction of the candidates can find admission. There has therefore been a cry for more schools and more colleges.

But such schools of the up-to-date type require a capital outlay not easily found, and the choice has therefore been no more schools, and no more Doctors. Unfortunately sickness does not consider our convenience; rather it visits us when we are least prepared for it. For instance, it is winter and cloth is scarce when influenza thinks it fit to appear; there is scarcity of wholesome food and drinking water when cholera chooses to visit us, and so on. Economic condition and public health are fast friends. Better sanitation implies better economic condition, and the latter better sanitation and more medical schools.

But if it is not possible to open more medical schools and produce more Doctors, what next best can the country do? The answer is clear. Let there be Ayurvedic schools which can be conducted, as the scheme will show, at a moderate cost, too moderate indeed for the stupendous problem.

But the plea is not put forward on the principle of 'better half a loaf than none at all.' The Ayurvedic practice has distinct advantages on its side for which alone Ayurvedic schools are urgent.

*Firstly.* It is indigenous, and that makes a world of difference. It is surer to reach the masses more easily and more cheaply than the expensive allopathic practice through stores of European drugs. The Kabirajes have, it is true, succumbed to the influence of the example set by Doctors, and begun to charge high fees for their attendance. But this is still confined to towns, and as yet unknown in villages, where the cost of medicine is as low as the fee, most of the drugs being easily found almost everywhere. For a poor country like ours the cost of treatment is an important consideration, more important indeed than all the merits of Allopathic treatment put together. Perfection of an art is undoubtedly desirable, but many a desire remain unsatisfied on account of our inability to pay for it. There are, however, numerous ailments which are as amenable to Ayurvedic treatment as to Allopathic, and there is therefore no reason why the country should not have the advantage of cheapness. It is through Kabirajes that the knowledge of the medicinal uses of the indigenous drugs spreads among the people. In fact we have forgotten many a home remedy on account of our neglect to recognise what is good for us. Should this state be allowed to continue? It is also well to remember that in hours of peril, as happened during the European war when connection with the West was practically cut off, India shall have to depend upon her own resources. For, luxury may wait, but medicine cannot. It is of supreme importance that efforts be made to naturalize the most useful medicinal plants of the West in this country. What a blessing it would be to the country if the cinchona tree could be grown wild in the plains so that the people could use its bark as they do of other plants, instead of the manufactured quinine?

*Secondly.* It is said that there are cases which are better cured by Ayurvedic medicine, leaving behind no after-effects such as follow allopathic treatment. There is a widespread belief among the observant that chronic cases are oftener more successfully treated by the Kabirajes than by the Doctors. If so, why should the country be deprived of the benefit? The late Surgeon-General Sir Pardey Lukis spoke of the Ayurvedic system in these words:—"The longer I remain in India and the more I see of the country and the people, the more convinced I am that



many of the empirical [?] methods of treatment adopted by the Vaidas and Hakims are of the greatest value, and there is no doubt whatever that their ancestors knew ages ago, many things which are now-a-days being brought forward as new discoveries." There are similar opinions held by other competent foreigners who cannot be accused of national bias. We do not know in what sense the eminent Doctor used the word, empirical. For science is based on experiments and observation, and, has been described by some as statistics applied to natural phenomena. But we need not quarrel over a word.

*Thirdly.* The Ayurvedic system having been evolved in the country is better suited to the people, their habits and mode of life, their constitution, their temperament, and their environment. It is common knowledge that allopathic Doctors, though Indian, fumble when a question of diet is raised unless they have learnt the properties of our foods from some text-books of Ayurveda or from their own observation extending over years. Some go further and assert that while Dietetics is just born in western countries, the standard Ayurvedic works teem with the results of observation which appear to have been carefully made and accurately analysed. The numberless Patent Foods favoured by our Doctors were never intended for Indian invalids, and verily what is sauce for the gander is not sauce for the goose.

*Fourthly.* There is the question of faith which, as the physicians are aware, plays a most important part in the recovery of patients. The Indians unless denationalised have a natural bias for their own methods of treatment, and if they seek foreign methods it is because they do not find Kabirajes and Hakims as competent as they desire. There are diseases which are new to the country and have been studied by the western Doctors with great success. For these all Indians will be too glad to avail themselves of the training of our Doctors, whether Allopathic or Homœopathic. Similarly, surgery which is a forgotten art in India but most advanced in the West is undoubtedly successfully practised by our Doctors who are all in fact called Surgeons. Our Doctors have thus extensive fields for useful service. And so have the Kabirajes, if only we allow them a corner and fit them up for the work.

*Fifthly.* The sentiment called faith is associated with nationalism. Thoughtful

Indians do not feel happy when they think of the stagnation of Ayurveda. They desire its revival and progress, and wish to take advantage of the favourable conditions of the hour in order to build their system strong with the materials which have been rendered available by the West. Is it impossible, they ask, for the East and the West to meet in the realm of sickness and distress when class and caste vanish and good fellowship and sympathy reign supreme? Let the Ayurveda borrow freely wherever it can, consistently with its theory and practice which have made it what it is. Think of the splendid temples of Allopathic medicine, its countless votaries, its munificent endowments, and say whether it is not natural for the Hindus to ask you to lend a helping hand in rejuvenating their system of good old time and uninterrupted tradition, if only an infusion of fresh blood becomes necessary. The scheme which is presented acknowledges the necessity of modernising Ayurveda in the light of the facts which have been discovered in the civilized world. We are laymen, but we firmly believe that it is by judicious assimilation of what is best in other systems of treatment that Ayurveda can survive and grow in vigour.

There cannot be and need not be any dispute regarding the usefulness of any system of treatment. There are Allopathy and Homœopathy, Hydropathy and Electropathy, Nature Cure and Faith Cure; let there be recognised another, Ayuspanthā. All are sisters of mercy devoted each in her way to the alleviation of the miseries of suffering humanity. Hitherto the followers of the Indian path have been receiving training in private *tois* whose limitations have materially hampered the study and progress of the Science of Life. We believe schools of Ayurveda have yet a bright future and possess potentialities of far-reaching character, if only we do not fling away our sacred heirloom.

#### SCHEME.

1. *Courses of Study.* The Schools—Ayurvedyālaya—may be profitably conducted in the modern way, dividing the students into classes. The courses of study will occupy about five years. These should be defined in the form of syllabus instead of set books, leaving the study of the standard works to the advanced students. This will give ample

scope to the Professors in their work and allow inclusion of topics new to the Ayurveda. This will also effectively check mere book learning by memory. There should, of course, be arrangement for practical training. Excluding surgery, the knowledge of which is at present theoretical, the subjects which Ayurveda deals with may be classified as follows :—

- (i). Anatomy and Physiology.
- (ii). Pathology and Hygiene.
- (iii). Materia Medica and Pharmacy.
- (iv). Therapeutics and Medicine.

Of these, Anatomy and Physiology occupy a small part. These should be amplified, but the course not to exceed one year's study. To these Physical Geography including General Geography must be added. Pathology will occupy the second year, and the third and fourth subjects three and even four years according to the degree of proficiency aimed at. For materia medica the students should have lectures on plant morphology and classification as well as on the broad facts of animal classification.

2. *Students.* For efficient teaching it is absolutely necessary to select such students as possess a fair knowledge of Sanskrit, an amount of intelligence, a habit of observation and the faculty of entering into details. It is common knowledge to science teachers that there are students who are by nature unfit for science study. Such students should be rigorously excluded, in spite of their deep knowledge of Sanskrit. We may be sure a large number of matriculates will seek admission. They may be taken provided they offered additional Sanskrit for the matriculation examination and strictly obey the rules of the *math*. It is well to remember that it is for the right class of students that the schools should exist, and that the life and death of millions of our countrymen will depend upon their proficiency.

3. *Teaching Staff.* Considering the length of the courses and the fact that new admission will take place every year, it is obvious that the teaching staff should consist of at least five professors, and a part time qualified Assistant Surgeon. The five professors will of course be appointed in five successive years. If the number of new admissions be limited to twenty-four, the number of students on the rolls of the school will come up to a hundred, a fair number for a professional school. The Assistant Surgeon

will give practical lessons on Plant Morphology and Classification and on Human Anatomy and Physiology. It is essential that this teacher should acquaint himself with the terminology of the Ayurveda, using new terms only when new facts have to be stated. The Professors will, we are sure, be glad to take the help of this teacher; for the goal of the school should after all be advancement of the science, and every aid, Indian or European, should therefore be always welcome.

4. *School Hours.* The school hours should be from half-past seven to ten in the morning, and from three to five in the afternoon.

5. *House Accommodation.* It is desirable to build a house for the school. It may not be a *pucca* building, but should consist of three blocks: The first block will contain—

6 Lecture rooms, each 12' x 18'

1 Library and sitting room 18' x 24'

The second block will contain—

1 Museum 12' x 20'

1 Store room 12' x 30'

1 Compounding and Dispensing room 12' x 20'

1 Practical Work room 12' x 40'

1 Shed 10' x 50'

The third block will contain—

2 Hostels for students.

The demands of every branch of science are various, and ample room accommodation is not a luxury as is generally imagined. Science Institutions grow and it is common experience how lack of imagination at the time of inception soon turns a science college into a godown. There should be ample verandah and the plan should rather be unfinished in order that expansion may be possible than finished which will require part demolition and unsightly addition. We have given above the minimum sizes. The first block does not require any explanation. The second block is intended for adequate practical work by the students which should commence from the first year. The modern method of teaching followed in colleges enables the student, to acquire more knowledge, albeit less deep, in a short time than is or was possible in *to/s*. The shed is intended to be used for the preparation of drugs. One or two hostels or a *math* will be wanted for those students who will come from distant places, and the size will depend upon their number.

6. *Equipment.* Like the Museum and

Laboratory, a Dispensary is a *sine qua non*. Practical knowledge of therapeutics can be obtained only by treating patients, and a Dispensary forms a prominent feature of every medical *tal* and school. The Professor of Medicine will therefore be required to treat patients who may come to the school. The medicines, unless very expensive, should of course be given *gratis*. Fortunately most of the medicines are cheap. Besides the students will have prepared them for practice, and the expense has already been incurred. The Dispensary will thus be a help-mate to the Allopathic Dispensary of the town in which the school may happen to be located.

This duty of the Professor of Medicine raises the legitimate question of his salary. It is understood that all the Professors will be allowed to practise outside the school hours. The fact of their being associated in a school is sure to draw for them more practice than they could otherwise expect. The Professor of medicine treating patients gratis in the school certainly loses some amount of practice. Besides, he will be daily engaged in his school duties for at least six hours both morning and evening. Probably it will be found necessary to make him the Principal. All these considerations will entitle him to an adequate allowance.

A garden of medicinal plants is also a necessity. It is true that many of the plants are common enough and can be easily procured. But the fact that they do not grow at one place and many are not found in towns and suburbs is to be noted. The students should possess ample facility for getting acquainted with the habits of the plants. This can be secured only by a garden well stocked with medicinal plants. At the lowest estimate about two hundred species, many of which are large trees, have to be grown and taken care of. For this about four acres of land should be secured, preferably close to the school if the soil and situation be found favourable. Here the students will find plants which are uncommon as well as those which may be found almost everywhere on roadsides and hedges. The small size of the garden may not render possible an arrangement of the plants according to their medicinal properties, but an attempt should be made in this direction when the garden is laid out. We think three permanent *malis* will be able to take care of the plants once they

have firmly rooted. The Professor of Materia Medica will be the Superintendent.

7. *Situation.* It is not necessary, rather it is undesirable, that the school be situated in a large town. Expenses in large towns are heavy. On the other hand the salary of the Professors may be low in view of the expected income from private practice in a town. Generally speaking we do not believe in permanent honorary teachers for public schools. Considering all these facts, the schools may be established in the suburbs of a large town other than Calcutta, probably also Dacca in Bengal, where the cost is prohibitive.

8. *Examination.* There will be two examinations, one class examination at the end of the Second Year with a view to eliminate the unfit, and the other final examination at the end of the fifth year. This examination will be conducted by the teachers jointly. The student who shows highest proficiency will receive the title Kaviraja, others who merely pass, Vaidya. The modern craze for high-sounding titles ending in Ratna has lowered the dignity of the profession by making them cheap.

9. *Cost.* An idea of cost is given below.  
Non-recurring charges.

	Rs.
(1) One acre of land for school ...	1,200
House, 11 pattern, two sets of 8 rooms with 7' wide front veranda connected by the central library room. Plinth area 6,100 sq. ft. ...	18,300
Shed and outhouses 700 sq. ft. ...	700
Four acres of land for garden ...	2,400
Laying out of land for garden ...	1,000
(2) Furniture ...	500
Appliances for Laboratory ...	2,000
Books ...	500
<b>TOTAL</b> ...	<b>27,600</b>
Recurring charges (annual).	
Pay of 5 Professors, (4 upadhyayas and 1 mahopadhyaya), average Rs. 100 each per month ...	6,000
1 Assistant Surgeon, Rs. 50 ...	600
2 Bearers, average Rs. 10 each ...	240
3 Malis, average Rs. 9 each ...	324
Grant for Dispensary, Library and Laboratory ...	500
Grant for garden ...	100
Repairs ...	100
<b>TOTAL</b> ...	<b>7,864</b>

The recurring charges if capitalized at 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ % will require one lac and thirty thousand rupees. The total cost will therefore amount to one lac and sixty thousand rupees. About twenty students may be expected to come out of the Ayurvedicalaya every year, each costing about Rs. 400. A part of the cost should properly be placed under the Dispensary, which if separately founded, would cost Rs. 1,500 a year.

There remains another item of expenditure. The students are supposed to be trained free; for it is more in the interest of the country than of the individuals that they undergo training. Considered from this point of view the old custom of free tuition and board in *talas* was a matter of necessity. In the modern conditions of life, however, it is enough if the students of the school find their own boarding and lodging. For the future development of the school, money will be wanted, and the custom of paying *Dakshina*, an offering to the Institution, may be revived, each student paying a certain fraction of his income for the second five years of his practice. This they will, we believe, readily do, and the school will be gradually richer, and the country prouder of the physicians.

## II

Since the above was written four years ago, great changes have taken place not only in the administration but also in the outlook of the country. By the time of writing this the Government of Bihar and Orissa having considered the desirability of Ayurvedic Schools had opened one for Bihar and another for Orissa. Bengal which prides herself in forward movements lagged behind and depended upon the few Kabirajes generously trained by their noble preceptors. The number thus obtained has, however, been very small, and the training of all cannot be pronounced satisfactory. We are apt to measure the success of a professional man by the amount of his income. That is, however, not always a safe test of his ability. Recently an Ayurvedic College has been opened in Calcutta by some of the distinguished Kabirajes, and much is expected of it. We heard of an Ayurvedicalaya started at Jessore. We are not aware of its progress. On the other hand, a medical college which was long dragging its existence has been equipped and added to the old one. There were two medical schools, and a new addition

has been made at Burdwan. There is a scheme, we understand, for opening similar schools at other centres as soon as Government finds money. There is also a proposal for establishing Dispensaries at every *thana* and also in populous villages and for subsidizing Doctors. Add to these, there is a new Department of Public Health.

One should have thought that these were sufficient. But recent events shew that every District town longs for a medical school as if Bengal has suddenly awakened from a long slumber and finds to her dismay that there are no Doctors! We shall put a question or two to those well-intentioned gentlemen who have been crying hoarse for more medical schools. Do they believe that the people of this country used to die untimely deaths without receiving medical treatment before the allopathic medicines were introduced? Are they satisfied that people go without treatment because no Doctors can be found?

It seems to us, the situation has been viewed at a wrong angle. What is wanted is cheap medical aid, and native agency and native methods are bound to be cheap. On this ground we are clamouring for the Indianisation of the public services, yet we forget to apply the principle to matters nearer home. The Europeans are so immensely rich that it is difficult for them to gauge the depth of our poverty. But we know what it is. We shall relate an incident which happened some time ago, which will, we are sure, give much food for reflection. A well-cultured and good-natured Englishman, who was a newcomer, drew our attention one day to the tattered loincloth of a man who was weeding out grass on a roadside.

"Look at that man," he exclaimed. "He ought to be ashamed of his clothing."

"Thank God, he has got even that. The man gets six rupees a month and has to maintain his family at home."

"Do you think he lives on his pay only? I have heard from reliable sources that these men feign poverty. They fill stockings with silver and hide them under the floor of their bed-rooms."

The information was of such a novel kind that we thought it useless to argue with the gentleman.

A few days after the poor man was down with rheumatic fever and could not move out of his hut which was close by. There was a Municipal Dispensary within a mile and a

Hospital about three miles off. But the man informed a grocer who used to sell Indian drugs and was relieved of his sufferings at the cost of a few annas. The gentleman came to know the man's preference, and his reason for the choice, and cried, "The man has no business to live."

"There we agree, Mr...The man is unfit for this world, and the sooner such persons disappear the better for them. But their number is legion!"

Such facts as the above are not unknown to the readers who may have noticed that sometimes poor people, instead of going to the nearest Dispensary where medical advice and medicine are given free, crowd in the houses of Kabirajes who charge the price of medicines. The Minister for Public Health, Bihar and Orissa, seems to have correctly appreciated the situation when he has arranged for giving the Vaidyas of the Province just the training necessary and enlisting them for a systematic fight with epidemics, because their services are cheap and they are already occupying the field. He knows the country and her needs better than many of us. If these agents, quacks if you like, kill hundreds, thousands are saved from the jaws of death.

It may be contended that the object of the medical schools is to turn out a large number of qualified Doctors who will take the field and being trained will fight better than the untrained rabble. But that is not our point. We do not deny that these trained men are sometimes more efficient; but we assert that Sepoys are less expensive than European soldiers, and what is more important, their arms are much cheaper, though perhaps less effective, than any obtainable in Europe. If their arms fail in some cases, give them better ones. Some complain that some of the Kabirajes use quinine and other European drugs. We think this introduction is to their credit, and certainly it is no sin to apply these medicines to cases where they are found to be most useful. On the contrary, we would have condemned the practice if it did not prove itself progressive and capable of assimilating what was good in others.

Not to speak of the poorer classes, those who are generally, though erroneously, regarded as the middle class find it more convenient to seek the aid of a Kabiraj than that of a Doctor, not because they have no confidence in the Western method of treat-

ment but because the Ayurvedic treatment costs less. The same consideration finds expression in home treatment with Homoeopathic medicines. Take a case of illness which continues for ten days. If a Doctor is called every other day, his fees amount to eight rupees *plus* conveyance charge of at least four rupees. This is usually the case in villages. Add to these the price of medicine which at the rate of eight annas a day amount to another four rupees. How many, we ask, can afford to pay sixteen rupees for a single case of illness? One having an income of one hundred rupees a month will think twice before calling a Doctor. If he calls a Doctor and finds money for his attendance, it is because there is no help for it.

Some imagine that when there will be more medical schools, and when Doctors will be as plentiful as black-berries, the cost will be less. But is not the supply of Doctors more than the demand in towns? Is the cost less in towns than in villages? No. The M. B.'s and the L. M. S.'s cannot reduce their fee, and the reason is not far to seek. They complain and rightly complain that barring the cases of the fortunate few their profession does not pay. Some have wondered why the surplus Doctors do not go to villages to follow their profession. The reason is, village practice is less paying. An M. B. cannot live unless his earning is two thousand rupees a year. He can serve about ten villages, which means two rupees per family for a Doctor, a sum beyond the means of the village people. A Sub-assistant Surgeon may be satisfied with a thousand rupees a year. The item for his attendance is no doubt reduced, but the cost of medicine remains the same.

We agree with the Doctors and say that considering the length of time they undergo training, the expenses incurred and the risk in the profession, their services are not adequately appreciated. But they will see that the fault lies in their choice of the profession. Their country is too poor to pay for it. We think this fact will gradually dawn upon the minds of the candidates who are now rushing to the doors of the medical colleges and schools for admission. The consideration which impels them even now is a negative one. What else will they do? It is, however, certain that as the number increases, the nobility of the profession will

decrease as it has done in another noble profession.

The country is not entirely to blame for the apparent lack of appreciation of the Doctors. It is essentially necessary for the success of a medical practitioner to be one of the people whom he wishes to serve. Our Doctors like the rest of the English-educated class suffer from the fact that they are by education strangers to the country. This is a large question and we have no space to discuss it here. Suffice it to say that the English-educated class is a new creation, unlike the Indian, and while the Doctors are quite suited to this class, they are not to the general population of the country. The reason why quacks of all descriptions are able to flourish in places where qualified Doctors are plentiful is a simple one, which is that they are of the people while the Doctors are not. The Kabirajes for whose training we have been pleading will not labour under this disadvantage. They will not enter any English school whose very atmosphere is artificial, where the students, teachers and the country are supposed to be English. They will receive

instruction in *maths* where everything is Indian.

We think we have said enough to show that trained Kabirajes will do more good at a less cost than Doctors. We are not opposed to Doctors; on the contrary we hold that there must be a sufficient number of them. But taking the circumstances of the country into consideration we think twenty Kabirajes to one Doctor will be the right proportion. Of course there are none so foolish as to imagine that the cost of a medical school or an Allopathic Dispensary is not met by the people themselves. In these hard times every pice whether of the individual or the Government has to be turned to good account and waste avoided.

It is a misfortune that our countrymen are running after sameness, after one type. Our schools and colleges are of one type, new Universities are the duplicates of the old. While nature abhors sameness and society languishes for variety, we wish to make things quite uniform and to run them in a straight one.

JOGESCHANDRA RAY.

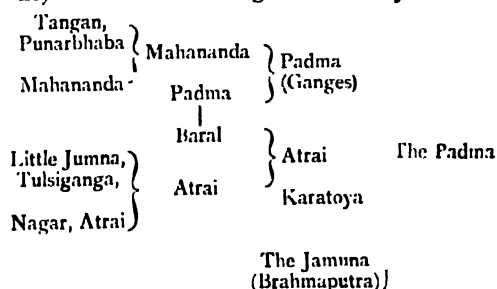
## THE GREAT FLOOD IN NORTHERN BENGAL

IT has been said that Bengal is the "gift of the Ganges (and of the Brahmaputra). But along with gifts, not infrequently, come curses, and it was the sad lot of the people of North Bengal to have a taste of these just a few weeks ago.

The following account of the Great Flood has been compiled, for the benefit of the readers of the MODERN REVIEW, out of official and non-official communiques received up to date. It may not be complete, for the fullest details are available only to officials, and these may be partially or fully withheld from the public for political reasons. The rough chart attached herewith of the affected region is indispensable for a proper understanding of the flood and the situation caused thereby.

A look at the chart will show that the river systems of Northern Bengal fall into two main groups—The Ganges (or the Padma) on the south and south-west with its tributary the Mahananda; the Jumna or the Brahmaputra on the east, with its

tributary the Teesta on the north-east. The two streams unite near Goalundo. The heart of the country is traversed by another large tributary of the Jumna,—the Atrai, into which most of the other small streams in this region discharge their waters. The following is the key to the understanding of the river-system.



The slope of the country is from N. N. W. to S. S. E. and is variously estimated to be from six inches to one foot per mile. The course

of the Atrai roughly indicates the line of the greatest slope. The country consists of two well-defined geological tracts—the old alluvia to the west locally known as the Barind, which is a colloquial form of Varendra, the classical name of the country, and the newer diluvial formations of the Brahmaputra to the east. The banks of the Karatoya may be taken to be the watershed dividing the basin of the Atrai from that of the Jumna. The Atrai flows through the confines of the old alluvial formation. The riparian tract along the Ganges has a relatively high level, the land sloping down northwards from the Ganges. The lower course of the Atrai, near about Nator, passes through a natural depression, the centre of which is occupied by the Chalan bil (lake), lying between the Pabna and the Rajshahi districts. The present area is 40 sq. miles, but the original area is said to have been about 400 sq. miles. The country about the Chalan bil has been reclaimed from the bed of the larger lake by century-long processes of silting. From the very nature of this tract, it is subject to annual seasonal flooding. Almost the whole of the eastern Natore subdivision and part of the Pabna district on the Chalan bil area remain under water from 5 to 6 months in the year to a depth of three to four feet. During the rains, the Chalan bil gets connected with another bil, the Raktadaha in the Bogra district, south of the Adamdighi station.

It ought to be remembered at the very beginning that these annual inundations, instead of being a source of mischief, are of the greatest possible benefit, as they fertilise the soil by precipitation of river-borne silt, and render artificial irrigation unnecessary. People in these regions have so adapted their modes of living that the usual floods cause no inconvenience to them. Their houses are built on raised plots of ground. "Within the bil area, a longstemmed variety of amon crops (winter paddy) is sown, previous to the setting-in of the rains. The growth of the paddy plants keeps pace with the rise of the water during the rainy season. The stem grows to a length of ten or twelve feet and upwards, provided the rise of water is gradual. A sudden rise of water will submerge the plants, and if not followed by a speedy fall, will kill them."\* This feature must be carefully borne in mind, for it gives the key to the proper understanding of the misery inflicted by the flood on the Rajshahi district. In the comparatively higher regions, short-stemmed varieties are sown to suit best the local conditions. In this region as elsewhere in Bengal, the population is entirely rural and paddy is the main crop; jute comes next, and before the

war, was rapidly gaining in importance. In the Naogaon sub-division, ganja (an intoxicating plant) is also extensively cultivated.

The prosperity of the country thus depends upon meteorological conditions. A normal rainfall means a prosperous year. A defective rainfall spells dearth or famine. An excessive rainfall or very heavy showers within a short time, means abnormal flooding. In the history of the country, a succession of normal prosperous years has often been interrupted by a year or two of dearth and abnormal flood. But the recent flood presents certain unique features.

The great flood owes its origin to the heavy rainfall all over the Atrai-basin, during the week September 22 to September 29. The disturbance in the Bay passed over Calcutta almost due north, discharging copious rains all along its track. It then extended over the districts of Dinajpore, Maldah, Rajshahi and Bogra.

It did not seem to have extended either further north or to the east (over the Brahmaputra valley), but discharged its whole contents of moisture over the Atrai-basin. At Naogaon, the centre of this basin the rainfall was as follows:

	22	23	24
Sept.	Friday	Saturday	Sunday
	1'90	1'12	9'96 inches.
Sept.	25	26	27
	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday
	3'85	10'60	5'82 inches.

The average rainfall at Naogaon is about 70 inches, of which about 14 inches are precipitated within the month of September. The rainfall was rather unusual, though not unprecedented. Similar heavy rains fell simultaneously all over the Dinajpore district.

By the 24th instant, all the rivers in the Dinajpore district began to swell and overflow their banks. The rain-water accumulated in south Dinajpore began to move southwards along the Atrai-basin, along the Taugan and the Punarbhaba. We are more concerned with the floods in the Atrai basin. To understand the nature of the havoc done, one must have a look at the railway lines in the district. The railway system in this tract consists of two sections, the lower one, from Sara to Santahar being a double line, in which the old metre gauge line exists side by side with the new broad gauge line constructed a few years ago. The upper part, from Santahar to Jalpaiguri consists of the metre gauge line, though the broad gauge embankment is ready. Santahar is an important railway junction, from which another line has branched off, almost at right angles, to Bogra, this being also a metre gauge line. Besides these lines, there is the Sara-Serajgunge line, further south, a broad gauge line which

the Chalan bil area, thus effectively blocking the chief water course of Northern Bengal.

To resume our narrative of the flood. The rain-water descending from the Balurghat Subdivision swept across the Balurghat—Hilli District Board road, and brushed against the railway line. Up Santahar, this volume of water bifurcated. The upper part broke through the upper section of the line, between Jamalgunge and Akkelpur at several places, on the night of the 25th September. The Mail train starting from Darjeeling on the 25th instant for Calcutta reached Parbatipur the next morning, but could not proceed further, because the line some miles south of Parbatipur was reported to be under water, and the news of the breach at Akkelpur became known to the railway officials. The passengers had to stay at Parbatipur for four days and were then sent to Calcutta by another long, devious route. The breach was not repaired till the 28th September, and the first train along this track reached Calcutta on Monday, the 1st October. On moving further south, the flood-water came at right angles against the Bogra-Santahar line and breached it at several places, east and west of Adamdighi. The flood-water spread as far as Kahaloo. Thence it made its way to the south through the Raktadaha bil, to the Chalan bil tract in Rajshahi and Pabna to be again held up by the Sara-Serajgunge line. In that line there was a breach between Bhangura and Goakbara, though not a very serious one.

The western half of the flood-water, from Dinajpore, spread over the Atrai-basin, comprising the whole of the Naogaon Subdivision. But it could not breach the railway line which acted like a double dam across this volume of moving water. The only way of escape was through the channel of the Atrai and some other small rivers which under such exceptional circumstances could discharge only a small fraction of the water accumulated behind it. This line is again very insufficiently provided with culverts, and oftentimes the culverts of the metre gauge line have no corresponding culverts on the parallel broad gauge section. Mr. J. C. Roy of the Social Service League observes in a letter to the Amrita Bazar published on the 6th November :

"At the time of the reconstruction of the new broad gauge line, many openings on the original line were either closed or much shortened in width. As a result, water could not pass easily, the flood got blocked by the railway line."

The same view was taken by almost all the correspondents on the scene, particularly by the correspondent to the Statesman who remarked that "the floods had taken the same course as in 1918, and that this was due to the construc-

tion of the Sara-Serajgunge railway." The railway was not breached, and the railway authorities including the agent, Col. Cameron, who happened to pass by the spot a few days later, congratulated themselves on the strength of the line built by them. But this joy in the railway camp was mingled with the wails of distressed villagers living in the affected area.

The floodwater being held back effectively began to rise in level and extend further over the district. People looked with dismay on the boiling sheet of water beneath them which seemed likely to swallow everything lying above it. They soon saw their paddy fields, their home-steads, being submerged under water. They were driven to take shelter on high grounds, on trees, on boats, on hastily-improvised rafts, on roofs of houses, which began to collapse under them and on railway embankments. The water-level continued to rise till it exceeded the average annual flood-level by eight to nine feet. The difference of level on the west and on the east side of the Railway line amounted to from four to five feet—a clear indication that the railway line was blocking the free passage of water.

A worker of the Bengal Relief Committee who visited the area on the 2nd October, describes that the country looked like an open sea, dotted here and there with tops of trees and patches of high land, on which all classes of people were huddled together, waiting for the water to subside. But thanks to the railway embankments, the water took a pretty long time in subsiding.

This view has been independently taken by Mr. Satish Chandra Pramanik, M. Sc., Demonstrator in Physics at the Jagannath Intermediate College, who comes from a village in the centre of the affected area, and who, being on a visit to his village home to enjoy the Puja holidays, had to pass through the ordeal along with his fellow-villagers. Mr. Pramanik writes in his personal narrative :—

"The rise during the period of heavy rains amounted to nearly nine feet, and it was higher than the flood level of 1918 by 4 feet. Water began to subside from Friday, the 30th September, but the process was very slow amounting to only three inches in twentyfour hours. After the 30th, there were occasional showers of rain, though not on a very large scale. In a fortnight (13th October), only three feet of water had been drained off. As the Aman crop had been lying under water for over a fortnight, it became a total loss.

"It is the opinion of the elderly people of the locality, who have experiences of such heavy rains, but not of such heavy floods lasting for nearly a month, that the flood would not have proved so disastrous to the crops and also to the homesteads to a certain extent, if there had



been no railway embankments to retard the downward progress of rainwater, or if the bridges were numerous and sufficiently large. Even if the bridges previously existing with the metre gauge line had been left as they were and not reduced to  $\frac{1}{2}$  to  $\frac{1}{3}$  of their previous sizes during the construction of the broad gauge line, both the sufferings of the people and the loss of their food would have been enormously reduced. At the early stages of the flood the difference of water-level on the two sides of the line varied from 3 to 4 feet according to locality between Madhanagar and Raghurampur Railway stations."

This is corroborated by a telegram to the "Bengalee" dated Santahar the 6th October, which says, "In the Akkelpur area (near the breach in the north) flood is subsiding, but in Naogaon there is no change." This was eleven days after the flood reached its highest level. We have learnt from subsequent investigation that for fifteen days there was little change in the flood-level. Even after that, it went down very slowly. By this time the paddy-fields which had been lying under 8 feet of water for more than a fortnight were lost beyond all hopes of recovery. The ganja crop in Naogaon shared a similar fate. In fact, nothing was recovered from the watery desert.

#### FLOOD IN BOGRA.

The rainfall in western Bogra was quite as heavy as elsewhere, but in the part over which the flood passed this year, yearly inundation is almost unknown, except perhaps occasional and rare cases of overflowing of the small river Tulsiganga. People of this country are therefore, less well-provided against floods. Their houses are built on the same level as the fields, and boats and rafts are practically unknown.

When therefore flood-water from the Dinajpore district, which extended as far as Parbatipore, being pressed back by the railway line, took a southerly course, and ultimately breached the railway line between Jamalgunge and Akkelpore, people were faced with a calamity which they had not experienced before, and for which they were totally unprepared. The flood passed over only western Bogra but the destruction of houses and property in the wake of the flood was sudden, and quite as severe as in Rajshahi. Owing to the breach, however, east and west of Adamdighi, (Nature having taken the matter into her own hand, as Dr. J. M. Dasgupta puts it), the flood-water passed off rather quickly, and much of the Aman crop is said to have survived the deluge. The loss of crops in the affected area is estimated to be at 20 to 25 per cent, much less than in Rajshahi.

IF THE BOGRA-SANTAHAR LINE WERE DOUBLE.

I shudder to think what would have been the

plight of the people of western Bogra if the Bogra-Santahar line were double, and two or three feet higher and could hold back the flood-water as effectively as the Sara-Santahar section. In that case, the water would have risen to a point at which everything would have been engulfed, and people being totally unprovided against floods would have been drowned like rats. The flood would have stayed so long that the crops would have been irretrievably lost.

What has happened once, may happen over again. The people of Bogra ought to be careful that the folly of the Sara-Santahar line is not allowed to be repeated in the case of the Santahar-Bogra line. Future lines must be provided with sufficient culverts. It is a matter of life and death to them.

#### FLOOD IN EASTERN RAJSHAH AND PABNA.

We have remarked that the flood in Eastern Rajshahi, in the Panchupore Singra area, was due, besides the local rainfall, to the flood water coming from Bogra through the Raktadaha—Chalan bil line.

If the Sara-Santahar line were absent, flood water west of this line would have spread into this area, and would have ultimately passed through Pabna to the Jumna thus relieving the pressure west of this line.

Mr. J. C. Roy of the Social Service League who visited the Panchupore area on October 6, writes that water in this area began to rise from the 26th to the 27th, it was from 6 to 7 inches higher than the usual level and remained stationary for seven days. Subsidence began from the 4th October.

In this region and in Pabna again, the extreme slowness of subsidence is due to the obstruction offered by the broad gauge line from Sara to Serajgunge. Moulavie Emdaduddin Ahmed, Chairman of the Rajshahi District Board states that the difference in level on the two sides of this line on the 30th September amounted to 3 ft. This clearly disposes of the plea put forward in some quarters that the level of the Jumna was higher than the flood level, and was pressing back the flood water.

#### A LEAF OUT OF THE PAGES OF ANCIENT HISTORY.

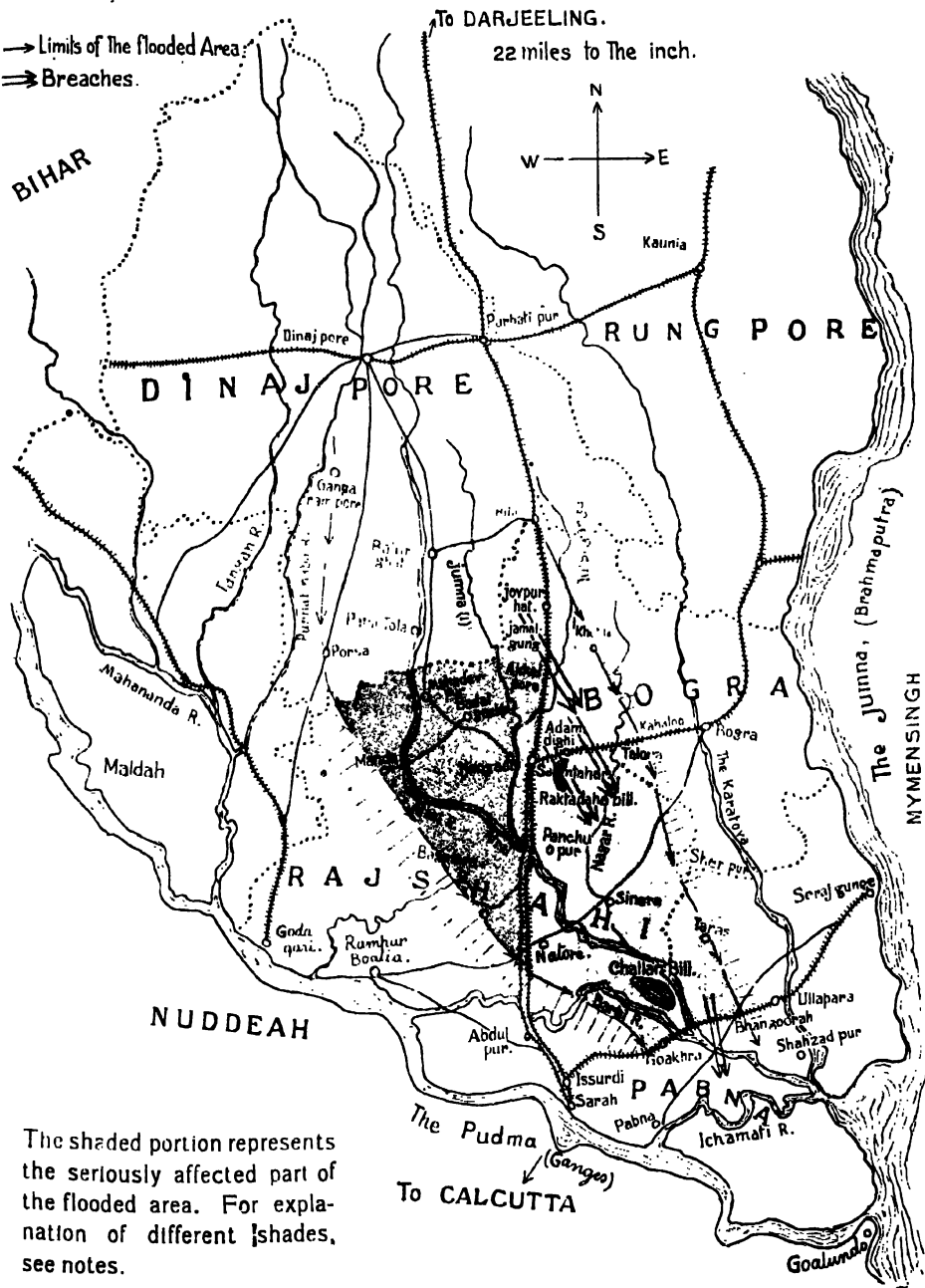
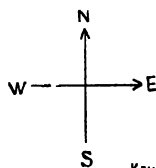
I remarked in the beginning that in the past years there have been very serious floods in the same region but the present one reveals certain unique features. This unique feature is the holding up of flood water by the railway embankments for an unusual length of time leading ultimately to the total destruction of crops. Below is quoted a case of very serious flooding accompanied by destruction of houses, but not with loss of crops.

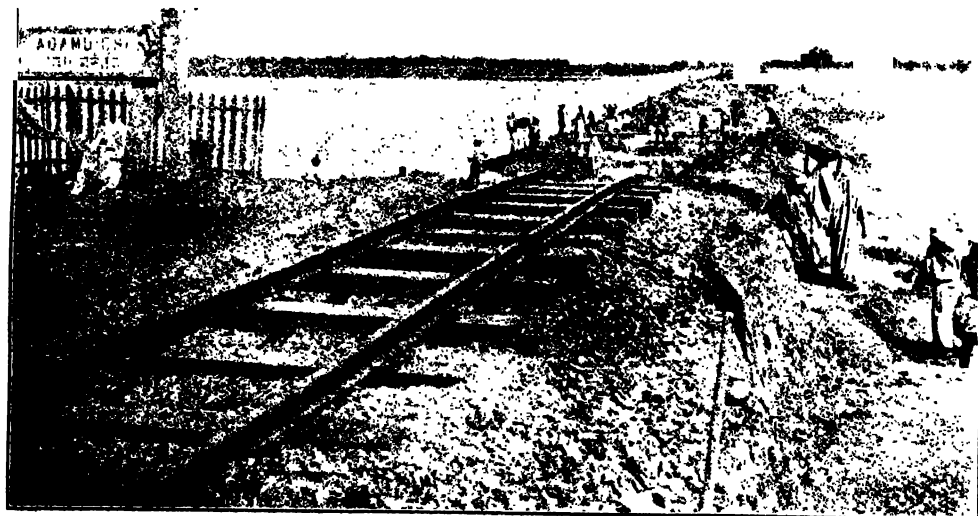
"Again, in 1871, rainfall caused excessive inundations in Raishahi as in other districts

- Limits of The flooded Area.
- ⇒ Breaches.

**1. To DARJEELING.**

22 miles to The inch.





Breach in the railway line between Adamdighi and Nasaratpore ( Bogra-Santahar line ). The breach is about 3 quarters of a mile wide. The whole line was washed out, and boats used to ply freely over the line. The water has not yet subsided ( 13th Oct. )

People say that but for this breach, they would have been drowned like rats.



Breach on the western side of Adamdighi about a mile in width. Note the fragments of railway line scattered here and there.

Photographs by Mr. Charuchandra Guha.



The debris of the residence of a Brahmin Zemindar of Nasaratpur. This gentleman had 22 houses, mostly big corrugated iron sheds. Note the huge roof of one of the sheds levelled to the ground. During the flood, the whole family had to take shelter on the roof, where they had to remain without food for 48 hours.



Scene of destruction. Note the villagers trying to excavate their utensils and other property out of the debris.

Photographs by Mr. Charuchandra Guha.



Another scene at the residence of a zamindar. Note the temporarily improvised bedding to the right, and the kitchen to the left.



A scene of destruction. Note that the ground is strewn with the debris of thatched roofs giving the plot the appearance of a grassy field. The white triangular figures on the roof are ladies of respectable families with their backs to the photographer.

Photographs by Mr. Charuchandra Guha.



Inhabitants of the village of Utran ( Bogra ) camping temporarily on the high banks of a village tank.



Scene of destruction at Chaitangaon ( Bogra ).



Inhabitants of Talora camping round their destroyed houses. They are mostly Mahomedan peasants. Note their famished appearance, and haggard looks.



Volunteers of the Bengal Relief Committee distributing food and clothing to the distressed villagers at the Santahar Central Station.

Photographs by Mr. Charuchandra Guha.

that are washed by the Ganges. The waters were out on this occasion from the end of August to the second week of October, and the whole country was flooded. It is believed that these were the highest floods on record in this district; but the damage done to the crops was comparatively small. The cattle suffered much from the loss of fodder, and the people were greatly inconvenienced by being driven to seek shelter on high places. When the water subsided, cholera broke out in an epidemic form. The *boro aman* rice crop, however, grew on in most places uninjured, and managed to keep its head above waters, even when they rose quickly, and eventually a very fair rice harvest was reaped." (District Gazetteer of Rajshahi.)

The reader will see that the havoc done by the present flood and the flood of 1871 are identical in all respects except as regards the destruction of crops. In 1871, the flood was not held up by railway embankments. The water rose slowly and subsided rapidly enabling the *Aman* crop to survive the deluge. But this year, the railway embankments held up the water so long, that the crops became a total loss. I think that if the railway embankment were provided with waterways, or if during the early stages of the flood, the line were breached or cut open to let the water pass freely, the rice crop of the Rajshahi district, and the Ganja crop of Naogaon could have been largely, if not wholly, recovered. Such a precedent of cutting the line in time for public good is not unknown, even in India.

In 1892, there was a serious flood in the very region. We quote the following account from the District Gazetteer of Dinajpur:—

"The really serious flood in the Dinajpur district of which any account has been preserved was that of the 9th July, 1892. This appears to have been an inundation from the Atrai...At one time, it seemed likely that the whole of the centre portion of the town of Dinajpur might be destroyed, but the timely cutting of the Darjeeling Road let the water off and relieved the pressure...Any way the railway line was breached on both sides of the town. An enquiry into the cause of this disastrous flood led to the conclusion that the Railway line which bisects the district from east to west was in a large measure responsible for the damage done, by holding up the flood water coming from the north. To obviate this, the waterway was greatly increased with, it would seem, satisfactory results, as no flood worthy of the name has occurred since."

The reader will see that this statement is quite categorical. If the Railway engineers who constructed the Sara-Santahar and Sara-Serajunge Railway were conversant with this episode, and cared to take their lesson from it, the people of Rajshahi and Pabna would have been spared much of the misery to

#### THE OFFICIAL VERSION OF THE FLOOD.

It is interesting to compare the above account of the flood with the official version published on the 12th October. I have added certain passages (included within round brackets) to the main body of the communique, for reasons to be stated presently.

"The floods were the result of excessive rainfall in Northern Bengal culminating on the 26th September. At Naogaon, a week's rainfall registered 31½ inches. The flood water originally collected in the Balurghat subdivision of the district of Dinajpur spread over the whole of the Natore and Sadar subdivision of the Rajshahi district, breached the railway line (between Jamalgunj and Akkelpore, and between Santahar and Bogra) in several places and traversed the western part of the district of Bogra in which the railway station of Santahar lies, thence passed into the Chalan Bil (area) in that district."

In this communique, no mention is made of the course of the western section of the flood-water which poured into Naogaon and Natore, and was held up by the double line running from Sara to Santahar, causing a devastating accumulation of water for upwards of a fortnight. No mention is made of the fact that due to this obstruction, the pent-up water on the western side of the line rose to a height of four to five feet above the level of the water on the eastern side. The communique carefully omitted to mention how long the flood stayed in Rajshahi, east and west of the line, even after the practical cessation of the rains during the week following the deluge.

The official Communique betrays an ill-concealed attempt to put the railways into the background by availing, as much as possible, all references to them, and throwing all the blame on the freaks of nature. But

#### "The cut was let out of the bag"

by subordinate officers and experienced officials on the spot whom, probably, the Ministers on the hill-top had no time to consult or to coach before writing their despatch. Probably the sight of the disasters so moved the hearts of these gentlemen, that they could not but empty their minds to the people, who sought interviews with them.

These interviews, collected on behalf of the Bengal Relief Committee, by the enterprising and public-spirited Kavi Raj Anath Nath Ray, have been published in most of the leading daily papers. They have now become matters of common knowledge, but they should be preserved in the form of more enduring literature than in the ephemeral publication of a daily paper. To quote in extenso from Dr. Bentley, the Director of Public Health:

Dr. Bentley said:—You see that all drains converge into rivers. The rivers ultimately discharge themselves into the Padma and the Jumna. The slope



the engineers who are responsible for the construction of District Board Roads and Railway lines in this region did not trouble their heads about the natural drainage of the country. The roads and railway lines are insufficiently provided with culverts, and waterways. *The water itself is not an evil but it must be quickly drained off.* The fact that floods have become almost annual visitants clearly show a disorganisation of the catchment areas of the river system of Bengal, due to the faulty construction of railways. The problem before us is to see that the natural system of drainage is restored, and, after every rainfall, water drains off as quickly as possible. The river system ought to be surveyed with a view to discovering how the basin of each river has been obstructed by railway embankments. Wherever necessary, a sufficient number of culverts of a new type must be inserted. I have discussed this problem with a very clever engineer friend of mine who has actually carried out experiments in this connection. In his view small culverts, 20 to 24 inches in diameter, should be inserted in every embankment at frequent intervals. The ground level of these culverts should not be the same as that of the surface, but should be at least a foot higher. In this way some water will be left for irrigation purpose, at the same time the accumulation of water would never be dangerous for the embankments. Moreover the water would not be discharged directly into the rivers and streams but would pass on to the fields, where it is needed for the crops. With such a system as I suggest Bengal can keep her roads and railways, and largely eliminate malaria, improve her water supply and at the same time prevent risks of dangerous floods. This disorganisation of the country by the roads and railway embankments is the cause of the trouble.

Question.—I understand this general statement. Will you kindly explain the cause of the present crisis?

Dr. Bentley.—The railway embankments chiefly and the Dt. Board roads as well interfere with the free flow of water to the streams. The railway line here runs from north to south, while the slope of the country is from west to east. Thus the railway embankments and the Dt. Board roads to a certain extent are responsible for the flood. I wrote to the Government immediately after my first visit to the flooded area. This is my second visit, and the views I have expressed are on their way to Darjeeling to the members of the Government.

The reader must carefully note the sentence "Water in itself is not an evil, if it is quickly drained off," which puts the whole plea in a nutshell.

It is not worth while to quote the opinion of the Minister, who ascribed the whole blame to the freaks of nature. Probably the old gentleman was remembering the Bengali proverb "যাঁদা কৃষ্ণ রাখে কে—whom it pleases God to kill, it is useless for man to try to save," and trying to forget the miseries of the victims of the railway policy as philosophically as possible.

Khan Bahadur Emdaduddin Ahmed, Chairman, Rajshahi District Board, says in his interview:—

My considered view is that the railway lines are the chief causes of the flood. The line from

Santahar to Natore was metre gauge before, and the total water-way was two thousand running feet, leaving out large bridges. This line has been converted into broad gauge, and while the larger bridges remain, the same water-way has been reduced from 2,000 running feet, to 1,200 feet, i. e., practically by 800 running feet. The construction of the Sara-Serajgunge line is the main cause of the flood. The waterways of this line are very insufficient. When this line was being constructed, we prayed and petitioned for a larger number of waterways in the line, but failed to influence the railway authorities. That the Santahar-Natore and Sara-Serajgunge lines are responsible for the floods will be borne out by the following measurements of the waterlevel on the two sides of the lines. The difference of waterlevel as between the two sides of the Santahar-Natore line was 3 ft., on the 27th and 2 ft., on the 30th Sept.; the difference on the Sara-Serajgunge line was 3 to 3½ ft. so late as on the 5th instant. I told this to Sir Surendra Nath Banerjee and to Dr. Bentley; the latter while admitting this said that there ought to be more waterways on the Dt. Board roads as well.

The same view was substantially corroborated by the overseer of the District Board roads, Mr. Sailendra Mohan Ghose, and other officials.

#### EXTENT OF DAMAGE DONE.

It is best to quote from the official communique which is held to be an underestimate by all non-official visitors to the scene.

The principal areas affected are nearly 400 square miles in the district of Bogra, 1200 square miles in the district of Rajshahi in varying degrees and a small area in Pabna. There has been a considerable loss of crop and destruction of houses. In the district of Rajshahi, it is estimated that the loss of the winter rice crop in the affected area is on the average 70 to 75 per cent. The loss of the ganja crop is estimated at 90 per cent. In Bogra, however, the loss of the winter rice crop is not estimated at more than 20 to 25 per cent of the whole. The huts demolished or damaged in the area affected in the district of Rajshahi are estimated at 50 or 60 per cent. Many, however, with tin or thatched roofs can be repaired again. In Bogra, the loss of homesteads is not estimated at more than 5 per cent or 10 per cent in the worst cases. The loss of the cattle is also substantial.

As to the non-official estimates we quote the following from the "Statesman" of the 15th October.

"The Governmental estimate as to the loss of and damage to property is held to be, in almost every respect, a considerable underestimate. In the Bogra district the loss has been estimated by the Assistant Director of Public Health at over one crore of rupees. In the village of Talson alone, seven small huts out of fully 200 dwellings have been left standing.

After a visit to the Naogaon subdivision I am on good authority to say that the damage to property and destruction of cattle much more serious than is indicated by official estimates. The Naogaon sub-

division has a population of something over five lacs and fully sixty thousand dwellings have been destroyed within its boundaries by the flood.

Practically all the Ganja crop is hopelessly damaged, while only an infinitely small part of the growing rice crop will be available this season."

The area affected in Rajshahi is three times the area in Bogra, and the loss to houses, property, and crop is admitted to be more severe. We can therefore put the loss at Rajshahi and Pabna combined at 5 crores of rupees. Altogether, the floods have caused a total loss of six crores of rupees, and of this huge loss a substantial percentage must be laid at the door of the railways.

This is not probably all the loss the unfortunate people have suffered. After the flood of 1918, the complaint was received from every quarter that the fields had become coated with a fresh layer of mud which had considerably reduced the fertility of the soil. During the Damodar floods, fields on both sides of the Damodar were coated with a layer of reddish mud,—the ferrogenous soil of Chotanagpur washed away by the streams feeding the Damodar, which considerably reduced the crop-bearing capacity of these fields, and this fertility was not recovered till a year or two afterwards. When the flood comes in the ordinary way, and has a natural flow, the soil beneath is coated with a thin layer of alluvial silt (known as the *pali*) which greatly increases the fertility. But during the heavy rains, such as that which preceded this great flood, generally the soil is washed to a great depth, the water becomes extremely turbid due to the presence of particles of earth from the subsoil held in suspension, which is heavily precipitated when the flow is completely checked as on the present occasion. All correspondents report that the places from which the flood-water has receded have been coated with an unusually thick layer of mud. I apprehend very much that the crop-bearing capacity of the soil has been greatly reduced by this thick deposit of mud. I do not however wish to commit myself to any definite view as there is not sufficient data at my disposal. I hope my fears will prove to be baseless, for otherwise the peasant, in addition to the loss of the Aman crop this year, will also have a poor Rabi crop. It is desirable that this point be carefully investigated by the agricultural officers of the Government.

#### *The Flood and After. Act of God or Hand of Man.*

The Flood has come and gone. It has done what harm it could do to the unfortunate people who happened to be on its path. The question has been raised, "Is it to be considered wholly as an Act of God, or has the Hand of Man any share in rendering it more destructive than it would otherwise have been?"

I approached the problem with an impartial mind and I find the conclusion irresistible that "the Hand of Man" must have a fairly large share of the blame. To put the matter in a nutshell, my considered opinion is that if the railways were provided with sufficient waterways, the loss of crops would have been slight, and the destruction of houses and property would have been greatly reduced.

I do not for a moment suggest that the railway engineers have purposely done the mischief. But it is clear that they failed to do good, or did not care to study the interest of the people living in the regions through the heart of which the line was constructed. It is difficult for an engineer trained in England to realise the immense importance of unobstructed flow of water to the peasant here. The peasant of Bengal has no railway shares or debentures to live upon. The few acres of land which he possesses and tills, supplies food and clothing for himself and his family, and enables him to pay the rent to the Zemindar. There is no industrial concern in the country area where he can earn his bread as a labourer. He lives and dies with his paddy fields.

It is rumoured that when it was decided to double the *Sara-Sintahar* line with the reduction of waterways commented upon many correspondents, the then Commissioner of the Rajshahi division had a tough fight with the Chief Railway Engineer. The Commissioner put forward the view that the reduction of waterways might lead to a disaster like the present one. But his arguments failed to convince the railway authorities and ultimately the peasant was sacrificed to railway interests. It is also said that the man in charge of the construction tampered with the plans, and further reduced the total waterways provided therein. Ultimately the man was removed, but the mischief he did was not undone. I cannot vouch for the truth of this story, but anybody who will bring the true story of the construction of the railway to light, will earn the thanks of the country.

I have tried to show in the press how the railway embankments have been instrumental for the almost total destruction of these paddy fields, and I shall consider my labour sufficiently rewarded if the people of Bengal rise to a sense of the danger threatening the peasantry of North Bengal, and see that they are spared a similar fate in future. I would remind the railway authorities of the following lines of Burns—

O wad some power the giflic gie us,

To see oursel as other see us,

It wuld frae monie a blunder free us

and foolish notion.

MUGHNAD SAHA.

## THE NEW CHITTAGONG COPPERPLATE OF KANTIDEVA

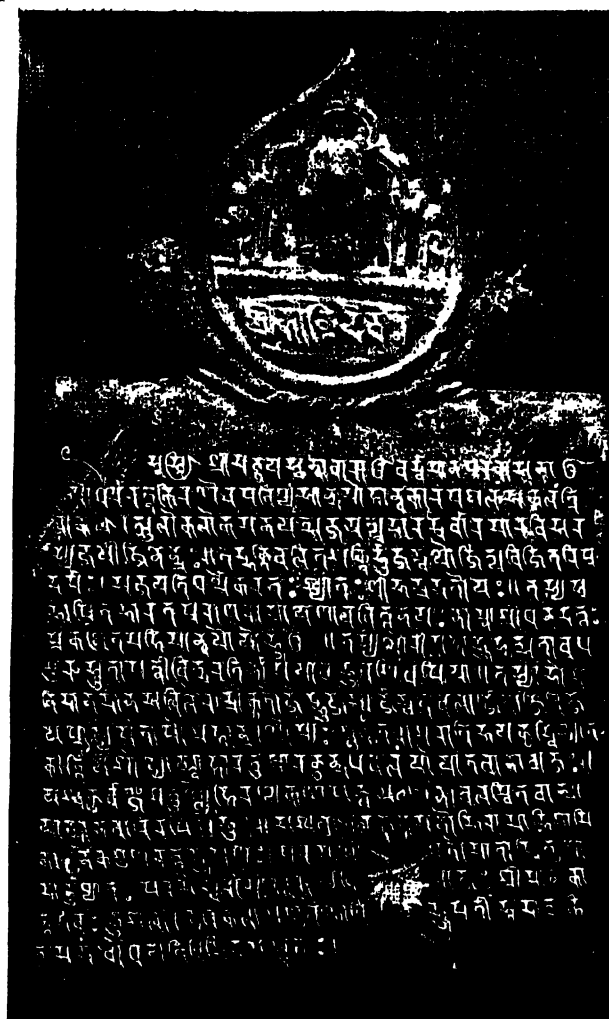
By D. C. BHATTACHARYA, M.A. AND J. N. SIKDAR, M.A.

THIS inscription has recently been discovered by Prof. J. N. Sikdar, M.A., in an old temple of Chittagong, commonly known as *Barakhara* dedicated to Rādhagadhara. The temple

and its adjacent buildings which are now lying in a dilapidated condition, occupy a large area in the northern quarter of the town and are at present owned by a mohunt named Ramadas. From the statement of the mohunt it appears that the temple had been constructed some three centuries back during the Mahomedan times and the plate had been associated with it since its beginning. How it came to be deposited in the temple which has evidently no connection with it, cannot be accounted for.

The inscription contains 17 lines of writing—16 full lines and the last line only 4 inches long, incised on one side of a thick copper-plate measuring  $10\frac{1}{2}'' \times 7\frac{1}{2}''$ . The writing space covers an area of  $6\frac{1}{4}'' \times 7''$ . It is in a state of excellent preservation and may be read with certainty throughout. A deeply cut notch is seen just above the last line towards the right from the middle. It had existed in the original plate before it was inscribed, as the lines 14—16 are found to cross over it. Towards the middle of the side whence the writing begins the plate is projected  $4\frac{1}{2}''$  inches upwards in the shape of a heart to form the royal seal which is supported by two serpents with their raised hoods. The seal contains in relief the legend *Sri Kantidevah* and in the upper part the design of a tri-folio arch of the mediæval Hindu temple with the representation of a lion in a sitting posture.

The language of the record is Sanskrit and with the exception of lines 1, 14—17, which are in prose, the whole is in verse expressed in different metres. The inscription is in the usual form of a land grant; the metrical portion containing the description of the royal dynasty.



the camp of victory whence it was issued. Unfortunately the inscription abruptly comes to an end just before the formal part of the grant, with the usual address unto future kings. The inscription thus seems to confirm the view, entertained after the discovery of the Kedārpur Plate of Śrīchandra that the common (metrical) portion of copper-plate grants made by the same king used to be inscribed previously in large numbers in the manner of printed forms, the formal grant being actually inscribed subsequently on respective occasions.

The characters are very clearly and carefully incised; there is not a single stroke which may look doubtful or irregular. They make the inscription one of the best specimens of the type of the North Indian Script prevalent in Bengal (and Magadha) in the 8th and 9th centuries A. D. The characters mainly resemble those in the Ghosrawa Inscription of the reign of Devapala and seem to be earlier than those of the Garura Stambha inscription and even of the Gaya Inscription of the seventh year of Narayanapala, (vide Plate p. 198 of R. D. Banerjee's *बाह्याहार इतिहास* vol. 1—cf. especially the letters *च* and *न*.) The inscription preserves the distinctly ancient form of the letter *च* (line 3) which has long disappeared and is met with only in the Ghosrawa Inscription perhaps for the last time. The letters *भ* and *ष* are similarly in ancient forms which place the present inscription earlier than the Ghosrawa inscription. The letter *व* ( *ह्रस्व* ) is exactly like that in the Baijnath Prashasti of 804 A. D. ( Buhler's Chart ) and the letter *त्* resembles that of the inscription of Rastrakuta Govinda III ( circ. 807 A. D. ). The date of our inscription may, therefore, be tentatively fixed, on palaeographical considerations, between 750—850 A. D.

The record purports to be issued from the "Camp of Victory" situated at Vardhamanapura (line 1) in the name of Maharajadhiraja Kantideva, who was a Buddhist by religion. It opens with an invocation to Jinendra ( Buddha ), who had a devotee named Bhadradata. The latter had a son named Dhanadatta versed in the Pauranic literature, who had for his wife a princess named Vindurati, a devotee of Siva. Their son was the donor Kantideva who is eulogised especially for his charities in two verses. The record ends with an address unto the future kings of *Harikelamandala*, thus implying that Kantideva's Kingdom comprised a Mandala (a small kingdom) named Harikela. It is evidently identical with the wellknown Harikela which was a synonym of Vanga ( *वङ्गा*, *हृदिदेविवा*;—*हेमचन्द्र* ) and was the easternmost boundary of East India ( It-Sing ). It is found mentioned in the Ramapala Plate of

Śrīchandra. It appears that Kantideva, inspite of his big titles, was only a local chieftain of a comparatively small territory ( *मण्डल* ) which subsequently ( during the supremacy of the *Chandra* Kings ) developed and lent its name to the whole of East Bengal.

### The Text.

पङ्क्ति

- १ । 'स्वामि यमस्य स्वस्वामि वारात् वरमानपुरवासकान्
- २ । यो धर्मवकिरन्तेरपविध्य सान्द्र-मोहान्धकारपटलं  
मकलं वि-
- ३ । लोकम्  
आत्मिकलोकमनयत्स जयत्युदार,—द्वारसारविमर-
- ४ । स्व जयो जिनन्द्रः ॥ (१)  
तद् भक्तिवर्जितशक्तिभृजद्वयौजिन्वितजितविप-
- ५ । द्रपः  
स जयति धर्मं करतः ख्यातः योभद्रतो (नो) यः (२)  
तस्य सु-
- ६ । भाषितभारतपुराण-रामायणाथ (र्थ)-वित्तनयः (१)  
नास्मा योभद्रतः
- ७ । प्रकटितसहिभान्वथो योभुत् ॥ (३)  
तस्य गौरो महाभयन्तमता बुध-
- ८ । गुरुमता (१)  
पदो विन्दुरतिनाम या वभुव शिवप्रिया ॥ (४)  
तस्या भाग-
- ९ । निदानदानसलिलैराद्रिजितोर्द्धभृज-  
म्ह ज्जद्वयवलाजितान्जिविज-
- १० । यथाज्यप्रतापो महान् ।  
सौम्यः स्रुतवागगातिभयकहिख्यात-
- ११ । कौर्त्तिप्रथो  
ज्योत्स्ना-हार-तुषार-कुन्दधवलं यो यातवानाम्भजः ॥ (५)  
यथ कुर्वन्नगुणैर्हिरण्यकशिपुच्यम्
- १२ । नात्रनखितवान्धा-
- १३ । शान्दानवारिप्रभुः ॥ (६)  
स खन्खिलज्जनमनोभिरामाभिगामि-
- १४ । कानेकगुणरबभुषणः । परमसौगतो मातापितृपा-
- १५ । दानुप्यातः परमेश्वरो महाराजाधिराजः यौमान् का-
- १६ । निर्देव कुशलो । हरिकेलामण्डलमिभुष्यतीं लदानादि-
- १७ । तमिदं बोधयति विदितमस्तु वः ।

( Translation. )

Hail! From the glorious camp of victory situated in the city of Vardhamana.

( Verse 1 ) Victory be to the Lord of the Jinās, the vanquisher of the large force of the irresistible *Maras*, who having dispelled the dense accumulated darkness of ignorance by the rays of the jewels of Dharma, brought all the three regions unto the land of light.

( Verse 2 ) Victory be to him who is named

*Bhadradatta*, devoted to dharma alone, whose strength has been increased by devotion to Him (Jinendra) and who has by the prowess of his two arms, conquered the pride of his enemies.

(Verse 3) His son named *Dhanadatta* versed in witty sayings, the *Bharata*, the *Puranas* and the *Ramayana*, who was born with a glory manifest.

(Verse 4) He had a fair-complexioned wife named *Vindurati*, who was, the daughter of a great king who was praised by the learned and the wise, and was devoted to Siva.

(Verse 5) Her son of great prowess acquired by victories in battles earned by the strength of his glittering weapons in his strong arms which had been wet with water for making gifts which marked his great wealth, who was great, of good disposition, of sweet speech, causing fear unto his enemies, far-famed

and possessed of a glory as white as moon-saine, necklace, snow and *kunda* flowers..

(Verse 6) Whose lordship (like Vishnu in his *Narashinha* incarnation, the slayer of demons and *Hiranyakashipu*) was *Danabari* (i. e. with water in his hands for making gifts) but who in effecting *Hiranyakashipu-kshaya* (i. e. the spending of gold, food and clothing) for the satisfaction of the world, did not adopt devices.

Even he who was decorated with many jewels of virtues inviting and agreeable to the hearts of all the people; the great worshipper of *Sugata* (Buddha), attached to the feet of his parents *Parameswara*, *Maharajadhiraja* *Sreeman Kantideva*, the prosperous—makes known unto the future Kings of the kingdom of *Harikela* this their own welfare: "Be it known unto you."

#### A FAMOUS RUNNER, N. VARADARAJULU NAIDU

**N.** VARADARAJULU NAIDU who, within the space of two years, has won no less than fifteen silver and two gold medals, and eight cups in all, is barely twenty-two years of age and is a student in the Mechanical Engineering class



Mr. N. Varadarajulu Naidu.

in Bangalore. A strict vegetarian, he takes breathing exercise regularly. It is now only seven years since began his exercises according to the Indian system. Besides 'running' in which he has won

prizes, he is also skilled in swimming, jumping, weight-lifting and throwing.

He first came into prominence in connection with the Y. M. C. A. sports held in Bangalore and Mysore during 1919-20 when he won ten medals, four cups and six money prizes in the 'running' race. In 1920, he competed for the 'running' race in the Park Fair Sports held in Madras and won a cup and a money-prize. In the All-India Athletic Tournament held in Bangalore on the 26th, 27th and 29th December 1921, he won the following prizes in the following races within the time specified against each item:—

- (1) One-mile race, in four-minutes twenty seconds, first prize—Yuvarajas Cup.
- (2) Five-mile race, in twenty minutes, first prize—Dewan's Cup.
- (3) Twenty-two-mile race, in one hour fifty-two minutes, first prize—Munsannappa's Championship Cup.

In this last-mentioned twenty-two-mile race, he won the admiration of all present by outstripping on foot some who went on bicycles with him. H. H. the Yuvaraja of Mysore who was present on the occasion and gave away the cups and medals was so struck with this feat of the youthful runner that he expressed a desire to send him to Europe to compete for the next Marathon Race.

## LETTER FROM AMERICA

New York, Sept. 19, 1922.

To the Editor of the Modern Review :

**W**ILL you kindly permit me to call attention briefly, through your columns, to two Indian young men Mr. D. S. V. Rao and Mr. Shantaram Gupta—who, during some years' residence in America, have rendered faithful and devoted service to their native country, and whose recent deaths are mourned by many friends and lovers of India here. Especially do I wish to express my own personal regard and affection for both. Having not much knowledge of their earlier lives in India, I can speak only of the comparatively brief periods during which I have known them and their work in this country.

With Mr. Rao I became acquainted first. In 1917 Mr. Lajpat Rai and Dr. N. S. Hardiker formed the India Home Rule League of America with its office in New York. The objects of the League were to maintain a general headquarters and meeting place for Indians living in New York, to advise and aid Indian students coming to this country to study in our Universities, to disseminate information about India, and, above all, to do all that was possible to create a public sentiment in America sympathetic with India's struggle for freedom, by the holding of public meetings and the publication and circulation of leaflets and pamphlets and the monthly magazine called *Young India*. Mr. Rao joined the India Home Rule League at once, and became one of its most active workers and officers. He was also an assistant editor of *Young India*. As long as Mr. Lajpat Rai remained in America, Mr. Rao was one of his most efficient helpers. Indeed, his services were so

much prized that when that great Indian leader returned to his native land, he invited Mr. Rao to follow him and take up work under his direction there. Accordingly, a few months later he took passage to India and became associated with Mr. Lajpat Rai in the School for Political Education which the latter established in Lahore. Of the details or exact nature of his work there I am unable to speak. Information reaches us here that he died from typhoid fever in Bombay on July 28.

Mr. Gupta came to New York about two years ago. He had been for some time a student in the Illinois State University, where he became such an expert in the art of photography that he was employed as an assistant in the photography department of the University. But his interest in his country's struggle for freedom was so great that, at the invitation of Mr. Rao, he gave up his position and came to this city to help, almost without pay, in the propaganda work which we were carrying on here. He became a member of the Council of our India Information Bureau (the successor of our India Home Rule League), and rendered much valuable service in the office of the Bureau, in meeting Indian students landing in New York, and in speaking in behalf of India at various public meetings. Three or four months ago he decided to return to India if he could obtain a passport; but this was refused by the British Government. He died here in New York on July 31 by accident—having been suffocated in his sleeping room at night by escaping gas.

Both these young men were true patriots and lovers of their country. They labored devotedly and with great

self-sacrifice to promote the cause of India in America. They made many friends here and were highly esteemed. We mourn their death, which we feel to be a real loss to their Motherland.

We desire to extend our sincere sympathy to their families and friends at home.

J. T. SUNDERLAND,  
President of the India Information  
Bureau of America.

## COMMENT AND CRITICISM

[ This section is intended for the correction of inaccuracies, errors of fact, clearly erroneous views, misrepresentations, etc., in the original contributions and editorials published in this Review or in other papers criticising it. As various opinions may reasonably be held on the same subject, this Section is not meant for the airing of such differences of opinion. As, owing to the kindness of our numerous contributors, we are always hard pressed for space, critics are requested to be good enough always to be brief and to see that whatever they write is strictly to the point. No criticism of book reviews and notices will be published.—Editor, "The Modern Review." ]

### Early Marriage in the Age of the Ramayana.

In the article on the "Social Life in the Ramayana Age" published in the Modern Review for September 1912, the learned writer observes :

"Sita ... was eighteen years of age and her husband was twenty-five years old at the time of their exile which seems to have taken place shortly after their marriage."

In the footnote reference is given to the Ramayana, III, 47. It will appear however on carefully reading the 47th Sarga of the *Aranyakanda* that at the time of their marriage Rama was 13 years old and Sita was only 6. The following Sloka gives their age at the time of their exile :

मम भर्ता मरुतिरा वयसा पञ्चविंशकः ।

अष्टादश हि वर्षाणि मम जन्मनि गम्यन्ते ॥

आरण्यकाण्ड, ४७ सर्गः, १० श्लोकः । \*

Thus the writer of the article referred to above has correctly given the ages of Rama and Sita at the time of their exile as 25 and 18 respectively. But he

\* The references are to the Bangabasi edition of Valmiki's Ramayana.

is not correct in stating that the exile took place "shortly after their marriage." It will appear from the following Slokas that before their exile Rama and Sita lived in Ayodhya for 12 years.

दक्षिता जनकसाह' मिथिलसा सहात्मनः ।

सोता नास्त्वान्नि भर्तं ते रामसा मरुषो प्रिया ॥

अथिला द्वादश समा इत्वाकुना निवेशने ।

भुजाना सानुवान् भोगान् सर्वकामसहस्रिणी ॥

तव तयोदशे वर्षे राजानन्त्यन प्रभुः ।

अभिषेचयितुं रामं समेतो राजमन्त्रिभिः ॥

आरण्यकाण्ड, ४७ सर्गः, ३, ४, ५ श्लोकः ।

As their ages at the time of their exile were 25 and 18 and as they were exiled 12 years after their marriage,\* it follows that their ages at the time of their marriage were 13 and 6 respectively.

Ranchi,

BASANTA KUMAR CHATTERJEE.

\* This is also supported by the following Sloka of पदपराणः—

तव द्वादशवर्षाणि राघवः सङ्ग सीतया ।

रमयामास धर्मात्मा नारायण इव श्रिया ॥

## IN ALL THINGS

I see Him everywhere...His Beauty lies  
Quiet in fiery, unencompassed space  
Of moon and star, and in the dust I trace  
His being broken to a million dyes  
And mellowed to warm fruit. I hear His cries  
Eternally resound from place to place,  
Yea ! and I see Him in a harlot's face  
And hear Him laughing in a leper's eyes.

Deep-hidden in all things He sits and weaves  
Immortal Beauty to His own desire.  
I see Him equal-hearted in the sage  
And the dead sceptic-heart that disbelieves  
The flowering and inextinguishable fire  
Which burns, unslickering, from age to age.

H. CHATTOPADHYAYA.

## INDIAN PERIODICALS

**Indian Military Expenditure.**

Mr. C. S. Deole gives in the *Journal of the Indian Economic Society* some tables of Indian military expenditure and remarks thereupon :

One noticeable feature of the above tables is that figures for Indian officers are not given separately. They are lumped together with other ranks.

As regards the pay and allowances of British and Indian soldiers, the writer says :

The average annual pay and allowances of a British officer are Rs. 8602 or Rs. 716 per month. That of a British soldier are Rs. 1200 or Rs. 100 per month. Even though the Indian officers are classed with Indian other ranks, their average annual pay and allowances do not go beyond Rs. 258 or Rs. 21½ a month. In 1914 the pay of an Indian sepoy was Rs. 11, now it is Rs. 15 which together with food expenses comes to about double the pre-war pay. This shows that a British soldier is nearly 4½ times as costly as an Indian soldier. If provisions, kit and clothing allowances are taken into account, he will be five times as costly as an Indian sepoy. The average pay of a British soldier in 1913-14 was Rs. 420 per annum now it is Rs. 1200, that means the pay of the British soldier has been increased by His Majesty's Government by nearly 300 per cent. since 1914.

About the growth of military expenditure we read :

The growth of military expenditure is an old story. It began in the later fifties. Its root cause is the *Army Amalgamation Scheme* of 1859. In 1856, with an army of about 2½ lakhs of British and Indian troops, the cost was only Rs. 11½ crores. The average of pre-mutiny period was Rs. 10.85 crores. In 1864 it was Rs. 11.51 crores; while it reached Rs. 16.320 crores in 1873 with an army of 1½ lakhs, say 50,000 British and 1,00,000 Indian. In 1886 it was Rs. 20 crores and in 1913-14 it reached Rs. 26.11 crores as said above. The present figure is Rs. 67 crores.

The following passage indicates how the Army Amalgamation Scheme has led to the growth of military expenditure in India :

According to the Amalgamation Scheme, the Company's European Army was transferred to the Crown and was amalgamated with the British Imperial Army. This means India has to bear the charge of every increase in the pay, &c., of the British troops, which is effected in the United Kingdom. All changes in the organisation and equipment of the British Army, such as the Short Service System,

introduced by Lord Cardwell, are also made applicable to India, independently of the consideration as to whether it suits India or not. For instance, this 'Cardwell System' provides that for each infantry battalion and each cavalry regiment abroad there shall be a similar unit at home. This linked unit at home provides the drafts for the foreign service unit and eventually relieves it when the foreign service unit comes home. Behind these linked units, again, there are depots which recruit and give preliminary training to the raw recruit. The advantage of this system goes all to England, even though we pay for 'Short Service'. The peculiar merit of the system is that it gives a large reserve. Our English reserve is in England and is not always available to us.

The late Prof. Fawcett pronounced the following opinion on the Scheme :

"A few years after the abolition of the East India Company, a scheme which is known as the Army Amalgamation Scheme was carried out in direct opposition to the advice of the most experienced Indian statesmen. India was thus, as it were, bound hand and foot to our own costly system of Army administration, without any regard apparently to the fact that the various schemes of organisation which may be perfectly suited to a country so wealthy as England may be altogether unsuited to a country so poor as India \* \* \*. A partnership has been established between England and India, and as one of these countries is extremely rich and the other extremely poor, much of the same incongruity and many of the same inconveniences arise as if two individuals were to join in house-keeping one of which had £20,000 a year and the other only £1,000. An expenditure which may be quite appropriate to the one whose income is £20,000 would bring nothing but embarrassment to the one whose income is only 1,000 pounds. The money which is expended may be judiciously laid out, but if the man with the smaller income finds that he is gradually becoming embarrassed with debt because he has to live beyond his means, it is no compensation to him to be told that he is only called to contribute his proper share of the expenses. His position would be more intolerable if, like India, after having been compelled against his wish to join the partnership, he is forced to continue in, whether he desires to do so or not."

**Socialising of Education.**

In the same *Journal* Mr. S. N. Pherwani points out in an article on the Economics of Education,

That the central problem of economics is to



study and try to reduce the ratio between cost and results, that education is the transmission of the best social heredity to all members of a society, the imparting of knowledge, skill and virtue to every one according to his capacity, that the socialising of education is the first sign of an advancing civilisation, that to solve this problem for India, where our need is so great and our resources restricted, we have need of maximal release of educational effort by maximising the output and minimising the cost of existing institutions, by stimulating self-effort and encouraging private effort to the utmost, by maximising teachers, and separating term qualifications from test qualifications. Strictest economy is necessary if education is not to be the monopoly of the few, but the birth-right of all born in a civilized community. The ideal I have sought to reach is putting education within the reach of all, for only then shall we be able to raise the quality of the human capital of this country, and be able to discover and develop the men of genius, who according to the intuitive estimate of Ruskin, and the statistical estimate of Odin, are to be found in all strata of society. It is the more thorough ploughing of the vast field of our human resources that will stimulate these hidden seeds of genius to sprout, and thus help forward human civilisation. The hidden village Hampdens, and the village Miltons have to be reached with the best of human heritage and under our present circumstances I do not know of a better method of approach or solution of this vast problem, which educated India is called upon to solve—since this is now a transferred subject. The principles I have tried to lay before you, also apply to maximal utility of other educational resources like libraries, and laboratories, the press and the platform, pageants and processions, folk drama, and culture drama, museums and lantern lectures, all of which have to be utilised at their best and utmost for the solution of this greatest social duty of civilised India—Socialising and Universalising of Education.

### Co-operative Factories.

Mr. N. K. Roy has contributed to *The Bombay Co-operative Quarterly* an article on co-operative societies among industrial workers, in which he says that he does not know whether any co-operative factory exists in India, "but all co-operators have thought of co-operative schemes in which the interest of labour and capital will be merged into one."

The highest and best scheme is that in which the producers of the raw material will own the capital and share the profits of the factory with the workmen engaged in it, from the expert manager down to the commonest unskilled labourer. This is regarded by many as a Utopian dream and quite impractical. It is worth while, however, to examine the scheme in its details, for if such a scheme can ever be made to materialize, there can be no doubt that it will be for

the good of India. The development of Indian industries is in its infancy and before the country plunged headlong into the kind of industrialism familiar in the West, everyone who has at heart the welfare of the country should help in chalking out a programme for the future which will indicate a clear and steady line of industrial development while avoiding, so far as possible, some of the great evils to which the industries of the West are a prey. The evils referred to are the tendency of capital to exploit labour for its own benefits—to appropriate to itself all the fruits of production leaving to labour a bare margin of sustenance. I do not think that capital has ultimately much to gain by this short-sighted policy. Exploitation must lead to dissatisfaction, and, therefore, to inefficiency. Besides, only men without education and self-reliance can be exploited for a time which means that the exploitation not only creates and perpetuates inefficiency but implies inefficiency as a precedent condition. Then, there is the actual loss caused by strikes, in the course of which valuable mines are wrecked or machinery destroyed apart from the immense loss in production during the period of the strike. Both capitalists and labourers, it is too evident, suffer terribly as a result of these strikes. The actual loss to the country in material wealth and mental happiness cannot be estimated unless experiments are made in the organization of industries on a co-operative basis. But I have not the least doubt that the co-operative principle of identifying the interests of labour and capital when adopted will prove to be one of the most potent factors in production and be also conducive to much happiness. It is reported, with what truth I do not know, that the famous Mr. Ford of Canada applied the principle in a limited sense in his great firm, actuated by philanthropic motives but happened to make the most successful business hit of his life.

### The Pied Mynah.

We read of the Pied Mynah in *The Agricultural Journal of India* that

It is continuously at work throughout the year in reducing the number of insects which, if unchecked, would undoubtedly do far more damage to the crops than is done by the birds. The occasional levy of a little grain, when it is abundant and when insect-food is scarce, as is usually the case during the harvest season, must not be begrudged to birds, such as Mynahs, which on the whole are decidedly beneficial.

### Number of Cattle in India.

An instructive article on the cattle question in India by Lieut-Colonel J. Matson, reproduced from *The Pioneer* in *The Agricultural Journal of India*, contains the following comparison with the United States :

For the sake of those who think that India needs more cattle one may invite a comparison with

the United States of America. The statistics for both countries are illuminating. India, with an area of 1,766,000 square miles, has 174,757,422 bovine cattle, 2,114,400 horses and 2,449,417 mules, donkeys and camels, making a total of 179,321,239, which is equal to 101.5 per square mile. These figures include Burma, and, apart from some Indian States, relate to the year 1920. The United States of America, with an area of 2,970,138 square miles possesses 67,806,000 bovine cattle, 21,531,000 horses and 3,404,000 mules, a total of 92,804,000 equivalent to 31.2 to the square mile. In this area Alaska and foreign possessions, as well as water, are not included, and the figures relate to the period after the war except as regards mules. Horses and other draught animals are included in both cases as Indian cattle are largely used for draught purposes.

From these figures we see that India, with little more than half the area, has almost double the number of animals used for draught and for milk production; if we consider further that of the United States cattle some two-thirds are kept solely for meat, whereas in India the proportion is fractional, the difference in the figures is still more striking. Again, whereas a square mile in the United States supports milk or meat-producing or draught animals to the number of 31.2, in India it supports 101.5.

The method of comparison adopted by the writer does not bring out the fact that the people of India do not possess per head as many cattle as the people of America. Surely it is not the square miles of land which own the cattle of a country, but it is its human inhabitants who do so. The population of India is 315 millions, that of the United States 105 millions. If 315 millions of human beings own 179,321,239 animals, that means that each human being is the owner of a little more than half an animal in India. If the 105 millions of human beings in the United States own 92,804,000 animals, each American possesses almost an entire animal. Therefore the comparison goes entirely in favour of America.

### Popular Forms of Education Cess.

Dr. Brajendranath Seal's speech at the Mysore Economic Conference, reproduced in the July number of the *Mysore Economic Journal*, contains a suggestion for finding money for mass education which ought to be acted upon elsewhere, too. Said he :

There is great room, again, for social propaganda for diverting to the uses of mass education a part of the people's expenditure on various kinds of unproductive consumption. Customary grant to the village

school fund on social and domestic occasions may be initiated with the help of Village Panchayats and other rural and urban agencies. To these might be added customary offerings, in the nature of Vritti and Zakat, which, as ordained by a religious or social code, were once in vogue and may still be revived.

### "India's Prosperity—Mechanical Engineering."

In the same periodical Sir Alfred Chatterton rightly observes :

The educated young Indian does not take kindly to mechanical engineering and the great group of industries which may be classified under this head is almost entirely under the control and direction of Europeans or Americans. The reasons for this are set forth at length in the Report of the Indian Industrial Commission and proposals are made to create adequate facilities for the training of mechanical engineers in a way which it was hoped would make the initial stages more attractive to the students of the High Schools and Colleges of University rank. Something has been done to carry out these recommendations but to nothing like the extent that is urgently necessary to render the country less dangerously dependent on foreign sources for the equipment of the very highly developed system of secondary industries which has in recent years been firmly established. Time and again of late, the weakness of our military position in respect to the manufacture of munitions of war in the widest sense of the term has been pointed out ; but it is equally necessary to emphasize the disadvantageous conditions under which we now labour in being compelled to export our raw produce to pay for the essential requirements of our industrial life. The demand for what we can supply to the outside world has fallen off owing to the disturbed condition of Europe and the general lack of purchasing power consequent upon the impoverishment caused by the war. For a long time, the balance of trade has been seriously against us with the result that our credit has diminished and the exchange value of our currency depreciated. If we cannot find a market for our goods, we must import less to the detriment of our future progress. It would be very different if we were more self-contained. It is in the engineering trades that our deficiencies mainly lie and all other industries are kept back by reason of the fact that they are dependent on foreign workshops and manufacturers.

### Lucknow University and Oudh Taluqdars and People.

The first number of the *Lucknow University Journal*, which is an interesting and neatly got-up production, informs the public that

The prospect of having a University of their own, separate from the University of Allahabad, has always appealed to the imagination of the *Taluqdars*,

in the same way as the idea of possessing a Court of Appeal, separate from the High Court at Allahabad. And it must be said in favour of these barons of Oudh, that, whatever their faults, they are not slow in opening their purse-strings in the support of any public object regarding the utility of which they are convinced. If they fancy their own particular tune, they are also willing to pay the piper to play it to them. And it is a matter of intense satisfaction to all lovers of higher education, that directly the ruler of the Province, with his remarkable sympathy and understanding, undertook seriously to take active steps towards the creation of a University at Lucknow, the *Taluqdars* and people of Oudh came forward to help quite generously, and, in less than a year's time, subscribed nearly 30 lakhs for the fulfilment of their cherished dream. It will thus be seen that the Lucknow University is the outcome of a popular demand, and is not an official organization foisted upon the public, regardless of their wishes and feelings in the matter.

That the *Taluqdars* and people of Oudh have contributed nearly thirty lakhs is good news, particularly as showing that "their wishes and feelings" favoured the establishment of a separate University for them at Lucknow. But we are curious to know whether "their wishes and feelings" were consulted "in the matter" of constructing a Convocation Hall at a cost of twenty-five lakhs. If they really sanctioned this *criminal* expenditure, it must be said that they have no idea of the essentials of a University. Lucknow possesses some able teachers; more are needed, and other requisites are also in course of collection, for which many millions will have to be spent and also capitalised. How many crores does the University possess that it is going to spend 25 lakhs for a single hall?

### The Main Problem in Indian Economic Life.

Mr. Harendra Lal Dey writes in the *Lucknow University Journal* :

The main problem in Indian economic life is, therefore, how to rescue the peasant out of his present helpless position. In our opinion, there are only two alternative methods of improving his lot. He may either return to his ancient mode of life—the life of almost complete economic autonomy—so that between his agriculture and his minor occupations, he may somehow be able to pull on without incurring any debt. Probably this idea underlies the present movement of the 'charka' which is the symbol of ancient self-sufficiency. Although this ideal is incapable of complete realization in this commercial epoch, still some progress in that direction is undoubtedly desirable. The peasant cannot remain solvent, if he is busy with his agriculture alone, for his small surplus of

agricultural crops cannot procure him all the things he must have. The second method by which his lot may be improved is to help him to multiply the yield of his land by modern methods of scientific agriculture. And this line of advance is entirely in keeping with modern conditions. It is only when he can increase the amount of his agricultural crops with the aid of science, that he may specialize in one occupation and one product only. For then and then alone will he have a sufficient surplus with which to pay for the satisfaction of his multifarious wants.

### Vivekananda to "the Upper Classes of India".

A letter written in Bengali to a brother-disciple by Swami Vivekananda contains some sentences addressed to "the upper classes of India," giving an idea of what he thought of "the India that is to be" which have been thus translated in the September number of *Prabuddha Bharata* :

However much you may parade your descent from Aryan ancestors and sing the glories of ancient India day and night, and however much you may be strutting in the pride of your birth, you, the upper classes of India,—do you think you are alive? You are but mummies ten thousand years old! It is among those whom your ancestors despised as "walking carcases," that the little of vitality there is still in India, is to be found; and it is you who are the real "walking corpses." Your houses, your furniture look like museum specimens, so lifeless and antiquated they are; and even an eye-witness of your manners and customs, your movements and modes of life, is inclined to think he is listening to a grandmother's tale! When even after making a personal acquaintance with you, one returns home, one seems to think one had been to visit the paintings in an Art gallery! In this world of Maya you are the real illusion, the mystery, the real mirage in the desert, you, the upper classes of India! You represent the past tense, with all its varieties of form jumbled into one. That one still seems to see you at the present time, is nothing but a nightmare brought on by indigestion. You are the void, the unsubstantial nonentities of the future. Denizens of the Dream-land, why are you loitering any longer? Fleshless and bloodless skeletons of the dead body of Past India that you are,—why do you not quickly reduce yourselves into dust and disappear in the air? Aye, in your bony fingers are some priceless rings of jewel treasured up by your ancestors, and within the embrace of your stinking corpses are preserved a good many ancient treasure-chest. So long you have not had the opportunity to hand them over. Now in these days of education and enlightenment, pass them on to your heirs, aye, do it as quickly as you can. You merge yourselves in the void and disappear, and let New India arise in your place. Let her arise—out of the peasants' cottage, grasping the plough, out of the fisherman, the cobbler and the sweeper. Let her spring from the grocer's shop, from besides the oven of the fritterseller. Let her emanate from the factory, from marts and from markets. Let her emerge from the groves and forests, from hills and mountains.

Skeletons of the Past, there, before you, are your successors, the India that is to be. Throw those treasure-chests of yours and those jewelled rings among them,—as soon as you can; and you—vanish into air, and be seen no more,—only keep your ears open. No sooner will you disappear than you will hear the inaugural shout of Renaissance India—ringing with the voice of a million thunders and reverberating throughout the universe—"Wah Guru Ki Fete!"—Victory to the Guru!

### Women Graduates in Medicine.

We read in *Stri-Dharma* that at an At Home of old graduates held in the Women's Christian College, Madras, an eloquent appeal to students to take up Medicine was made by Dr. (Miss) Beadon, the Superintendent of the very large Women's Hospital in Madras.

She deplored the fact that there had been only one woman graduate in Medicine for the Presidency this year and only 20 men. At present there was only one man doctor for every 100,000 people and probably only one woman doctor for every million. In Western hospitals there are always some newly-graduated doctors attached for a few years to the hospitals who spend their time in research work of a most important kind. In India the work of this kind was second to none in the world in men's hospitals, but there was not a single woman doctor available for this kind of work on which so much prevention of disease in the future depended. She instanced further that seven Hospitals for women had to be closed in Madras Presidency for lack of women doctors. She pointed out the advantages of the independent life a doctor may lead in private practice; the many posts that would always be open to trained medical women as Health Inspectors, as Medical Inspectors of children at schools under the Compulsory Education Schemes, or as Superintendents of hospitals. The Degree course was undoubtedly long but an advantage in entering for Medicine was that the entrance examination was very easy for women. On humanitarian and philanthropic grounds even more than on personal grounds she urged the graduates to take up Medicine as their post-graduate subject and to persuade other girls to dedicate themselves to healing.

### Women the World Over.

The following items of news are taken from *Stri-Dharma*:

In China married women retain their own names after marriage. Growing numbers of Chinese women are doing splendid work as doctors and nurses, as teachers and in business life as stenographers and typists.

A Woman's University, for the study of medicine, has been begun in Kabul, the capital of

Afghanistan, with five hundred women students in attendance. Pashtu, Persian, Urdu and Russian are also taught in the University.

In Constantinople a very great change has arisen among the women. They are not now veiled; they only wear the charchall, a kind of little hood which covers the neck, and this is usually of some colour to match the costume, whereas it used only to be of black. They have even altered their views so much that women now dine with men friends in public restaurants. Many of them still keep to the patriarchal system of whole families living under one roof, but they have dropped the habit of segregating the women in the harem. The women are sufficiently advanced to be known under their own names after marriage if they wish. The Constantinople College (American) includes amongst its boarders many Muhammadan girls, and they have more time to themselves and more freedom than girls do in France.

### Women Workers in Mines.

We agree with *Stri-Dharma* in holding that

It is a dreadful thing that thousands of Indian women spend their days working thousands of feet underground in the coal-mines of India. In almost all other countries, the law forbids the underground labour of women, but until now no one has troubled to look into the lives of Indian women wage-earners. Mr. Joshi, of the Servants of India Society, has introduced a Mines Act Amendment Bill which aims at improving the conditions of miners, but it is gravely defective in that it still allows women to be employed underground. It has prohibited the employment in mines of children under thirteen years. In its earlier draft it allowed children under six years old still to be taken down the mines with their mothers, but that also is now forbidden. It was suicidal to try to rear the small children underground. The mothers and babies must not now be separated. The mothers must also not go underground. Their greatest duty is to care for the children, to look after their household affairs, to have the food ready for their husbands when after arduous work in sunless, difficult conditions, they come up out of the mines almost exhausted. Having to wait while the poor wives have to go and cook (after doing similar mining work) is one of the causes that drive the men to the drink shops. An end must quickly be put to this working of women in mines.

### How Can We Increase Our Cultivated Area?

Mr. Leslie C. Coleman, M. A., Ph. D., Director of Agriculture in Mysore, discusses in the *Journal of the Mysore Agricultural and Experimental Union* the question of increasing our cultivated area. Although he writes with special reference to Mysore, much of what he says is true of other

regions of India as well. For instance, he observes :

One is forced to conclude that much of our land is lying waste to-day not because it would be unprofitable to cultivate it, but because our agricultural population is not able to cultivate it with the means at their disposal.

A certain amount of this land which is at present lying unproductive is in the hands of large land-owners who on the one hand cannot procure suitable tenants for the land and on the other hand have not been able to procure and organize labour for the cultivation of the land themselves. Many of our large land-holders feel that they will never be able to bring their extensive holdings under cultivation unless and until they can call to their aid the tractor and tractor tillage implements.

What stands in the way of introducing these western machines and methods and why is the Agricultural Department pursuing what must seem to many as an ultra-conservative policy with regard to them? In the first place, it must be pointed out that the amount of our uncultivated land already under occupancy which is in holdings large enough to be suitable for tractor cultivation forms a very small proportion of the total. The assessed waste land which still remains in Government possession is also for the most part in scattered blocks and much of it is too stony and rocky in character to allow for mechanical cultivation.

It seems to me therefore that under present conditions it would be distinctly unwise, in fact it would be unwarranted for the State Agricultural Department to spend large sums of money in experimenting with tractors and tractor tillage implements when the results of such work would be useful for a very small percentage of our Agricultural population and could be applied to a very small proportion of our total cultivable area.

It must be made perfectly clear that such experimental work is necessary before any recommendation can be made. A number of different types of tractors and tractor implements have already been tested in the State and many more have been tried in other parts of India, but I have yet to see definite evidence that any one of these is adapted to the general conditions prevailing at least in South India and can be confidently recommended to our land-holders as a safe investment.

### "Limits of State Aid to Industry."

According to the Hon'ble Mr. C. V. Chintamani, writing in the official *Journal of Indian Industries and Labour*,

After all is said and done, Government can only encourage and aid, it cannot create, industries. That there is misconception on this point is evident from the nature of some of the questions put and criticisms uttered in the Legislative Council. One hon'ble member interpellated Government a few months ago and demanded to know the various industries which the Industries Department had established. Another hon'ble member in a speech last year made the modest demand that the Government should convert the

province into an industrial province! For years have I been about as ardent an advocate as any of my countrymen for generous State aid, for various Government action. Mr. Chatterjee was the first Industries Secretary to the local Government, and he himself, under the encouraging guidance of Sir Harcourt Butler, did his best in the same direction. Mr. Chatterjee will recall that as a non-official member I did my little bit to press Government to do more and yet more. But neither Mr. Chatterjee nor I have ever been under the illusion that Government alone, or Government mainly, can produce the desired result unless and until the people themselves showed more enterprise and followed a more forward and courageous policy. Government cannot take the place of the expert or the capitalist. It can help both and can do a great deal to create facilities for the technical training of young men. I say the same thing now as I have always said, *viz.*, that unless and until the ambitions of parents and students take a new turn and at least a respectable fraction of the bright intellects among our students betake themselves to technical schools and colleges instead of schools of law, and make up their minds to take to wealth-producing occupations instead of crowding the services and the so-called learned professions; and unless and until men with capital make up their minds to invest money in industries instead of confining themselves, as most of them do, to money-lending and investment in land, industrial India is doomed to remain more of an empty dream than become a reality for all the *khaddar* campaigns by which the attention of the country may be distracted and notwithstanding any conceivable change that may be made in fiscal policy. I am the last man to minimize the importance of State aid in various forms. I advocate it with conviction. But I must warn my countrymen that they will be living in the paradise which wise men avoid if they think for one moment that this could be an adequate substitute for the initiative, the enterprise, the organization of the people themselves.

By way of comment on the above, we quote the following passages from the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. XV, pp. 108-9 :

"The second advent of Western nations introduced to Japan the products of an industrial civilization centuries in advance of her own from the point of view of utility, though nowise superior in the application of art. Immediately the nation became alive to the necessity of correcting its own inferiority in this respect. But the people being entirely without models for organization, without financial machinery and without the idea of joint-stock enterprise, the government had to choose between entering the field as an instructor, and leaving the nation to struggle along an arduous and expensive way to tardy development. There could be no question as to which course would conduce more to the general advantage, and thus, in days immediately subsequent to the resumption of administrative power by the emperor, the spectacle was seen of official excursions into the domains of silk-reeling, cement-making, cotton and silk spinning, brick-burning, printing and book-binding, soap-boiling, type-casting and ceramic decoration, to say nothing of their establishing colleges and schools where all branches of applied science were taught.....In short, the authorities applied them-

selves to educate an industrial disposition throughout the country, and as soon as success, seemed to be in sight, they gradually transferred from official to private direction the various model enterprises, retaining only such as were required to supply the needs of the state."

As regards *khaddar* campaigns, Mr. Chintamani should be able to explain why Sir P. C. Ray, who is the originator or director or both of about a dozen factories in Bengal, is also the greatest and most untiring of *khaddar* campaigners in this province.

### Buddhism and Christianity.

With reference to Mr. C. F. Andrews' articles on Buddhism and Christianity in this Review, *Prabuddha Bharata* observes :

From the highest stand-point it is immaterial whether or not one religion is proved to draw any inspiration from another. All religions originate from the common universal source and fulfil the same cosmic necessity, and they present the One Religion from different stand-points which are suited to the varying temperament and capacity of the diverse members of the great human family.

### Old Indian Historical Literature.

Professor S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar dwells on the various departments of historical sources, such as archaeology, architecture, iconography, numismatics, epigraphy, &c., in an article contributed to the *Madras Educational Review*, and, coming to literature as a source of history, observes :

The time when the Hindus could be charged with a complete want of historical sense, on their having produced absolutely no history of any kind, is long past. It is a little more than a score of years ago that the late George Buhler raised the protest against this ill-founded, if not unfounded, charge. By historical work we are not to understand histories of the character of that of Thucydides. Of histories of that character even in Europe, there are very few till we come to the middle of the 19th century with perhaps an exception or two. But historical compositions that will compare favourably with the chronicles of mediæval Europe, and some of them have been far better, can now be quoted and that which was taken to be merely a romance is getting advanced, as our knowledge advances, to be thoroughly historical, *viz.*, the famous *Harshacharita* of Bana. When Dr. Bhaudaji discussed the manuscripts of this work very few of his historical allusions were understood. Now very many of Bana's statements are clearly established by other evidence and such of them as are not proved are in a fair way to acquire that demonstration. But of course, manuscripts do get destroyed quicker, and even when

they are preserved undergo changes incidental to their very nature such as transmission by copying, destruction and restoration and such other processes which can effect conscious and unconscious changes, and thus reduce their value as absolutely reliable historical documents. But where ordinary care is presumable and no motive can be established for purposeful alterations they are about as valuable as others. Where documents do not profess to be historical and contain allusions they seem specially acceptable as the possible motive to mis-state comes to be non-existent. Since the days of Buhler, manuscript research has sufficiently advanced to bring into view certain works of a professedly historical character and their value as history proves on examination to be unquestionable. But they relate to particular instances or periods or to particular personages, and we have not yet come upon anything like a general history, except such history as is contained in the historical chapters of the Puranas. Research in this line is likely to be more fruitful of results and calls for unremitting efforts.

### The Indian Civil Service and the Indian Railway Service.

The following passages, quoted by the *G.I.P. Union Monthly*, are from the pen of Rai Saheb Chandrika Prasada Tiwari, President of the First All-India Railwaymen's Conference, 1921 :

Indians have been agitating for a larger share in the Indian Civil Service, but they have not taken the same interest in the Railway Service of India. It is larger than the I. C. S., and carries a much larger patronage. The total number of appointments in the I. C. S., was 1,371, whereas the appointments in the Superior Grades of Indian Railways, as given in the Railway Board's Classified List and Distribution Return of 30th June 1912, were 1685.

The appointment, dismissal, promotion, transfer, privileges and prospects in life generally of subordinates are entirely in the hands of the officers possessing discretionary powers. The powers possessed by a Railway Locomotive or Carriage and Wagon Superintendent are far greater than those possessed by the Commissioner of a Division or the Collector of a District. The Railway Superintendent appoints and discharges scores of men every month in his workshop, while a Commissioner or Collector hardly makes the same number of appointments even in a year. Then the officer-in-charge of a Railway workshop has the power to appoint any mechanic on daily pay upto Rs. 10 per day, giving Rs. 250 per month or more, without sanction of higher authority and without specific provision in the Budget; whereas in all other departments, such an appointment would require the special sanction of the Government of India, which takes years to obtain.

Of all the departments of the Government of India, Railways stand first and foremost, both in revenue and expenditure. 35 per cent of the total revenue of India was in Gross Receipts of Railway. In 1917-18 it was 45 millions sterling—6

crores against 21 millions—31·5 crores of Land Revenue, though Land appears in the Accounts as the largest Revenue Head of the State. Of the total expenditure of the State, 32 per cent was in Railway working expenses and charges, which amounted to 30·6 millions sterling=59·4 crores in 1917-18, against 30·7 millions=46·06 crores of Military Department, though in the accounts of the Government of India, the Military appears as the largest Expenditure Department of the State. The Railway Department appears small in the Government Revenue Abstract, because the Railway Working Expenses and surplus profits paid to the Companies are not shown as items of expenditure, while their net receipts only are shown in the Government Revenue.

While the Railway is the most important Department of the State, it is the least satisfactory to Indian public. At almost every step, it gives a step-motherly treatment to the children of the soil.

Seventy-five per cent of the public debt of India, excluding the last war loan, is on account of the Indian State Railways.

Thus the Railways form the largest Revenue producing and expending department of the State. Upon their proper administration depend the prosperity of the whole of the country, even agriculture and other industries, moral, material and economic growth, comforts, conveniences and safety of the millions of the travelling public.

### Disestablishment in India.

Mr. C. F. Andrews pleads in *The Indian Review* for the disestablishment of the Anglican Church in India. Some of the reasons stated will appear from the following extracts :

From all I have written above it will be abundantly evident that within this movement towards the Disestablishment of the Church of England in India there is no trace of enmity towards the Christian name as such. Rather, it would appear that the Indian leaders were jealous for that name and wished to preserve it, "If the Bishops were more independent," the Indian leaders say, "they would be more on the side of the people of India. To be on the side of the people would be nearer to our own idea of Christ's character ; for he was ever the friend of the poor and the oppressed. We do not wish to pay out of the taxes of the poor for a mere State religion, which takes the side of the rich and powerful on nearly all occasions."

Furthermore, the Indian leaders are beginning to believe that if the 'Establishment' were abolished many leading Indian Christians, who now belong to the State Church and thus are compromised in their national duties, would no longer be so dependent on Government in temporal matters. They would not continually seek Government patronage and range themselves on the side of the Government, even when Government was mistaken. There could be nothing to prevent them from joining heart and soul in the national movement if they so desired. Indeed, it would be their glory and

their crown if they were able to do so. All Indian leaders, from Mahatma Gandhi downwards, would gladly welcome such a change of front among Indian Christians ; and their recent readiness to suffer in prison along with other Indians, both in South Africa and in India itself, has greatly changed the impression concerning them among the common people.

It will be evident also that the question of the cost of the establishment is not the primary factor from the Indian side, though on account of diminishing revenue returns every single economy is eagerly scrutinised. But Indian legislators are the last people in the world to take money away from philanthropic objects ; and if only they could see that the work of the Church was fulfilling such philanthropic ends and no others, not a word would be raised against the expense. But they do strongly object to money being spent in order to support the bureaucracy uncritically and to sound forth its praise to all the world.

### New Teaching Universities in India.

What the Rev. Dr. J. Lazarus urges in *The Indian Review* against the conversion of the Madras University into a teaching university, as provided for in Madras University Bill, can be urged with equal truth in the case of all the mushroom teaching universities of India. He observes in part :—

Neither the Government of India nor the Local Government in its chronic condition of financial straits can wisely attempt the colossal cost of a teaching University. This should have been attempted from the very outset. Beyond arranging for special lectures at the Senate House, for which a beginning has been made, it would interfere with the more or less excellent work of the colleges in the City and the Mofussil, reducing them to secondary institutions.

The present University is the product of the Bill of 1904 which by striking out the Entrance Test made it lose the largest share of its income. The state had to come to its rescue and bear the burden of the financial loss. And now the new Bill brings another unbearable load of a teaching concern. The fact is, University effort in India has begun at the wrong end. It ought to have been an indigenous effort as at Oxford and Cambridge and gradually developed and reformed on right lines. In Madras, it is a purely State concern and confined to the changing views and whims of State officials. If any reforms have been introduced at all it is solely due to the zeal and patriotism of Indian Fellows. Indian munificence is yet to be evoked for the establishment of special chairs, and research scholarships. These are the essential needs of a living and even teaching University. Its growth should be endogamous rather than exogamous as the Botanist would say.

### Plucky Indians.

*The Young Men of India* quotes Sir Murray Hammick's remark that,

"Though he had been closely associated with Indians for more than a generation, he never expected to find such bravery, such pluck and such perseverance as he has seen amongst young Indians in difficulties in England."

### The Colour Problem.

Mr. K. Natarajan's article in *The Young Men of India* for October incidentally suggests a solution of the race problem which deserves to be quoted.

There can be no stronger proof that colour differences are only skin-deep than that Europeans and Indians, who have worked closely together or fought together or suffered together, know that so long as the work or the fighting or the suffering lasted, the race of colour consciousness had been totally in abeyance. It is only when our minds are not held absorbed by urgent and high ends that we notice the colour of the skins of our fellow-men. I am firmly convinced that here is the clue to the solution of the race problem. It is my firm belief that it is in India, where all the religions have lived together for centuries, that this problem will be solved.

### Is Journalism a Branch of Commerce?

Speaking from the idealistic point of view, Mr. E. V. Subramania Iyer answers the above question in the negative in *Everyman's Review*. For he holds:

Surely, whatever may be its later history, when Journalism began, it was not tainted with this commercial idea. That greater importance was attached to its function as a medium of communication is evident from the fact that many of the original papers took the name of the divine messenger, Mercury as their surname.

Journalism has come to be considered as a branch of commerce, mainly because in these days of feverish competition only financial stability, and command of plenty of money can bring success. Never before was so much capital necessary to start a paper, never were so much funds required to keep it on the run, that verily the financial aspect of it has become one of the chief, if not, the chief concern of the newspaper proprietor and more so if his motive is pecuniary gain. But all the same, it betokens a lack of proper perspective to think it is the only or even the most important part of a newspaper. If solely from this point of view, Journalism can be considered as a branch of Commerce, so we think can every other branch of human activity be called likewise with equal justification. For, in this work-a-day world of ours where is the institution which can hope to get on without adequate funds to back it? The Church wields enormous power, born of still greater wealth, and priests have not been wanting who have enriched it even by the questionable method of involving themselves in warfare.

But nobody has been foolish enough to suggest that therefore, far from being a religious body, the church is chiefly a monetary concern. The truth of the matter is that Journalism is as far removed from being a branch of commerce as commerce is from being an altruistic activity of man.

No. Certainly, not as a monetary concern that Journalism thrives. There are far higher, decidedly nobler ideals, which justify its existence. The glorious mission of the Press is purely and solely to serve the public, to make the greatest good of the greatest number its chief concern. On it lies the heavy responsibility of guiding and moulding public opinion. It is the connecting link between the governing and the governed. It is the advocate of truth, justice and freedom, the self-appointed champion of the weak and the oppressed. Its privilege is "to restore to the human race the sense of family kinship and nearness, keeping the tribes and nations informed of each other's affairs, conditions and prospects: thereby increasing brotherly interest in each other, knitting land to land in friendly and mutually enriching intercourse, and gradually but surely promoting the coming of the time of millennial happiness, foreseen and foretold by prophets and poets, when "a'd men's good" shall

"Be each man's rule, and universal peace  
Lie like a shaft of light across the land,  
And like a lane of beams athwart the sea,  
Through all the circle of the golden year."

### Tariff Policy and International Relations.

Dr. Pramathanath Banerjee expresses in *The Calcutta Review* the opinion that it is an erroneous view to think that "free trade is the better policy from the international standpoint, for it produces international amity and concord."

As a matter of fact, it can produce as much bitterness, suffering and hostility as protection. If we appeal to experience, we find that the application of the principles of free trade has resulted in the economic degradation and political subjugation of weak nations. On the other hand, protection may enable the weaker communities to defend themselves against the stronger nations both economically and politically. Solidarity among the peoples of the world is certainly a most desirable object, but it can be attained only by the adoption of the principle of non-interference and the recognition of the right of each people to its maximum economic development. Of course, this is possible under both systems, protection and free-trade. But so long as national frailties remain what they are, protection seems to be the easier method of achieving the object than free-trade.\*

\* I. J. Hecht expresses a similar opinion in his *Real Wealth of Nations*. Grunzel describes the effect of protection on international relations thus: "In the place of the international division of labour between



### Varieties of Brahmanism.

Mr. T. A. Seshagiri Ayyar, B.A., B.L., M.L.A., contributes to the October number of *The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* an entertaining and edifying article on the varieties of Brahmanism. He takes us first to Kashmir.

The Brahmin or the Pandit as he is called there I would almost put among the depressed classes: It may be due to the treatment he was subjected to during the Mahomedan period: that he is an outcast in his own land is clear. Many a Kashmiri Brahmin has migrated to other parts of India—notably the United Provinces and the Punjab—and have risen above his fellows: but the Kashmiri Brahmin of the valley—the man who is native of the soil—is nowhere in the race of life: one peculiarity is that caste distinctions which are so predominant in the South are not observed in the happy valley. The Brahmin is the pandit, the tiller of the soil, the jamadar, the hardworking menial and the pest that inhabits sacred places to fleece pilgrims. I came out of Cashmere with the conviction that the mark of superiority is not on the brow of the descendant of the rishis of old in this land.

We pass on next to the Punjab.

In the Punjab, the abode for a considerable period of the Aryan race, he is no better. The degeneration probably is of recent origin. The Punjabi Brahmin—of course there are notable exceptions and I am only speaking of the class as a whole—is often to be found as chaprasis (peons) in many public offices. He is the *Munda* (menial servant) in various private households. He ploughs and sows: there are, of course, a few who carry on the priestly profession. They are an infinitesimally small number who are employed as officials. But the vast majority of them toil and spin and are neither sought after nor abused: Swami Dayanand Sarasvati has created a new hierarchy; undoubtedly he has stirred to the depth the easy-going Hindu. It is no wonder that the Brahmin of the old type is opposed to this reform movement. It may be that, in course of time, a tolerant and reasonable Brahminism of the purely Vedic type may emerge in the Punjab.

Brahmans in Behar and the United Provinces then come under scrutiny.

In Behar and the United Provinces, the Brahmin is occupying a slightly better position. I had an illuminating talk with a member of the Behar

agriculture and manufactures, assumed by classical economies, a division of labour within the sphere of manufacturing appears. If now the development of the productive capacity of a country leads to industrialization, and if industrialization increase the participation of the country in world-economic dealings, it follows that the protective policy, as an important aid to industrialization, must under proper manipulation, lead to an extension of world-economic relations." *Economic Protectionism*, p. 342.

Legislative Council the other day; what he said was an eye-opener to me: intellectually the Brahmin is not in the forefront in these areas. He is a great deal more religious than his compeers in the Punjab: he is perhaps more ceremonial, but in the villages he is the actual cultivator of the soil. It would appear that he should not actually hold the plough. That is prohibited, but he uses his spade: he sows, reaps the corn and does all works of husbandry which the Madras Brahmin disdains to do: the Kayasthas of these parts are more intellectual than he.

We then proceed to Bengal.

In Bengal, the Brahmin has gone up a step higher. But he has not monopolized learning as in Madras. The Kayasthas are as well placed as the Brahmins. The Kulin Brahmin had at one time a splendid field all to himself in the matrimonial market, but the situation has changed. They are believed to be the descendant of the five priests who were invited to Bengal by an ancient sovereign, Adisur. It is curious that on the High Court Bench the Brahminical element is stronger, although in the Bar and in other professions there is not the same proportion. Even on the bench there have been Kayasthas of undoubted eminence. Dwarka Nath Mitter, Ramesh Chunder Mitter, Chunder Madhab Ghose are names worth remembering. Gurudas Banerjee, Ashutosh Chaudhury, Ashutosh Mukerjee belong to the Brahmin class. Among the lawyers Rashbehari Ghose, Monmohan Ghose, Anandamohan Bose, Lalmoan Ghose, Lord Sinha, Sir Benode Chandra Mitter all come from the Kayasthas. Rammohan Roy, Issur Chandra Vidya-sagar, Bankim Chandra Chattarjee and Debendra Nath Tagore were Brahmins, and among living men Rabindranath Tagore is the shining light of the Brahmins. Bose and Roy, the great scientists, are not Brahmins. It would appear that the position which the Kayasthas are occupying in Bengal and Behar is due to the fact that, when the British settled there, they were the earliest to act as interpreters and to get themselves employed under the new master. But even in Madras, the earliest Dubashes were all non-Brahmins and yet they do not seem to have worked their way up.

Bombay Brahmins next claim the writer's attention.

In Bombay, in most districts, the Brahmin holds no commanding position. This is largely due to the commercial instinct of the people of the Presidency. Employment in the learned professions is not much of an inducement to the Benia or the Bhattia; and it is they that control and guide public opinion in the Presidency. The position is different in the Maharashtra portion of it. The rule of the Peishwas and the respect which Sivaji paid to the priestly class created a new atmosphere. The Poona Sastris has come to the fore there and sought employment in public offices. He has created around him the same feeling of antagonism which dogs the footsteps of his brother in Madras.

Naturally the Brahmins of Madras Presidency receive the most elaborate treatment.

Now for Madras: there are varieties. The Nam-

Nambudri or Malabar stands on a pedestal of his own. He is the most intolerant of his sect. His treatment of the other classes has thrown thousands into the fold of other religions. As compared with him, the Tanjore Brahmin is nowhere in caste arrogance. Go north and examine the Telugu Brahmin. His acharam is unacceptable to the Brahmin of the Cauvery Delta and of Madura and Tinnevely: the Niyogi with his whiskers does not come up to the right standard of spiritualism. If we go to South Canara, fish-eating at least is not *taboo* to the Brahmin there although it is not universal. The Brahmin of the southern districts is a different being. Intellectually he has established a record for proficiency in higher learning which is unequalled anywhere. He is not as intolerant as the Nambudri, but his is only a degree less. His aptitude for work is marvellous. Go to any part of India, you will hear that he is the best hack that you can get for the money. His Bible is not the Vedas so much as the Archara Khandam of Vythinadha Dikshitar.

One essential feature should not be lost sight of. "Don't touchism" of the aggressive type is not in evidence beyond the limits of the Madras Presidency. My Behar friend told me that the Purohit who officiates in a non-Brahmin house is not in any way looked down upon. He and the other Brahmins can eat in non-Brahmin houses, sweets and chapatis; only boiled articles, and dole are not permitted to be taken. Naturally there is greater comradeship between the classes, and less friction. There is no objection to the highest and the lowest classes drawing water from the same wells; and in most cases worship in the temple is open to all. I was in Bombay on a Mahasivaratri day and I found men and women of the lowest walks of life rubbing shoulders literally with the highest within the precincts of the Siva temple. The Namasudras and the Mahars, I understand, suffer from some disadvantages, but their disabilities bear no proportion to what their brethren undergo in the South.

The problem is worth investigation why the South Indian Brahmin has developed a code of social life so different from what obtains elsewhere. Is it because the settlers in these parts were a handful and endeavoured to preserve their identity by exclusiveness and aloofness? There is something to be said in favour of this theory. Romesh Chandra Dutt seems to suggest that there is a lighter streak of Aryan blood in South India than elsewhere. He seems to hint at a mixed parentage for the Brahmin of the Madras Presidency. That may partly account for the Brahmin's assumption of superiority. If the zeal of the convert is proverbial the anxiety of the hybrid to be regarded as of pure blood is not an unheard-of theory. I hope I am not rubbing my brethren too severely the wrong way.

The summary of the writer's experiences is "that, except in Madras and in the Maharashtra country, the Brahmin exercises no commanding influence in the councils of the Empire or in moulding the ideas of the people."

## Cultivation of Jute in Brazil.

*The Indian and Eastern Engineer* states that,

The Government of Bengal, Department of Agriculture and Industries, have forwarded, for the information of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, an extract from the *Brazilian-American*, Rio de Janeiro, dated 13th May, which is in the following terms:—

The following telegram has been received by President Epitacio Pessoa concerning the commercial possibilities of jute fibre in the industrial development of Brazil. The message is from Dr. Rodrigo de Camargo, an engineer in the Department of Agriculture, who was sent to the State of Sao Paulo by the President to make a study of the jute farms which are being cultivated under the direction of Dr. Gabriel Lessa.

The telegram referred to is as follows:—

"I am taking the liberty of sending a message directly to the Head of the Nation as a preliminary report on the inspection of the jute farms in the country of Presidente Prudente (a new station on the Sorocabana Railway) situated eighty kilometers from Sao Paulo in the open country on the left side of the Sorocabana Railway. The inspection has been concluded, and my report ready.

I am telegraphing you directly because I feel that Brazil has almost solved the jute fibre problem. In my opinion, jute will ultimately become of more importance to Brazil than coffee. After many failures, successful experiments have been made under the capable direction of Dr. Gabriel Lessa. After innumerable attempts and sacrifices, jute seed was brought from India. Nine experienced farmers were persuaded to come to Brazil to assist in getting the industry started in this country. Jute culture offers a satisfactory profit to small farmers. It is capable of becoming within a short time, one of the safest and most promising industries in Brazil. Local production will guarantee enough fibre for factories making ropes, strings, rugs, (resembling those made in Persia), spreads and other articles and imitation Cashmere and silk (similar to the goods made in India, Japan and England). There is plenty of opportunity for exportation. The plants are grown in three months, and a plantation requires very little capital. Production on a large scale depends upon the ability to procure good seeds. This difficulty is at present due to heavy export duties on seeds leaving India. Dependable instructions must also be furnished to the planters who are unacquainted with the new plant, and a small amount of money must be advanced to the men who do not have enough capital to build tanks in the country. The careful study of the industry, from cutting to the separation of the fibres, has filled me with so much enthusiasm that I have decided to continue my work."

Jute growers, manufacturers and merchants need to take serious note of the above facts.

## Railway through the Moplah Country.

The same monthly records that

The Madras Legislative Council have decided to accept a resolution providing for the construction of a railway line from Shoranur to Manantoddy, through the Moplah country as a safeguard against future risings and as a means of developing the country, which is rich in timber and other products. This

project has been under contemplation for many years, but it was not until the recent Moplah rising showed the strategic value of the line that the Government of Madras realised the necessity for pushing on the scheme.

## FOREIGN PERIODICALS

### Shall the Daughters Work ?

Most people of our country, when they think at all of the subject, are afraid of the education of women because they believe that it destroys the instinct for domesticity of those who receive it. Those Indian men who have educated women in their homes can testify that it does not. Occidental experience tends to support this testimony, as the following extract from *The Literary Digest* shows:—

The Feminine Instinct for domesticity is not entirely crushed by the modern independence movement and the industrial opportunity presented to women, as is witnessed, in the case of the French women, by a questionnaire recently put to them. The French women have entered into the professions and public activities almost as extensively as American women have done, and recently it occurred to a French newspaper, we are told by the *Rocky Mountain News*, to ask some of the women successful in their particular lines whether, if they have daughters, they wish them to follow in their footsteps. A majority of the answers are decidedly in the negative the objection being, we are told, not to professional life, but to the particular profession in which the women were engaged. But, notes the *News*:

"These women all indicated a wish that their daughters should lead domestic lives, some saying so frankly, but no one is quoted as objecting to their entering into some lucrative occupation if necessity requires, tho it must be other than that of their mothers. This is quite in line with the attitude taken by many men who do not favor the entrance of their sons into their own calling, the real reason being that they see the drawbacks and difficulties of their own as of no other occupation. But men expect their sons to engage in some sort of life work, whereas women probably as a class approve of a business career for their daughters only if necessity calls for it, and then only until marriage ends the need of self-support.

"This is natural and feminine and a view

likely to prevail in this country as well as in France, in spite of all the industrial and professional opportunities open to women, and the alleged independence given to them by the ballot. Domesticity shifts its characteristics as time goes on. A life spent in cooking, washing dishes and bending over the washtub does not invite the girls of to-day, but they want their own homes none the less."

It is true, and it is right and natural that it should be so, that educated women refuse to be mere household drudges slaving merely for the pleasure and at the bidding of men.

### World News About Women.

The following items are taken from *The Woman Citizen* :—

#### WOMEN JUDGES FOR CHILDREN.

Now that the office of Judge of Children's Courts in New York is open to women, even without legal training candidates are being put forward in four counties.

#### A TERSE PLATFORM.

Ellen Duane Davis, the only Pennsylvania woman who is running for Congress this year (see August 26 *Citizen*) was nominated without any solicitation on her part. Her platform is "Clean hands, empty pockets, a pure heart and a strong desire to serve her people." She believes that the United States should join the League of Nations; stop hoarding gold; lessen taxation by a tariff for revenue only; and work for the whole world, not for America alone.

#### CANDIDATE FOR PARLIAMENT.

Mrs. Charlotte Despard, a pioneer in the suffrage movement in England and a prominent figure in Irish affairs, has announced her candidacy for Parliament. She is Lord French's sister.

#### A NORWEGIAN BOOTH.

Norway's women will have an exhibition pavilion at the Rio Janeiro Exposition next

month, showing what they have accomplished in various branches of housework and sanitation. Models of government schools for housework teachers and the tuberculosis sanitariums erected through the efforts of women are to be part of the exhibit, which will be accompanied by illustrated lectures.

#### IN GREAT BRITAIN

Among the candidates for the forthcoming Parliamentary elections in Great Britain are Lady Marjorie Beckett (daughter of Lady Warwick), who is running on a Labor ticket. Like her mother, Lady Marjorie is an able public speaker. The Labor candidate for North Islington is Miss Edith Picton-Turbervill, O. B. E., well-known for her activities on behalf of women in the church. West Edinburgh adopted as an Independent candidate Mrs. More-Nisbet, a prominent member of the Catholic Women's Suffrage Society; and Mrs. Oliver Strachey (mentioned in our last number) is the Independent candidate for Brentford and Chiswick.

#### WOMEN M. P.'s IN THE NETHERLANDS

Seven women were returned for Parliament as a result of the recent Parliamentary elections in the Netherlands.

They are: Mrs. Bronsveld-Vitranga, a Roman Catholic; Miss Frida Katz, a lawyer belonging to the historical Christian political party; Miss E. C. Van Dorp, also a lawyer; Miss Westerman, a former M. P., who was re-elected; Mrs. Betsy Bakker-Nort, a lawyer belonging to the Constitutional Democrats and the first Vice-President of the Dutch Society for Women Citizens; Miss Suze Groeneweg, a Social Democrat, Holland's first member of Parliament and in Parliament for four years; Mrs. de Vries-Bruis, Social Democrat, also a doctor specializing in nervous diseases.

#### IN AMERICAN EMBASSY AT TOKIO

As the result of her efficiency when she was secretary to the Advisory Committee at the Washington Conference on the Limitation of Armaments, Miss Maud Miles of Erie, Pennsylvania, has been appointed an attaché of the American Embassy at Tokio—the first woman to be assigned to an American Embassy in the Orient.

#### DIVING FOR A LIVING

That diving may be looked on as a profession for women is demonstrated by Miss Margaret Naylor, Britain's first woman diver who is searching in Tobermory Bay, Scotland, for treasure left by a ship of the Spanish Armada. A dive of ten fathoms is nothing to Miss Naylor.

#### WOMEN IN THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

(Ex) Premier Lloyd George, according to a special cable to the Philadelphia *Public Ledger*

has just appointed Mrs. Coombe Tennant as substitute delegate to the Third Assembly of the League of Nations. In this connection it is interesting to have the names of women who have attended the First and Second Assemblies in an official capacity. According to a list prepared by the Council for the Representation of Women in the League of Nations, they are: as technical advisers in both assemblies, Mlle. Henni Forchhammer, President National Council of Danish Women, and Mme. Kluyver, head of the Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Holland; as alternate delegates, Mme. Anna Bugge-Wicksell, B. A., of Sweden, and Mlle. K. Bonnevie, Curator of Zoological Laboratory, Christiania Norway; and as technical adviser to the Second Assembly, Mlle. Helene Vacaresco, of Roumania.

The Council also lists the following women as members of the League of Nations Commission, some of whom have already been mentioned in the *Citizen*: Mme. Anna Bugge-Wicksell, of Sweden, Mandates Committee; Dr. Josephine Baker, of America, Health Committee; Miss Karen Jeppa, of Denmark, and Miss Cushman, of America, Commission of Inquiry on Deported Women and Children; Mme. Curie-Skłodowska, of France, and Mlle. Kristine Bonnevie, of Norway, Committee on Intellectual Cooperation; Dr. Paulina Luisi, of Uruguay, and Mme. Estrid Hein, of Denmark, Traffic in Women and Children.

In addition, five women assessors on certain commissions are named: Miss Baker of Great Britain; Mme. Avril de St. Croix, of France; Mme. de Montenach and Mme. Studer-Steinhauslin, of Switzerland, Traffic in Women and Children; and Mrs. Hamilton Wright, of America, Traffic in Opium.

#### Women in Politics and Women in Industries.

Elizabeth Frazer records in *The Ladies' Home Journal* the following "blunt, sardonic comment of the eminently successful manufacturer of textiles", a humane, broad-minded man, who sat next to her one night at dinner:—

"Yes, industry has been a hard taskmaster; it is blind socially; it doesn't give a tinker's dam and it never has given one for the individual which it weaves into its mighty pattern. It doesn't care for racial interests, or society, or government, or the state, or spiritual progress, or things of the soul. It has two gods, production and profit. Left to itself, unharnessed, uncurbed, it would destroy the individual in its determination to achieve

its goal. And if, as some economists declare our industrial organization is in danger of smashing up, of going to pieces on the rocks, it will be mainly because, with all its tremendous development, with all its technical and mechanical inventions, its complicated devices for increasing production, for speed, industry as such has overlooked one big, vital factor of success, namely, the individual; his happiness, his health and social needs; and, in the final analysis, it is the individual that makes the whole machinery go round.

"Take the case of women in industry. Women are the race bearers; the girls in the shops and factories of today are the mothers of tomorrow; good or bad, they're all we've got; they're our capital, so to speak. You'd think that the most obvious, primitive, selfish, common-sense motives would demand that they should be safeguarded from the race point of view. But what do we do? Look at the actual facts: Wages too low to support life and maintain decency and virtue; hours too long for health, not to mention time off for recreation and citizenship duties, obligations to the community and to the state; constant noise; bad air; crowded factory rooms; unguarded machines taking their toll of human limbs; speeding up the worker to increase production without ever inquiring how such a pace may affect her vital organs or her health. What's the inevitable result? Degeneration of the race.

"A man's work, says the old saw, is from sun to sun; but a woman's work is never done. And when, in addition to her ancient family job—which she still manages to hang on to—as wife, mother, cook, seamstress, washer-woman, and general roust-about, she is forced by the meagerness of the weekly envelope to go out into industry, in order to keep shoes on the children's feet and blankets on their bed—well, it's just plain hell, dull, uninspiring, unembellished hell, without romance, shaded red lights or fancy fixings. I pity the unskilled woman in modern industry; she's just cheap, docile labor, fodder for the great industrial machine. We're giving her, and we always have given her, the rawest kind of a raw deal."

These remarks led the writer to write a series of articles "to show how women's political power can be developed through organization to push legislation beneficial to women in industry which shall tend to safeguard the living and social conditions of family life in America, upon which rest the very foundations of our free government itself."

Women desire to humanize, socialize, spiritualize the industrial system, to make it yield up a larger percentage of health and happiness to the individuals enmeshed in the stupendous

web; and they desire, moreover, to do this through the law.

There are thousands of women employed in Indian factories. Their condition cannot be made thoroughly satisfactory unless women have political power in India and use it wisely and persistently.

### Prevention of Accidental Deaths of Children.

Of the total of accidental deaths in the United States 20,000 are children under fourteen years of age. And so, as stated in *Child-Welfare Magazine*,

Steps have been taken in many localities to study the subject of safety with reference to local conditions. Many cities have held a Safety Week each year, and during the six or seven days of the campaign they have done all they could to avoid and avert accidents. In addition to making safety campaigns, most cities have established traffic ordinances and safety zones and have erected warning signs, with the object of eliminating street accidents. The results of these efforts have been gratifying, but the real work has only just begun,

In the opinion of that American magazine,

The most important thing is to educate the public—men, women and children. The American people are the greatest chance-takers in the world. We rush unhesitatingly across a street filled with moving vehicles with no thought of the risk we are assuming. We thoughtlessly plunge into the midst of danger instead of waiting perhaps half a minute until conditions are comparatively safe. *We do not think!*

To whom and when and how is such education to be given?

To be most effective, such education must begin with the children in our schools. Statistical reports show that the critical age in the life of a child is in the neighborhood of five years. At the age the child has mastered its faculties for walking and running, but it has not yet developed a sense of fear or danger, and it does not know that there are certain things that must be done for its own preservation. Children of kindergarten age are none too young to be taught how to avoid injury. Safety education should begin in the kindergarten classes, and it should be continued along through the upper grades. When the children are taught to believe in safety, and learn how to protect

themselves, the safety spirit will spread to the homes and to the parents in a way that is more effective than can ever be hoped for by our present "once-a-year-campaign" method.

It is not a difficult matter to work out a plan of safety education for our schools, when the problem is once understood. The plans will vary in different cities, as conditions themselves vary, and what is suitable for one city may not be satisfactory to another. St. Louis, Detroit, Cleveland, Syracuse, Rochester, and other large centers have already introduced safety teaching in their schools, and these cities are well pleased with the results. In many cases the work has been so successful that the children in the upper grades now oftentimes assist the civic authorities in carrying on the duties of the public safety departments.

Where the work in the schools has been most successful, topics emphasizing the constructive side of safety have been incorporated in the regular work of the classroom. In the kindergartens and lower grades, for example, games are played which teach the children the correct way of crossing streets, and the dangers of running into the road without looking to see if vehicles are approaching. In language work, safety lends itself readily to oral and written composition, reading, and letter-writing. Safety playlets are especially appealing to the children, and they have proved one of the most effective means of getting the safety idea firmly fixed in the young minds. For older pupils, safety clubs, organized and governed by the pupils, often render valuable services to the schools and to the city. Talks by uniformed members of the city fire and police departments, giving practical demonstrations of fire prevention and traffic handling methods, are highly instructive and enthusiastically received by the pupils.

Education is no longer looked upon as a "filling up" process by means of which information is "poured" into an individual in somewhat the same way one would pour water into a tank in order to be able to draw it out later. We now see education as a means of developing in the child the right kinds of social recreations, viewpoints, ideals, and feelings. This is a "bringing out" process rather than one of "pouring in." The subjects taught in our modern schools are such that they will bring about a modification of the child's behavior, especially in its social aspects. Could any subject be more appropriate for consideration than one which will tend to conserve the life of the child, as well as benefit mankind in general?

### "Salvaging Civilization."

Many are at present disposed to despair of the future of civilization. But G. Stanley Hall, author of "Adolescence", "Senescence", etc., writes in the course of an article on "Salvaging Civilization" in the October *Century Magazine* that the proper attitude for watchfully waiting intellectuals in a time like this should be one of hope and not of despair; of course, not of cowardly ignoring of perils. He gives his reasons for prescribing this hopeful attitude.

We know everything good and great came out of the soul of man. It created everything that makes civilization—state, church, all the arts and the industries, and every institution. Man created all the languages, all the myths and all religions, heavens, and hells; he made all the Bibles, and all the gods from highest to lowest evolved from his soul. True, God made man, but before that, many now tell us, man made God. But more and back of all this, man made himself out of a very savage and hairy anthropoid which for ages seemed inferior to a score of animal competitors for the lordship of creation. This he alone attained, leaving them all behind in brutishness. And last of all, as his crowning achievement, he has evolved the sciences, pure and applied, and all their armamentaria. He may well be proud of his humble ancestry, of the vigor and clan which his ancient pedigree gave him.

We may indeed truly say with Hegel, that man can never begin to think highly enough of himself.

He proceeds to argue:

Now, is it likely that such a being, with such a record in the past, the rate of whose advance, instead of being retarded, has constantly accelerated up to the beginning of the century, should suffer defeat, arrest, or lapse into sudden senescence? Are not all the hardships and perils of our day rather to be regarded as painful initiations of humanity into a stage of adulthood or as new challenges which will be met as triumphantly as all the old ones have been? For the soul of man has been the most irrepressible and unconquerable thing in the world so far. Are we shallow optimists if we feel an invincible conviction that history so far has been only prolegomena, and far better things are in store for our race than it has yet known? Man is perhaps now near the halfway station between the ape he was and the demigod he is to become in some far-off day when man as he now is will be as forgotten as the missing link of Java. Is there any better way of judging the future than by the past? Thus nature and evolution bid us hope.

Next to hope, what we need is more faith in man.

Neither his soul nor his body was smuggled into the world from without, but evolved from its inmost core. He is its beloved and only begotten son, and the story of his processional from ether to ethics, from cell to citizen, amoeba to the architect of civilization, is the epitome of all knowledge possible to man. Always and everywhere the best have survived; so that it is a good world, and despite all his faults, he is the best thing in it: his shortcomings are those of immaturity.

The writer then asks and answers:

Now, if man is thus the crown of the universe, what is the highest and best thing in him, the tap-root of his growth, the mainspring of all his progress, the only sure road to a greater future? I answer that it is love, the oldest, most potent, and most fundamental thing in human nature.

Love rules the court, the camp, the grove,

\*        \*        \*        \*

For love is heaven, and heaven is love

only hints at it. All the Bibles are love stories of man for the highest idea his racial soul has evolved. Buddha, Jesus, Paul, John, knew its power. It may be directed to truth, and then it makes science and philosophy: to beauty, and then it makes art in all its forms; to justice, virtue, or goodness, and then it makes all the counsels and aids to progressive perfection, law, ethics, religion. Just now we are learning again how it controls health and disease, success or failure, which, psychoanalysts are showing us, depend more on the love of life than on anything else. It is the perennial theme of poetry, drama, and all fiction. Look into your own lives, and not one of you will deny that conduct and even character have been shaped by Eros, which Plato said made the world itself. The chief trait of man as distinct from animals is that he can love more. Some great transformation in the past, symbolized by many a myth, hypertrophied his philoprogenitive instincts, made him the lover par excellence of the world, so that most of his *thun* and *haben*, and achievements and his failures, have been due to it. If he only loves his work and can make play of it, instead of hating it as the world now does, not only fatigue, but every form of unrest, will vanish. Nothing has so many species, varieties, names and symbols.

Mr. Hall's eloquent glorification of love in the highest and widest sense is continued thus:

It begins even before sex in symbiosis, is seen in all forms of gregariousness, of the herd instinct which the Cro-Magnon had and the Nean-

derthal lacked, and so vanished before him. It made man the social being he is, taught him co-operation and mutual aid, gives some a passion for service, inspires patriotism that broadens into philanthropy, makes altruism, and everywhere subordination of the individual unit to the group. It still impels some young-men in the very choice of their calling to ask where they can do most good instead of where they can get most money. Woman, who is now coming to power, knows and feels it better than man and ought to help bring in a new dispensation of it as against the egoism and the monstrosities of selfishness which are the products of hunger merging into greed, the other and malign power that now strives to rule the world. In these days of tests we must work out some criterion to tell of each how much they can love, and the best function of culture is to direct this passion toward the highest and most worthy object, and to realize the transforming power of a new affection. It will bring in, in a sense, the opposite type of the superman to that we know. It gives the highest possible morale, it is the best of all agencies in the abolition of war, and its development is the best standard by which to measure the efficacy of all these other cures of present-day evils. It does exist deep down in the soul of every one who is truly human, and if we could only find some mode of direct action to bring it out, we should not have to wait for slower agencies.

The future of mankind will depend on what the young will do.

It is most significant that in nearly every country in Europe involved in the Great War, perhaps especially in Germany, we read of new movements in the rising generation toward emancipation from both the traditions and the control of their elders, as if they had lost confidence in their guidance, which has involved the world in woe.

The young are the best material for prophecy, for as they go, the world will follow two decades hence. The young best know what love is and best feel what it can do. Thus the supreme question which the zeitgeist puts up to young people to-day is to decide whether they wish most to give or to get; to serve mankind or to exploit it; whether they will choose the career where they can do most good to-morrow or take the job that pays the best to-day; whether they follow the precepts of Sterner and Nietzsche, which teach us to maximize our ego, or those of Kropotkin, which teach mutual aid; whether they prefer the cutthroat methods of competition, too prevalent in business, or the co-operative methods by which science, the other great institution of the modern world, has been built up. Both individual and group selfishness must be transcended, and nothing less than a new dispensation of service and a

new enthusiasm for humanity must be instituted. This will begin not by concerted and organized movement without, but can take its rise only within the soul of each individual man who dedicates himself to service, and has penetrated to the great secret of the human heart, that "it is more blessed to give than to receive."

### Has Germany Changed ?

The question, "Has Germany Changed ?", is answered thus in *The Century Magazine* for October :—

The reply is difficult. The institutions have changed, but it is difficult to say whether the German people have changed or not. They are scarcely a people any more save as the scorn of the world welds them together. They are thoroughly disunited. It is not that Bavaria is suspicious of Prussia or that Bremen and Hamburg are proud of independence. It is not geography, but economics, which divides the people. In the present Government there are but few men of education and driving power : it represents, however, the heart of the German people striving to be free of unnatural ambitions. The heart of the German is essentially childlike. It is not immersed in the world ; it has never led the world in culture, as France has, or as Italy or as England ; it is essentially democratic, unspoiled, energetic, comfort-loving, easy-going people over whom a veneer of imperialism and militarism has been spread. Now it is humiliated. It has lost its place in the family of nations. It knows that it was stupidly led to destruction ; it believes that it was guilty of the blood of mankind, but not much more so than the surrounding nations, hostile to it and envious of it. Will it seek to revenge itself upon the nations which now hold it in the mire or will it, forgetful of the past, press on toward the high mark of the calling which some men in the present Government believe to be a holy calling ? That is the question which now trembles in the balances. There is hope in the sturdiness of the people, in the essential simplicity of the nation that lives much on the public street and eats in the open air, in its sense of the futility and arrogance of a military aristocracy, in the deep convictions of a few leaders in the present movement that they are summoned to further democracy in the world.

No one should deny that there are forces of evil at work in Germany to-day—forces of militarism, of reaction, of revenge. But there are also other forces—the forces of humanity, of liberty, of disenthralment, forces that have pushed on toward the ideal we all hold in common. We all have sinned ; shall we insist on remembering only German sins, or shall we

throw open our hearts to the sympathy which naturally unites us with those who, like ourselves, love freedom and believe in the dignity of man ?

### "Toward An Understanding of China."

Under the above caption Bertrand Russell has contributed to the *October Century* a thoughtful and thought-provoking article. According to him, the questions raised by the present condition of China fall naturally into three groups, economic, political, and cultural, each intimately bound up with the other two. In his opinion,

The cultural questions are the most important both for China and for mankind. If these could be solved, I would accept with more or less equanimity any political or economic system which ministered to that end. Unfortunately, however, cultural questions have little interest for practical men, who regard money and power as the proper ends for nations as for men. The helplessness of the artist in a hard-headed business community has long been a commonplace of novelists and moralizers, and has made collectors feel virtuous when they bought up the pictures of painters who had died in penury. China may be regarded as an artist nation, with the virtues and vices to be expected of the artist—virtues chiefly useful to others, and vices chiefly harmful to oneself. Can Chinese virtues be preserved ? Or must China, in order to survive, acquire, instead, the vices which make for success and cause misery to others only ? And if China does copy the model set by all foreign nations with which she has dealings, what will become of all of us ?

Mr. Russell then compares Chinese with Western culture.

Whether our present culture is better or worse, on the whole, than that which seventeenth-century missionaries found in the Celestial Empire, is a question as to which no prudent person would venture to pronounce. But it is easy to point to certain respects in which we are better than old China, and to other respects in which we are worse. If intercourse between Western nations and China is to be fruitful, we must cease to regard ourselves as missionaries of a superior civilization, or, worse still, as men who have a right to exploit, oppress, and swindle the Chinese because they are an "inferior" race. I do not see any reason to believe that the Chinese are inferior to ourselves, and I think most Europeans who have



any intimate knowledge of China would take the same view.

The general question of comparing an alien culture with one's own is also considered.

In comparing an alien culture with one's own, one is forced to ask oneself questions more fundamental than any that usually arise in regard to home affairs. One is forced to ask: What are the things that I ultimately value? What would make me judge one sort of society more desirable than another sort? What sort of ends should I most wish to see realized in the world? Different people will answer these questions differently, and I do not know of any argument by which I would persuade a man who gave an answer different from my own. I must therefore be content merely to state the answer which appeals to me, in the hope that the reader may feel likewise.

His answer runs thus:

The main things which seem to me important on their own account, and not merely as means to other things, are: knowledge, art, instinctive happiness, and relations of friendship or affection. When I speak of knowledge, I do not mean all knowledge; there is much in the way of dry lists of facts that is merely useful and still more that has no appreciable value of any kind. But the understanding of nature, incomplete as it is, which is to be derived from science, I hold to be a thing which is good and delightful on its own account. The same may be said, I think, of some biographies and parts of history. When I speak of art as one of the things that have value on their own account, I do not mean only the deliberate productions of trained artists, though of course those at their best deserve the highest place. I mean also the almost unconscious effort after beauty which one finds among Russian peasants and Chinese coolies, the sort of impulse that creates folk-songs, that existed among ourselves before the time of the Puritans and survives in cottage gardens. Instinctive happiness, or joy of life, is one of the most important, wide-spread popular goods that we have lost through industrialism and the high pressure at which most of us live; its commonness in China is a strong reason for thinking well of Chinese civilization.

In judging of a community we have to consider not only how much of good or evil there is within the community, but also what effects it has in providing good or evil in other communities, and how far the good things which it enjoys depend upon evils elsewhere. In this respect, also, China is better than we are. Our prosperity, and most of what we endeavor to secure for ourselves, can be obtained only by wide-spread oppression and exploitation of weaker nations, while the Chinese are not strong enough to injure other countries; and

secure whatever they enjoy by means of their own merits and exertions alone.

The above general ethical considerations are by no means irrelevant in considering the practical problems of China.

Our industrial and commercial civilization has been both the effect and the cause of certain more or less unconscious beliefs as to what is worth while. In China one becomes aware of these beliefs through the spectacle of a society which challenges them by being built just as unconsciously upon a different standard of values. Progress and efficiency, for example, make no appeal to the Chinese, except to those who have come under Western influence. By valuing progress and efficiency, we have secured power and wealth; by ignoring them, the Chinese, until we brought disturbance, secured, on the whole, a peaceable existence and a life full of enjoyment. It is difficult to compare these opposite achievements unless we have some standard of values in our minds; and unless it is a more or less conscious standard, we shall undervalue the less familiar civilization, because evils to which we are not accustomed always make a stronger impression than those that we have learned to take as a matter of course.

I believe that, if the Chinese are left free to assimilate what they want of our civilization and to reject what strikes them as bad, they will be able to achieve an organic growth from their own tradition, and to produce a very splendid result, combining our merits with theirs. There are, however, two opposite dangers to be avoided if this is to happen. The first danger is that they may become completely westernized, retaining nothing of what has hitherto distinguished them, and adding merely one more to the restless, intelligent, industrial, and militaristic nations which now afflict this unfortunate planet. The second danger is that they may be driven, in the course of resistance to foreign aggression, into an intense anti-foreign conservatism as regards everything except armaments. This has happened in Japan and it may easily happen in China.

But the question is, "Can China preserve any shadow of independence without a great development of nationalism and militarism?" Mr. Russell's reply to his own question is as follows:

I cannot bring myself to advocate nationalism and militarism, yet it is difficult to know what to say to patriotic Chinese who ask how they can be avoided. So far I have found only one answer. The Chinese nation is the most patient in the world; it thinks of centuries as other nations think of decades. It is essentially indestructible, and can afford to wait. The

"civilized" nations of the world, with their blockades, their poison gases, their bombs, submarines, and negro armies, will probably destroy one another within the next hundred years, leaving the stage to those whose pacifism has kept them alive, though poor and powerless. If China can avoid being goaded into war, her oppressors may wear themselves out in the end and leave the Chinese free to pursue humane ends instead of the war and rapine and destruction that all white nations love. It is perhaps a slender hope for China, and for ourselves it is little better than despair. But unless the great powers learn moderation and tolerance, I do not see any better possibility, though I see many that are worse.

Our Western creed of efficiency for its own sake, without regard for the ends to which it is directed, has become somewhat discredited in Europe since the war, which would have never taken place if the Western nations had been slightly more indolent. But in America this creed is still almost generally accepted; so it is in Japan, and so it is by the Bolsheviks, who have been aiming fundamentally at the Americanization of Russia. Russia, like China, may be described as an artist nation; but, unlike China, it has been governed since the time of Peter the Great by men who wished to introduce all the good and evil of the West. In former days I might have had no doubt that such men were in the right. Some, though not many, of the Chinese returned students resemble them in the belief that Western push and hustle are the most desirable things on earth. I cannot now take this view. The evils produced in China by indolence seem to me far less disastrous, from the point of view of mankind at large, than those produced throughout the world by the domineering cocksureness of Europe and America. The Chinese have discovered, and have practised for many centuries, a way of life which if it could be adopted by all the world, would make all the world happy. We Europeans have not. Our way of life demands strife, exploitation, restless change, discontent, and destruction. Efficiency directed to destruction can end only in annihilation, and it is to this consummation that our civilization is tending, if it cannot learn some of that wisdom for which it despises the East.

It was on the Volga, in the summer of 1920, that Mr. Bertrand Russell first realized "how profound is the disease in our Western mentality, which the Bolsheviks are attempting to force upon an essentially Asiatic population, just as Japan and the West are doing in China." His journey by boat day after day and his experiences resulted in his at last beginning to feel that

All politics are inspired by a grinning devil teaching the energetic and quickwitted to torture submissive populations for the profit of pocket or power or theory. As we journeyed on, fed by food extracted from the peasants, protected by an army recruited from among their sons, I wondered what we had to give them in return. But I found no answer. From time to time I heard their sad songs or the haunting music of *balalaika*; but the sound mingled with the great silence of the steppes, and left me with a terrible questioning pain in which Occidental hopefulness grew pale.

### Indian Prohibitionists in America.

We read in *Abkari* :—

At the invitation of the World League Against Alcoholism, two well-known Indian Temperance workers, Mr. Jnananjan Nyogi and Mr. Tariniprasad Sinha, have proceeded to the United States and Canada for a six months' lecturing and investigation tour. They will also represent the Indian movement at the International Anti-Alcohol Convention to be held at Toronto in November. The name of Mr. Nyogi is familiar to our readers as the organising lecturer and assistant secretary of the Calcutta Temperance Federation, in which capacity he has rendered most valuable service in Bengal. Mr. T. P. Sinha travelled with Mr. W. E. Johnson as his private secretary during the latter's tour in India last year. He is one of the best-informed men on the Temperance question that India has produced. Speaking at a meeting in London on July 8, Mr. Sinha said that in India, when they talked of Temperance they meant Prohibition. He was going to America to see how they were working it out there. They were extremely thankful to Mr. Johnson for the enthusiasm he aroused during his visit to India.

### Government Advertising Liquor.

*Abkari* writes :

Our attention has been called to the advertisements of liquor which are now appearing in the books of postage stamps issued by the Government of India. This seems to us to be in every way objectionable, and we trust that some member of the Legislative Assembly will press for the discontinuance of this practice. If the Government want to prove their direct complicity with the liquor traffic, the appearance of these advertisements is an effective way of doing it. As, however, they have declared their sympathy with

Temperance on various occasions, they ought at once to stop advertising alcoholic drinks. As the "Servant of India" has remarked, the Postmaster-General of Great Britain some time ago forbade the advertisement of liquors in the publications of the Post Office. Will anyone say that Temperance sentiment in England is more pronounced than it is in India? We hope our branches in India will take up this matter with a view to these undesirable advertisements being discontinued.

### Some American Views.

In *The New Republic* Mr. Charles Merz has made some new observations on things Indian. The Taj Mahal is praised as highly as it has ever been by anybody. But the concluding remarks are of an unexpected character.

It was fortunate that Shah Jahan happened to be an artist, but inevitable that he would build some mighty structure. For Shah Jahan was a spendthrift, a slave-driver and a nepotist ---and because theirs are the right qualities for the task it is usually the spendthrifts, the slave-drivers and the nepotists who give the world its architectural luxuries. Amenophis IV was as wise as any king of Egypt we know about; but Cheops was vain, despotic and prodigal with the energies of his slaves; and so it was Cheops who gave us the Great Pyramid. Marcus Aurelius was perhaps the finest of the Roman emperors; but Marcus Aurelius left no great monument to his own selfishness behind him; and it was Nero who built the Golden Palace. Louis the Fourteenth, not the French Republic, built Versailles. The good die young, make men think, or govern nobly. It is the bad who leave their footprints on the sands of time.

Of the Sikhs the same writer says:—

The Sikhs, whose chief shrine is this Golden Temple, founded their religion largely as a protest movement. Four hundred years ago they mutinied against Hindu priestcraft. A fiery prophet led them. They affirmed that God is one, the worship of idols abominable. They denounced the caste system. They forbade infanticide. They demanded that women be freed from harem prisons. They were thorough-going rebels.

The prophet has been dead for fifteen generations. The mutiny is over. Caste has crept back into the Sikh communities. Priestcraft officiates in the Golden Temple. The Granth Sahib, once a polemic against idolatry, has itself become an idol.....It is an interesting place, this temple, but it suggests no curious

transfiguration. Often in the history of religions comes the protestant. And the disciples fumble what he taught them ere his words are cold.

The "Happy Valley" of Kashmir inspires the following sentiments:

It was from an arid Syrian hillside that Christ came, Mohammed from the desert, Buddha from the scorched plain that lies below these same Himalayas. The Kashmirs have less need of visions. It is the bad lands that produce religions.

Of the caste system Mr. Merz writes:—

It is easier to see what keeps the system going than be sure what started it. Caste has chiefly provincialism and autocracy to thank for its lease on life. "Untouchability" is practicable when people stay at home; less practicable on railroad trains. It works with despotism; but once there is a ballot-box, the politician has yet to be discovered to whom any conceivable vote would seem untouchable.

### Unpopular Mandates

*The Living Age* calls the French and British mandates in Eastern Asia unpopular.

Gloomy predictions come from Eastern Asia, where hostility to the French and British mandates, which were never wanted in any case by the people, is growing more intense. The Syrians hate French, to whom they have been involuntarily subjected, with a bitterness that increases with the severity of the measures taken to repress them. We had a suggestion of this—though only milder part of the story ever reached America—in the demonstration at the time of Mr. Crane's visit to Damascus last April, and in the sentencing of one of the most enlightened men in Syria to twenty years at hard labour for participating in it. Instead of reducing her troops in Syria, France has been obliged to strengthen them and is now maintaining there an army of approximately 100,000 men. She has been unfortunate in her selection of white officials, most of whom have been transferred from the West African colonies and have insisted upon applying to the Syrians the same methods they used with African negroes.

In order to offset the hostility of their mandate subjects, the French Governors are court-ing close relations with the Turks and Arabs, and have sent field artillery, machine guns, airplanes, and aviation instructors to Mustafa Kemal at Angora. This assistance is partly responsible for the recent successes of the latter against the Greeks. Rumor even has it that the French in order to check the growth of British

influence in Western Asia, have made secret treaties with powerful Arab Sheiks in territories supposed to be within the British sphere of control, and are supplying them with arms and ammunition.

Meanwhile the British themselves are in an equally precarious situation, and are adopting almost equally desperate measures to protect their interests. Presumably, if Mustafa Kemal succeeds in driving the Greeks out of Smyrna or in securing their evacuation of the Mediterranean coast by other means, he will turn his attention to recovering Mosul and will penetrate Mesopotamia, where the native population would probably join him, thus bringing an insurgent and hostile Moslem nation up to the very gates of India. In Arabia proper the great chieftains can bring—according to some estimates—200,000 warriors into the field in case of necessity. England is holding them off by heavy subsidies at present. But should the Turks win notable successes, these desert tribes may get out of hand and sweep northward through Syria and Palestine. In a word, the situation in Eastern Asia is probably more perilous than our dispatches indicate or the public suspects; and if the new Turk offensive has sufficient momentum to reach the Mediterranean coast, it may precipitate events that will upset the post-war settlements in this portion of the world.

*The New Republic* is equally uncompromising with reference to the Syrian mandate:

The Syrian Mandate is the most indefensible example of the mandate system, just as the mandate system turned out to be the worst piece of hypocrisy which came out of the Paris Conference. No one can be so simple as to suppose that French are in Syria for any reason except their own profit. The Syrians were first betrayed by the British, who in explicit violation of their promise allowed them to be reduced to the status of wardship. They were next betrayed by the Council of the League of Nations, which confirmed the French mandate without submitting it to the people concerned. They are treated by the French as the latter treat conquered provinces. According to a dispatch in the New York Evening Post the people of Damascus, Beirut, Haifa, Alexandria, Homs and Hama have closed their shops and are [demonstrating against the French occupation, and General Gouraud has wired for more troops. The desperate plight of the Syrians in a world made safe for democracy, is expressed by their leader, Prince Lutfallah. "In vain we have appealed for a hearing. No one would listen to our pleadings. There is but one thing left for us to do. That is to fight until we either conquer or die."

With regard to Palestine, too, the

same paper makes some caustic comments:

Actions that would be regarded as eccentric in ordinary life often pass without remark in the world of international politics. For example, supposing that two commodities had been proved by frequent experience to explode on contact with one another, a person finding himself in possession of premises stocked with one of these materials would naturally be deterred by the fatal accidents that had overtaken his neighbors, from introducing into the same premises a large consignment of the other substance. He would be still more cautious if he were not an owner or tenant but a trustee. And yet the government on whom the mandate for Palestine has been centred has committed itself to at least as hazardous a policy. All round Palestine, in countries where there is a mixed population and no mandatory in control, explosions are occurring. Anatolia, in particular, has fallen into a chronic state of war; Greeks are wiping out Turks and Turks Greeks: and there seems no prospect of the destruction coming to an end until one nationality or the other has been eliminated and their common country permanently ruined. In the meantime in Palestine, the British government having undertaken to assist the local population to lead an independent existence at the earliest possible moment under the strenuous conditions of modern life, is deliberately trying to introduce "bi-nationalism," with all its dangers and difficulties, into what has hitherto been a comparatively homogeneous country.

### The Moral Value of Judo.

Judo is the Japanese art of self-defence. *The Japan Advertiser* publishes an article on it by Professor Jigoro Kano, the foremost teacher of Jujutsu in Japan, treating of it as a culture, physical, mental and moral. His description of the main feature of the art is quoted below.

A main feature of the art is the application of the principles of non-resistance and taking advantage of the opponent's loss of equilibrium; hence the name Jujutsu (literally soft or gentle art), or Judo (doctrine of softness or gentleness.)

Now let me explain this principle by actual examples.

Suppose we estimate the strength of a man in units of one. Let us say that the strength of this man (an assistant) is ten units, whereas my strength, less than his, is seven units. Then if he pushes me with all his force, I shall certainly be pushed back or thrown down, even

if I use all my strength against him. This would happen from opposing strength to strength. But if, instead of opposing him, I leave him unresisted withdrawing my body just as much he pushes, at the same time keeping my balance, he will naturally lean forward and lose his balance. In this new position he may become so weak (not in actual physical strength but because of his awkward position) as to reduce his strength for the moment, say to three units only instead of ten. Meanwhile, by keeping my balance, I retain my full strength available for any emergency. Had I greater strength than my opponent, I could of course have pushed him back; but even if I wished to push him back, I should first have left him unresisted, as by so doing I should greatly economize my energy.

This is one instance showing how an opponent may be beaten by being left unresisted. Others may be given.

Professor Kano dwells on the moral phase of Judo in the following words :

As to the moral phase of judo,—not to speak of the discipline of the exercise room involving the observance of the regular rules of etiquette, courage, and perseverance, kindness to and respect for others, impartiality and fair play so much emphasized in Western athletic training,—Judo has special importance in Japan. Because, as I have already mentioned Judo—together with fencing and other martial exercises—was practised by our old samurai, and the spirit of the high code of honor they observed has been handed down to us through the teaching of the art.

In this connection let me explain how the principle of the Maximum Efficiency in Use of Mind and Body helps in promoting moral conduct. A man is sometimes very excitable and prone to anger for trivial reasons; but when he comes to consider that to be excited involves an unnecessary expenditure of energy, benefiting nobody and often doing harm to himself and others, the student of Judo must refrain from such conduct. One is sometimes despondent from disappointment, is gloomy, and has no courage to work. Judo advises such a man to try and find out the best he can do under existing circumstances. Paradoxical as it may seem, such a man, to my mind, is in the same position as one at the zenith of success. In both cases there is only one road to follow—the one he deems best at the time. Thus the teaching of Judo may lift a man from the depths of discouragement to vigorous activity with a bright hope in the future. The same reasoning applies to persons who are discontented. Discontented persons are often in a sulky state of mind and blame other people, without properly attending to their own affairs. The teaching of Judo makes such persons understand that such con-

duct is against the principle of the Maximum Efficiency in Use of Mind and Body.

### Napoleon's Superstitions.

Napoleon was superstitious. Superstitions are, however, of different kinds. As Professor Heinrich Bloch says in *Pester Lloyd* :—

The superstition which consists in a belief in supernatural agencies, in mysterious and unknown powers that affect and determine our destiny, is very different from the coarser and lower superstition which places faith in the prophecies and powers of soothsayers, astrologists, and other miracle-workers. Napoleon was free from the latter kind of superstition although he was fully convinced that he was a providential instrument, chosen to carry out an important mission, and that his mystical destiny led him on from success to success. He possessed, like every man, certain weaknesses. As is the case with many powerful minds, we discover in him an inclination to interpret casual circumstances and peculiar coincidences as indications that he had been chosen by a Higher Power to accomplish great things.

Napoleon felt perfectly certain that a lucky star presided over him. He also believed that the position of the stars had something to do with the fortunes of each individual.

After the battle of Jena, he observed to Wieland, who had solicited an interview : "Do you know the dream of Frederick the Great ?"

Napoleon referred to this incident. On the night of August 15,—the night that Napoleon was born—Frederick the Great, who was in Berlin, had the following dream, which is described in his own words : "Can you explain a dream that is puzzling me exceedingly ?" he asked his adjutant. "I saw the star of my kingdom and my fortune shining brightly in the sky. I was admiring its brilliance, when another star appeared beyond mine, darkening mine as it drew near. A collision followed, and one star dimmed and darkened, fell from the path of the other and sank to the earth, as if it were overwhelmed by a power that was to destroy it. The struggle lasted a long time, until finally my star was liberated, though with great difficulty. It resumed its former position, and again shone in the heavens, but the other star disappeared."

Wieland answered, "Yes."

"Well, then, do you believe in the constellations ?"

"The dream was true, sire. That is all I can say."

"A remarkable threat, my dear sir. It forebodes us no good."

'How's that?' asked the poet.

'It forebodes us no good, for the star of the man that is dead shall triumph over the star of the man that is living.'

Two other examples of his belief in his stars are cited by Prof. Bloch.

While returning from the siege of Danzig in 1806, General Rapp had an important message to give to Napoleon. He entered the latter's room without being announced, and found the Emperor so absorbed that he did not venture to interrupt him. But as the Emperor did not move, the General thought he might be ill, and he purposely made a noise. Napoleon suddenly turned around, seized the General by the arm, and said: 'Didn't you notice it? That is my star. There it is shining in front of you.' He continued excitedly: 'It has never left me. I see it in all great crises. It commands me to go forward, and that is always a sign of good luck for me.'

In the autumn of 1811, Cardinal Fesch begged the Emperor to stop his war against the Church, the other nations, and the elements. Napoleon answered, fairly dragging him to the window: 'See that star over there?'

'Sire, I see nothing.'

'Anyway, I see it,' insisted Napoleon impatiently.

Another superstition of his was that

He disliked some letters. For instance, he regarded the letter 'M' as boding ill luck. We can conjecture a reason, though hardly a rational one, for some of these dislikes, when we study Napoleon's career. Moreau betrayed him; Mallet conspired against him; Murat and Marmont deserted him; Metternich beat him in the diplomatic game; he surrendered himself to Captain Maitland of the *Bellerophon*; he received his worst defeat near Mont Saint Jean at Waterloo. The tide of his military success turned at Moscow. To be sure, we could quote other names beginning with 'M' that were associated with happy events and good fortune in his life. But such likes and dislikes cannot be explained on rational grounds.

### Germany's Chances in India's Over-land Trade.

Prof. Benoykumar Sarkar writes in the *Export and Import Review* of Berlin:

An industrialized and independent India is really a four-fold more efficient and enduring unit in the exchange of world's commerce and culture. And New Germany, now that she has been deprived of her colonies, has everything to gain from such a consummation in Southern Asia. A world, in which

colonies and colonialism are things of the past, will offer the best chances to German trade and industry.

The strategy of the new commercial warfare is clear. But so far as reviving her trade with India is concerned, Germany will have to revise her tactics to a certain extent. New Germany will have to meet Young India half-way.

In the first place, in order to popularize the products of German factories and the methods of German business in general, young Indian chemists and engineers should be given facilities in Germany to work as apprentices in the first-class manufacturing and banking houses. About one thousand Indians, trained for a period of, say, three years in German workshops and commercial establishments, would prove to be the greatest advertisers of Germany's industry and trade.

Indian experts educated in German technique will naturally be interested in translating German scientific and technical literature into Indian languages and serve as the best apostles of German *Kultur* as well as the most reliable media of direct commercial transactions between India and Germany. The time seems to be quite opportune, as Indians have begun to study German language at home and have been coming out to Germany in large numbers for travel, investigations, research and business opportunities. And in the second place, while getting oriented to these new developments in the Indian situation, New Germany should learn to recognise that Indian commercial travellers or agents, Indian export and import houses in India or abroad, and Indian bankers and industrial experts of tried merit are of at least as much worth as are the commission houses, agencies and importers on the other side of the North Sea. And in this respect German businessmen and bankers might as well take a hint from their American competitors. "Indian merchants of standing," says the U. S. Consul at Karachi in his report to the Department of Commerce, Washington, D. C., "are fully as reliable from a credit standpoint as British or continental firms. Their financial resources are in many cases large and their regard for the ethics of commerce punctiliously faithful."

### The Story of the "Indian Antiquary."

Sir Richard C. Temple Bart., has told the story of the 'Indian Antiquary' in the *Asiatic Review*. Speaking of the last ten years he observes:--

It was at this time that a new phase in research began to become prominent, Indian

scholars in large numbers had become proficient in English and had also become well acquainted with modern European methods and principles of criticism. The pages of the *Indian Antiquary* have faithfully reflected this notable change. In the first twenty years the Indian names are not many, and then chiefly none but the greatest; in the next twenty they increase largely in numbers, and in the last ten they have preponderated, representing quite the younger generation, that has to make its name, as well as the veterans, who are among the most distinguished.

During the last ten years Professor D. R. Bhandarkar, son of the great father, Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, has been joined with me as editor, and the journal has been kept on the old lines, with the difference that the bulk of the contributors are Indians, and worthily have they lived up to its old traditions. Especially have they shown a fine courage in investigating such difficult subjects as phases of their own religion, philosophy, and ethnology. The object of the journal is to search out the truth, not to restate prejudices, and in securing this object they have exhibited a fearlessness which is remarkable.

The number of contributors has been large and their labour has been honorary.

The list of contributors reaches a total of 527, every one of whom has been an earnest student of things Indian, the great majority acquiring their knowledge at first hand. These scholars have never been paid for a contribution, and the principle of honorary labour has been consistently followed from the beginning. The editors and proprietors have been generally out of pocket on the closing of the annual accounts, so that all the work bestowed upon the *Indian Antiquary* has been a labour of love, as it ought to be. Everyone, including printers, illustrators, and publishers, seem to have taken a pleasure in contributing, each in his own way, what he could towards the elucidation of the truth in connection with the past of India.

### The Sad Plight of Anatole France.

*Current Opinion* notes :

Anatole France, the aged and famous French author has been placed on the Index Expurgatorius by the Church.

Time was when this would have been the finish of M. France. Everybody would have been afraid to read his books. Everybody would have taken the books out in the back yard and made a bonfire of them.

That time has passed, happily or unhappily according to the way you look at it.

The only effect now will be a tremendous

advertisement for France's books. For every one who is discouraged from reading them, there will be twenty who will look them up and buy them.

It is too bad about Anatole France.

### Can Good Be Scientifically Taught ?

*Current Opinion* thinks it can.

It will be sometime before the mind of the world arrives at the point where goodness can be taught with any practical success without the authority of the Bible or the Church or some equivalent of these.

One reason is that we have always approached the matter of goodness either from the standpoint of theology which inculcates goodness as a means of getting to heaven or from the standpoint of philosophy which teaches goodness from the standpoint of metaphysical ideas.

Somehow or other we ought to approach this most vital matter from the standpoint of the engineer. That is to say, we should study moral conditions as we study electricity. We don't waste time speculating and quarrelling over what electricity is. Nobody knows what it is, and few care. What interests us in electricity is how it works, and all our ingenuity is directed toward making it work for the welfare of the human race.

This great force we call conscience, or God, or the moral sense, is as much a mystery as electricity, if we consider its origin and nature. But it works in perfectly definite and known ways. And these ways should be studied and classified so that we can use this force as well as electric force for the benefit of humanity.

As to the method Professor Davis says : "Scientific inquiries will indeed remove the cold and hard view of ancient origin to the effect that punishment, either in this world or in hell, is the best means of suppressing evil.

"There is great need of finding something better than reward and punishment as a means of improving the world. Can the scientific study of the natural history of goodness discover something better ? It ought at least try to do so, for that study includes a search for the forces by which good thoughts and actions may be encouraged and strengthened and bad ones inhibited. How will that search proceed ? Undoubtedly by the standard scientific method of observation, invention, deduction, including experiment and verification ; in a word, reasonably."

## The World's Progress in a Century.

Mr. Raymond B. Fosdick has contributed to the September *Current Opinion* an article with the heading "Our Machine Civilization—A Frankenstein Monster?" in which occurs the following description of the progress of the world during the last hundred years :—

Charles Darwin was only thirteen years old and the whole foundation of modern biology and modern philosophy as well was yet to be laid. Agassiz was fifteen years old; Sir Charles Lyall was twenty-five years old, and the crude geological conceptions of Linnæus and Lamarck were still in vogue. In the general field of chemistry and physics Michael Faraday was just beginning his work. In the field of medicine Jenner was still alive, and his idea of vaccination against smallpox was just beginning to win its way. Lord Lister and Louis Pasteur were not yet born, and anaesthetics and antiseptic surgery were unknown to the world. In the realm of astronomy, Pierre Laplace, who originated the nebular hypothesis, was still alive, while J. C. Adams, his successor in the field of mathematical astronomy, was only three years old. There was no such thing as experimental psychology, for example, and the word sociology did not exist in the English language.

With the advent of steam and electricity we have annihilated the difficulties of space and distance. When Napoleon was retreating in headlong fashion from Moscow, it took him 312 hours to complete the last leg of his journey from Vilna to Paris. Any traveler can now do it in less than 48 hours by rail road or 8 hours by airplane. We cross the ocean in five days, where a century ago it took two months. We fly by airplane from one city to another, from one country to another, in a few hours' time. Our fast mail goes by airplane. In our automobiles we pass from state to state and see in a day more than our grandfathers could have covered in a month. By cable and wireless we are in immediate and constant touch with the uttermost parts of the earth. With our own voices we talk to our friends a thousand miles away. Seated in our own libraries we hear concerts and lectures that are hurled to us through the air from 500 miles or more away. We hear Galli-Curci and Sembrich in our own homes, and Caruso returns as from the dead to sing to us. Events that few could witness are brought to the whole human race on the celluloid film; we see the King of England walk through Westminster Abbey to lay a wreath on the tomb

of the unknown soldier, and we see and hear the President of the United States speaking in Arlington Cemetery.

A hundred years ago it is conceivable that a man might acquire and digest a fairly substantial proportion of the body of human knowledge. At least he could easily find a point of orientation from which he could intelligently survey the course, and keep up with the progress of the march. To-day this is utterly impossible. In the growing complexity of knowledge one can scarcely find his way. Whole groups of conclusions must be accepted without analysis or examination, and most of the departments of learning we cannot even enter.

### Having said so much Mr. Fosdick asks:

Will this intricate machinery which man has built up and this vast body of knowledge which he has appropriated be the servant of the race, or will it be a Frankenstein monster that will slay its own maker? In brief, science has multiplied man's physical powers ten-thousandfold and in like ratio has increased his capacity both for construction and destruction. How is that capacity to be used in the future? How can we hold in check the increasing physical power of disruptive influences? Have we spiritual assets enough to counterbalance the new forces? How can we breed a greater average intelligence? Can education run fast enough, not only to overcome the lead which science has obtained, but to keep abreast in the race?

### And what is his answer?

These are ugly questions and they carry with them a perilous significance. They are hurled as a challenge to our generation, and upon their answer depends the whole future of the race. And what are the answers? Let us be perfectly frank about the matter: No intelligent person in my generation—if for a moment I may associate myself with the elder statesmen—pretends to know. We are wandering in heart-breaking perplexity, swamped with the paraphernalia of living, weighed down by mountains of facts, trying to find some sure way out of this jungle of machinery and untamed powers. And the tragedy of it all is that there was a time when we thought we knew the answers to the riddles that this modern life of ours was propounding. Up until 1914 most of us were fairly confident of the result, fairly easy about the future. We talked glibly of the direction and goal of human evolution, and of the bright prospects of the race. But now we know that we did not know. We were misled by superficial hopes, blinded by false assumptions. Those four years of slaughter, and those added four years of chaos and misery that have followed since the Armistice, have given us a perspective we did not have before. We see now the abyss upon the edge of which the race is standing.



## NOTES

### The Princes' Protection Bill.

✓ The Princes' Protection Bill, which the members of the Legislative Assembly did not allow to be introduced in their chamber, was afterwards introduced and passed in the other chamber of the Indian Legislature, the Council of State. The "reformed" Government of India Act gives the Governor-General power to make laws in this summary fashion by what is known as the Certificate Procedure. We will not bestow any portion of our limited space on a discussion of what the Legislative Assembly has done, and what the Governor-General has got the Council of State to do. We will only repeat that the "Reforms" leave the Executive masters of the situation as before even in law-making.

Before the year 1910 there was no provision in any law in British India to penalise any kind of criticism or even vilification of the ruling princes of India in newspapers published in the British provinces. The press law passed that year contained some provision of this kind. Owing to the repeal of that law this year in pursuance of the recommendation of the Press Committee appointed by Government, the mighty potentates of the Indian states were left without protection against the onslaughts of the mightier wielders of the journalistic pen in British India. When the new press law of this year was enacted, no section was inserted in it to afford the helpless princes the necessary protection, because the Press Committee, of which the Law Member and the Home Member of the Government of India were members, had not seen any necessity for the insertion of any such section. It has been argued that it was only after the Press Committee had finished their work and submitted their report that Government discovered fresh materials and reasons for legislation for the protection of the helpless princes. It is unnecessary to seriously consider the sufficiency or inadequacy of these materials and reasons.

In introducing the Bill Mr. J. P. Thompson, of Panjab fame made a speech from which we quote the following passage describing the contents of the Bill :—

"The Bill provides that whoever edits, prints or publishes, or is the author of any book, newspaper or other document which brings, or is intended to bring into hatred or contempt or excites or is intended to excite disaffection towards any prince or chief of a state in India, or the government or administration established in such States, shall be punishable with imprisonment which may extend to five years or with fine, or with both. A subsection of that same section goes on to protect in terms which are modelled on the Explanations to Section 124-A—legitimate criticism. The next clause contains certain necessary provisions as to the power to forfeit offending publications or to detain them in course of transmission through the post: and the concluding section provides for the status of the Courts by which the offences may be tried, and also proposes to enact that no court shall proceed to the trial of any such offence except on complaint made by, or under authority from, the Governor-General."

As we shall see afterwards, it has not been officially denied that "there is a good deal of oppression and misrule in some of the Indian states." No effective criticism of such oppression and misrule is possible without fully describing such oppression and misrule. These are frequently of such a character that a full description of them cannot but bring into hatred or contempt or excite disaffection towards the oppressors. But such action has been made penal. Therefore Indian journalists in the British provinces who care for their own safety—and how many there are who do not?—would naturally refrain from exposing the details of the misrule and oppression in any Indian state which may come to their notice. The law for the protection of princes, therefore, stands in the way of the thorough and effective exposure of misrule and oppression in the Indian states. Out of the 700 states in India there are perhaps not more than a dozen in which any newspapers are published. Among those papers which are published in these States, there is perhaps not a single one which possesses even the limited amount of freedom which the Press

has in British India, or which does its journalistic duties with the courage which characterises the boldest newspapers in the British provinces. These facts go to show that the subjects of tyrannical Indian princes must suffer in silence. Not that the criticism of their misrule and oppression in the British-Indian press has hitherto effectively curbed their tyrannical propensities. But publicity was bound to tell in the long run. The Indian press had begun to take interest in the affairs of the Indian States. Such interest was bound to grow. And as more and more information became available, the exposure and criticism of misrule and oppression was destined to increase in volume, strength and efficacy. The Princes' Protection Bill cannot but greatly retard this process of growth, though it cannot stop it altogether. This is all the more to be deplored, for, as Mr. Thompson admitted that "Government cannot always intervene even in the cases [of oppression and misrule] which come to its notice," it is absolutely necessary for public opinion in relation to the Indian States to grow so overwhelmingly strong as to shame the British Government into necessary action, *if possible*.

But, it may be said, a subsection of section 3 protects legitimate criticism. This sort of protection, however, is given by the Explanation to Section 124-A of the Indian Penal Code. But in spite of such protection numbers of Indian journalists have been sentenced to various terms of rigorous imprisonment for criticism of the British Government in India which the Indian public considered correct, justifiable and, therefore, legitimate. In fact, there will always be difference of opinion as to what constitutes legitimate criticism and what not, between the Indian public and the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy or their Indian servants, and as the decision would generally rest with an Anglo-Indian Magistrate or Judge or an Indian one who is a servant of the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy, it would not be generally acceptable to the Indian public.

The last safeguard provided by the Bill is that "no court shall proceed to the trial of any such offence except on complaint made by, or under the authority from, the Governor-General in Council." This is not much of a safeguard. It would not be difficult for any Indian prince who felt ag-

grieved to get such a complaint made. Many things done in the name of the Governor-General in Council are in reality done by the Secretaries, who are mostly sun-dried bureaucrats.

Mr. Thompson contended in his speech that the British Government was bound by its many treaties with the Indian princes and royal pledges to them to give them protection against journalistic attacks. He quoted passages from some treaties and pledges to prove his case. But we think he failed to prove beyond doubt that the passages cited had in view journalistic attacks or criticism. In none of the passages quoted by him is there any express mention of newspapers, periodicals, books, pamphlets, or leaflets, or of editors, journalists, or authors of books, &c. Therefore, it is by no means clear that the treaties and pledges ever contemplated any legal action to be taken against lighters with the pen for the protection of the princes. At the same time it must be allowed that the language of the treaties and pledges do not preclude the possibility of the kind of construction put on them. Let us admit then for the sake of argument that the passages quoted by Mr. Thompson may admit of the interpretation put by him on them. Government must then show why the protection promised in them was not given till the year 1910. Most of the treaties were concluded before the accession, during the reign and prior to the death of Queen Victoria. She ascended the throne in 1837 and died in 1901. Her son and successor King Edward VII ascended the throne in 1901, and died in 1910. Both of them gave pledges. How is it, then, that during the long reign of Victoria, nothing was done to redeem the promises made in the treaties and the pledges? How is it that nothing was done even during the reign of her successor King Edward VII? Do Kings and Queens make promises in treaties and pledges to be fulfilled in some distant future?

But we do not desire to lay much stress on these wordy discussions. Let us consider some historical facts and the moral obligations implied in them.

Mr. Thompson said in his speech :

"I believe that much of the feeling which exists against this Bill is due to a conviction on the part of the members of the Legislature that there is a good

deal of oppression and misrule in some of the Indian States. That feeling is a feeling which is based on humanity and it is a feeling which I honour and respect. I regret I cannot deny the charge and I do not think that the Ruling Princes themselves would deny it. It is sure, too, that Government cannot always intervene even in the cases which come to its notice."

So the Government recognises the existence of misrule and oppression in some Indian states. It is admitted, too, that sometimes nothing is or can be done by it to put an end to such misrule and oppression even in cases which come to its notice. There is no law in British India for the protection of the subjects of the Indian Princes. We are not aware that there is any treaty or royal pledge which promises such protection to these subjects. Considered as human beings, these subjects are far more numerous than their rulers and they are also more helpless and weaker. From moral considerations it would, therefore, be natural and reasonable to expect that the British Government would take at least as much thought for the protection and welfare of the people as of the princes of the Indian States. But no; its anxiety is all for the princes. Not only so; it actually passes a law which has the effect of enfeebling the feeble check that newspaper criticism might be expected to exercise on the action of the ruling princes.

It is not that in the year 1922 Government, in the person of Mr. Thompson, has suddenly become aware of the existence of oppressors among the ruling princes. Even a century ago the British rulers of India possessed such knowledge. Abundant proofs of the fact are to be found in various parliamentary blue books relating to India. We will quote from one of them dated August 16, 1832.

The leading features which are common to all the treaties under subsidiary alliance are:

"First, the stipulated protection of the British Government against all enemies, foreign or domestic. Second, mutual co-operation in the event of hostilities with other powers. 3rd, the Allied state agrees to receive and maintain a British force for the protection of the state. 4th, the state agrees to receive a British Resident through whose medium is imparted the advice and counsel of the British Government on all affairs connected with external, and sometimes with internal, administration, by which advice and counsel the Allied State is bound to abide. 5th, the Prince agrees to abandon all political intercourse with other powers, except through the medium of the British Government, and binds himself to refer to the latter all disputes that may eventually arise with other powers.

"On the other hand, the prince retains in general

the exercise of his independent authority on all civil matters within his dominions.

"In some cases the Princes who had engaged to pay a pecuniary subsidy for the maintenance of a British force have subsequently ceded territory in lieu of subsidy. In the recent Subsidiary Alliances this practice has been generally adopted."

It has been necessary to quote the above description of the leading features of all treaties under the subsidiary system in order to make the effects of the system as described immediately below it easy to understand.

"On the question whether the subsidiary system be favourable to the happiness of the great body of the people, great diversity of opinion appears to exist.

"The old remedy, it is said, for gross misgovernment in India, was conspiracy or insurrection. [Was it not the old remedy in all countries?—Editor, *M. R.*] The subsidiary system, by introducing a British force, bound by Treaty to protect the Sovereign against all enemies, domestic or foreign, renders it impossible for his subjects to subvert his power by force of arms. That fear of the physical strength of the people which in the independent states of the East, checks in some degree the cruelty and rapacity of rulers, has no effect on Princes who are assured of receiving support from Allies immeasurably superior to the Natives in power and knowledge. Thus the dependent sovereign, restricted from the pursuits of ambition and secured from the danger of revolt, generally becomes voluptuous or miserly; he sometimes abandons himself to sensual pleasure; he sometimes sets himself to accumulate a vast hoard of wealth; he vexes his subjects with exactions so grievous that nothing but the dread of British arms prevents them from rising up against him. The people, it is said, are degraded and impoverished. All honourable feeling is extinguished in the higher classes. A letter from Sir Thomas Munro has been quoted, in which that distinguished officer states that the effects of the subsidiary system may be traced in decaying villages and decreasing population, and that it seems impossible to retain it without nourishing all the vices of bad government. Mr. Russell, who was, during nearly four years, Resident or Assistant Resident at Hyderabad, and Mr. Bayley, who was, during five years, a Member of Council in Bengal, have expressed the same opinion in the strongest terms. Colonel Barnewell, who was political agent in Kattywar, says that it is the most difficult thing to prevent our protection from being abused. Mr. Jenkins, who was Resident at the Court of Nagpore, says that 'our support has given cover to oppressions and extortions which, probably, under other circumstances, would have produced rebellions.'—*Report from the Select Committee on the Affairs of the East India Company*; ordered, by the House of Commons, to be printed, 16th August, 1832: pages 81-82.

So though the British rulers of India had been aware for a century of the probable and in some instances the certain evil results of the subsidiary system, they did not take any steps by means of treaties or by legisla-

tion to protect the subjects of the Indian states from misrule and oppression.

It is not suggested that the people of all Indian states have been, always, subjected to oppression. There have been and are exceptions. But we are here concerned with what the British Government has directly done for the welfare of Indian States subjects. We are constrained to say that it has recognised its duty only to the rulers, not to the ruled.

Where the subjects of an Indian State have been the victims of misrule, what have been their lot? Oppression has taken various shapes. Many of them have been deprived of their property in part or altogether; many have been beaten, tortured or imprisoned, and subjected to various indignities; many have been driven from their homes; some have even been put to death; and worst of all, in Indian eyes, many have had their women insulted and ravished. We should like to know if there is any clause in any treaty with any Indian States which provides that the ruling Prince shall not oppress his subjects in any of the above ways? We should like to know also if there is any royal pledge which relates to the welfare of Indian States subjects. In the extract which we have made above from a parliamentary blue book of 1832, it is stated that the ruler of the Allied Indian State is bound to abide by the advice and counsel of the British Resident connected with the external and internal administration of the State. We should like to know on how many occasions and where and when the British Resident has stood between an oppressive ruler and his helpless subjects. And seeing that all the treaties under subsidiary alliance give the Resident this power, why did Mr. Thompson say in his speech in introducing the Princes' Protection Bill that "Government cannot always intervene even in the cases [of misrule and oppression] which come to its notice"? Cannot the Resident give advice and counsel in these cases?

We have seen that the British Government has done nothing by its treaties and its laws and British sovereigns by their pledges for the protection of the people of the Indian States, though the oppression to which they may be subjected may be of the most terrible and revolting character. What are the wrongs from which the British law seeks to

pledges and provisions in treaties? Indian journalists and authors have never deprived the Princes of any of their property, powers, privileges, honours or of their life and liberty. They have never tortured the princes, nor banished them from their kingdoms. Indian Princesses have not been wronged by Indian journalists and authors. Nor can it be asserted that their writings have ever indirectly produced the above consequences. The worst that can be said of the effusions relating to the States in the less reputable class of journals, is that they are false calumnies or that their object is blackmail. But such lies do not break anybody's bones. An honest and good ruler can afford to treat such things with contempt. He can defy the attempt to blackmail. It is their conscience which make bad rulers cowards. Good rulers do not require or want any protection from journalists, and bad rulers do not deserve any. The British Government, however, has decided that protection by legislation is needed for all these princes from the paper attacks of Indian writers, but that no protection is needed for the male and female subjects of Indian States from their rulers when they become oppressors and inflict on them the cruelest wrongs! If the British Government had insisted on the princes doing their duty to their subjects, that would have been truly beneficial to the princes also. For then so many of them would not have degraded themselves by becoming voluptuaries, plunderers and capricious tyrants.

To prove that the princes require protection, Sir William Vincent and Mr. Thompson, on different occasions, read extracts from some Indian papers. Some of these contain quite legitimate criticism, some are silly, some are in bad taste, some are vulgarly insulting, but there is not one for which anyone need be imprisoned for five years.

British Residents, Political Agents and officials have often inflicted more and greater injuries on the princes and even on the princesses than Indian journalists. Loss of power, property, throne, privileges, honour or freedom, has sometimes been due to the high-handedness, secret despatches or machinations of these officers. But no protection has ever been sought to be given to the princes and princesses by legislation against their machinations and high-handedness.

As to the real reasons for enacting the law.

the princes gave great help to Government and as the Prince of Wales received during his visit a splendid welcome and hospitality in the Indian states, which he did not receive in the British provinces, it was felt necessary to meet the wishes of some of the Indian rulers. It may be presumed that many of them did not ask for any protection. In fact *The Rajasthan Patrika* says :—

We are now in a position to definitely announce that H. H. the Maharaja of Gwalior was against asking the so-called protection against British Indian press criticism. Some intelligent Princes of Kathiawad also, did not like the idea. Only the weak-minded and short-sighted rulers wanted it to screen their own sins of omission and commission.

It will now be necessary, when an Indian journalist is prosecuted for some offence against an Indian state, for a court in a British province to determine, for example, whether there has been misrule or oppression in that state. Will that add to its dignity and enhance its prestige? Will not such prosecutions reduce Indian princes to the level of British subjects? For *in reality* the parties in such cases will be an Indian potentate and a British subject, and the judge will be an officer who is a British servant. So a Sovereign Prince, an Ally of the British Government, will *in effect* have to sue for protection and justice before a servant of his ally the British Government. Possibly in some cases this servant of the British Government may pronounce that the criticism on the Princes was justified. What a position for the descendants of independent Kings! No wonder that it has been suggested that the Act is an indirect attempt to lower the status of the princes and bring them within the jurisdiction of the British courts.

### **Destruction of the Trade and Industries of Indian States.**

The servants of the East India Company were not content with destroying the trade and industries of the territories over which it had acquired political supremacy and of the peoples brought under its direct rule, but they destroyed even those of the subjects of the princes who had contracted alliances with it. The well-known author of the *Antiquities and History of Rajasthan*, Lieutenant-Colonel Tod, in reply to the question,

"What are the effects that have resulted, and

protected Princes, of their people, and of our own subjects, from the relation in which they stand to us, as heretofore acted upon?"

wrote—

"With the exception of the district of Ajmer, we possess not a foot of land in sovereignty in all the regions under our influence (in Rajputana); and although in the treaties we expressly abjured internal interference, hardly had a State of repose succeeded the conflict of 1817-18, when discovering that the chief agricultural product of Malwa and Lower Rajputana was opium, which had progressively improved during the last 40 years, so as to compete with the Patna monopoly in the China market, we at once interposed, invading the rights of the native speculators, in order to appropriate their profits to ourselves. But monopoly in these regions produces a combination of evils; and this procedure was at once unjust, impolitic and inquisitorial; unjust, because we assumed fiscal powers in a country where our duties were simply protective, abolishing the import and appropriating the transit duties, and deprived the local trader of a lucrative speculation: it was impolitic because we diverted the efforts of the agricultural classes from the more important branches of husbandry, thus in a two-fold sense affecting the financial resources of our allies: it was inquisitorial, because we not only sent circulars to chiefs, calling for a statement of the cultivation of the plant, but despatched agents to the opium districts to make personal inspection and reports."

"The mischief already inflicted by the introduction of British staples is not slight, and operates as a sufficient warning. The looms of Chandeli and Runnode, so famed for the beauty of their fabrics, are now for the first time made known to the Board only to announce their destruction, together with the more ancient and better known products of Dacca and Boorhanpoor, whose purple *Sinderies* clad the Roman senator. Even Cashmere itself, whose name is connected with an article of universal luxury, bids fair to lose this distinction, and be itself indebted to Norwich."

The above was written in March 1832. Since then the inhabitants of the so-called protected Indian states have not fared better as regards their industries and commerce than those of British India.

### **A Brave Indian Lady.**

The following has been issued by the Publicity Officer, Bengal :—

On the 6th September, 1921, at about 1 P.M., Nandarani Dasi, eight years of age, daughter of Babu Ganendra Nath Sarkar, Stationmaster at Lalgalaghat, was standing on the verandah of her house, which is only a few feet away from the banks of the Padma river. Nandarani, holding on with one hand to one of the bamboo posts of the house, was watching the current swirling by and way was is and forwards, when she suddenly

overbalanced herself, fell into the river and was carried downstream by the current. Srimati Kamal Kumari Nandi, her sister, who was fortunately near at hand, with great presence of mind and bravery leapt into the river, and at great personal risk, swam out to her sister and succeeded in bringing her ashore.

On the recommendation of the local officers the case was brought to the notice of the Royal Humane Society who have awarded a testimonial on vellum to Srimati Kamal Kumari Nandi in recognition of her bravery in saving her sister from drowning at great personal risk.

### Success of Indian Students at Harvard.

We have received the following letter from Mr. Manard P. Jordon, Lecturer in Astronomy, Harvard University :—

"I am sure you will be very much interested to hear of the success of three Hindu students in this country whom I have had the pleasure of knowing.

1. "Miss Manik Kosambi is the daughter of Mr. D. N. Kosambi, sometime Lecturer in the Calcutta University. Miss Kosambi entered the Radcliffe College, one of the best colleges for women in this country, four years ago and graduated last June with *Cuma Laude* or high distinction in Psychology and Philosophy. Miss Kosambi has just left for India, where her services are sure to be of great worth.

2. "Mr. Ram Prasad came here as a Government Scholar of the Mysore State three years ago and entered the Massachusetts Technological Institute, said to be the greatest of its class in the world. Mr. Prasad has received his D.Sc. this year in industrial chemistry and is at present employed in a big factory in Boston. All the more credit is due to Mr. Prasad for his remarkable success when one remembers that during last year he had to work his way through college.

3. "Mr. B. S. Guha joined the Harvard University in 1920 as Hemingway Fellow in Anthropology, having won the fellowship by his researches in India, where he was for a time a Government Research Scholar. Mr. Guha had a brilliant career in Harvard and had the unique distinction of being invited by the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., in the summer of 1921 to carry on

Anthropological investigations among the Red Indian tribes of Colorado and New Mexico. Mr. Guha has this year been appointed as an Instructor in Anthropology in the Harvard University and Radcliffe College and is, I believe, the first Hindu to achieve such distinction."

The full name of the last named gentleman is Biraja Sankar Guha, who was a candidate for the Premchand Raychand Studentship in the Calcutta University in the same year in which Mr. Pramathanath Banerji, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee's son-in-law, competed for and obtained it. Mr. Guha's thesis was on an anthropological subject, the same thesis by which he won the fellowship at Harvard, but no anthropologist was appointed an examiner in that year, so that Mr. Guha's thesis was rejected practically unexamined. The sordid story of how Mr. Guha was deliberately deprived of even the chance of getting the Studentship was related in full some months ago in this REVIEW and need not be repeated. We are glad Mr. Guha was able to secure by his *rejected* Calcutta thesis that encouragement from Harvard which his Alma Mater denied him. We hope he will achieve still greater distinction in America before he comes back to India.

### India in Mr. Bonar Law's Manifesto.

Among the references to India in the manifesto of Mr. Bonar Law, the new premier, occurs the following :

"The co-operation of all classes and sections is essential to progress and prosperity in India and if this be secured we can look forward with confidence to industrial development, which will add to our resources and give increased stability to the political structure."

It is a truism that in India, as in all other countries, the co-operation of all classes and sections is essential to progress and prosperity. But co-operation of all classes and sections in India cannot be secured unless there is political justice, which includes swaraj, and unless the feeling of self-respect of Indians is satisfied. Non-co-operators can co-operate only on these conditions.

As regards industrial development, we must know by what agency Mr. Bonar Law wants this development to be brought about and whom he refers to by the word "*our*" when he speaks of "*our resources*,"

before we can think of supporting his programme. We want the industrial development of India by Indians and with Indian capital. If it be possible to develop India's industrial resources, even at a slow pace, entirely by Indian agency and solely with Indian capital, we would support such development. If that be not possible, we would advocate a programme of industrial development mainly by Indian agency and mostly with Indian capital. But we are wholly opposed to the industrial development of India solely or mainly by foreigners with foreign capital; for that is exploitation. If by "our resources" Mr. Bonar Law means British resources, he advocates the exploitation of India by his countrymen and no Indian ought to be a party to it.

### **Muslim University at Aligarh.**

There are some encouraging items of news relating to the Muslim University at Aligarh.

The Retrenchment Committee and Court of the Muslim University have effected an economy of Rs. 20,000 a year in the annual budget of about Rs. 4,50,000. They have also recommended the amalgamation of the offices of the Registrar, the Treasurer and the Provost.

The meeting of the Court discussed a very interesting resolution for the opening of a department for the teaching of Sanskrit. Muhamad Yakub of Moradabad in supporting the resolution pointed out the importance of the measure. The old Islamic traditions of keeping the doors of knowledge open for all comers should be carried on in the Muslim University and Aligarh should lead in spreading a spirit of liberalism in educational matters. This example, he said, is likely to be emulated by the Benares University, where an Arabic faculty may be opened and strengthen the Hindu-Muslim unity and co-operation.

The resolution was unanimously passed and the Sanskrit department is to be opened forthwith.

Another interesting item was the selection of a motto for the seal of the University. From a number of suggestions received the most appropriate was found to be the Prophet's famous injunction to the Mussalmans "Seek knowledge even if it is found in China" and it was unanimously adopted. It was also resolved to follow the old practice of conducting the proceedings of the court in Urdu as far as possible.

The Vice-Chancellor announced amidst cheers the munificence of His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad in increasing his grant from 24,000 per annum to Rs. 36,000.

It is understood that the Vice-Chancellor has requested Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal, Chancellor, to fix a date for the first convocation of the University. Aligarh is the only University in the world whose Chancellor is an enlightened lady who is also a ruler of a progressive state.

### **British and Indian Railway Fares.**

Reuter cables that the British railway companies have decided to reduce their passenger fares from January to the extent of one farthing per mile, the reduction amounting approximately to a seventh of the existing fares. In Britain there has been a reduction in the postage rates also. But in India both railway fares and postage have been further increased after last year's increases!

There is enormous waste and extravagant expenditure in the railways. Rai Saheb Pandit Chandrika Prasada asserts that retrenchment to the extent of twenty crores of rupees per annum can be effected. By the Indianisation of the railway services further reduction in expenditure may be made. Thus the reduction of railway fares is by no means an impossibility. Moreover railways exist, not for earning the biggest possible dividends, but for contributing to the convenience and prosperity of the inhabitants of the country.

### **Railway Travelling.**

While railway fares have been enormously increased, there has been no addition to the comforts and convenience of the passengers. By "passengers" we refer chiefly to the majority of them, who travel in intermediate and third class carriages. Even in a second class carriage in the East Indian Railway in which we had occasion to travel recently, we did not find things so nice as in former years. But it is with reference to the intermediate and third class carriages, of which we have most experience, that we write. They are as dirty as ever. It may be said in reply that that is because many of the passengers are dirty in their habits. But it is the duty of the railway authorities to clean the carriages, particularly the lavatories, every day at all principal stations, and once a week there ought to be a thorough cleansing and disinfection of all carriages and lavatories. Because some people are dirty, that is no reason why the railway companies should endanger the health of the others by keeping the compartments and the lavatories in a filthy condition. "Sanitary habits should be enjoined on all passengers." We do not see any reason why there should not be notices stuck up in all carriages telling the passengers that they should not spit, blow their noses, &c., in the carriages.

The supply of water in the lavatories should never run short. In the lavatories attached to first and second class carriages there are lamps. But there are no lights in the intermediate and third class privies, for which reason they are often in a very disgusting condition.

The accommodation reserved for Indian women, particularly in the mail trains, is quite insufficient, only a small compartment being provided for them. Moreover, very often European and Eurasian women overflow into the compartment reserved for Indian women, thus further reducing the accommodation available for them. It is very unjust that, whereas Indians, male or female, are not allowed to travel in compartments reserved for Europeans even when empty, Europeans and Eurasians freely avail themselves of carriages meant for Indians.

Overcrowding continues as before.

### Greek and Turkish Atrocities.

The war party in the Cabinet have attempted to stir up war-feeling and enlist sympathy in England for the Greeks by charging the Turks with the perpetration of abominable atrocities in Asia Minor, says the *Daily Mail*.

They have painted the Turk as a fiend and the Greek as an angel. It is, therefore, important that the record of the two peoples in Anatolia, Greeks and Turks, should be examined in the light of the latest evidence so as to determine whether the Turks are really less civilised and less human than their Greek antagonists.

Fortunately a capable and dispassionate witness is forthcoming in the person of Mr. Arnold J. Toynbee, Professor of Byzantine and Modern Greek Literature and History at the University of London. He paid a long visit last year to Anatolia and there was able to see and judge for himself. The results of his observations and inquiries are given in his new book, "The Western Question in Turkey and Greece" (Constable, 18s. net), and very remarkable they are.

He shows that the Greeks contributed their full share and something more to the tale of atrocities. He went to Asia Minor with a distinct feeling in their favour, so that his testimony is all the more valuable. He is a quite independent and unbiassed observer.

If the Turks were not guiltless, they received immense provocation.

In judging Greek and Turkish atrocities, he says, Westerners have no right to be self-righteous. They can only commit one greater error of judgment and that is to suppose that the Turks are more unrighteous than the Greeks. Much mischief has been done in the Near and Middle East by this common Western opinion.

Describing one day's Greek atrocities

Professor Toynbee writes that the crimes were committed in cold blood and the plundering was leisurely and systematic. The Greeks plundered first and killed afterwards, and they sang at their work, even when they got to the killing.

### The Indian Christian Conference.

It is noteworthy that at this year's Indian Christian Conference, held at Allahabad under the chairmanship of Mr. Alfred Nundy, a resolution confirmed the action taken by the All-India Christian Conference at Lahore recommending the use of *Khaddar* and articles of indigenous industrial enterprises. Another resolution ratified the proposal recommending the representation of the Indian Christian community at the Indian Social Conference. The Conference endorsed the movement for the Indianisation of the services.

### War Graft in U. S. A. Army Leather Supplies.

In the first place, whether we are dependent or independent, honesty is to be valued for its own sake. In the second place, we must be scrupulously honest, more honest than the citizens of independent countries, because our task is harder than theirs; for whereas they have only to maintain their liberty and power, we have both to win and maintain freedom and power. If, therefore, we occasionally quote instances of corruption in public life in independent countries, it is not with a view to excusing similar lapses in our country where and if they exist. We only want to bring such foreign examples to the notice of the Western opponents of Indian self-rule who think that they have a monopoly of character. For our part, we believe we cannot rise except by character, and therefore consider it a bounden duty of all Indian publicists to mercilessly expose dishonesty, jobbery, nepotism and corruption in the public life of India. Now to our foreign example.

*The Searchlight* of Washington, D. C., U. S. A., writes :—

The great war disclosed no American treachery of the Benedict Arnold type. It did, however, develop numerous traitors of a more despicable kind—men who "sold" their country, not to the enemy, but to themselves.

In all the cases where patriotism became a mask for personal profit, where opportunities to do a national



service were shamelessly and criminally converted into gigantic thieving from the poor pockets of the people, there is none more reprehensible and revolting than that of the United States Harness Company.

Four army officers, three of whom came directly and one indirectly from big places in the leather industry, first got into a position which gave them exclusive authority to make all purchases of leather supplies for the War Department.

They bought with an exorbitance unparalleled, laying in a supply several times in excess of the government's needs.

They paid excessive prices, the money being not theirs, but that of the public.

They bought from "the trade," upon terms most advantageous to "the trade," in some transactions violating every moral and legal code by buying from their own firms.

They bought so excessively as to create a shortage of leather materials and cause the public to pay vastly increased prices for shoes and other leather products.

Being leather men first, with those interests, which were apparently their interests, subordinating public welfare and public funds, of course they created a great "surplus."

Then, finally, while still officers of the War Department, these men, who had bought spur straps at the rate of 36 for every officer, and other leather articles in lavish proportion, manipulated negotiations which resulted in the sale to themselves of all surplus leather and harness goods, estimated by one of them as worth "at least \$150,000,000."

This "I to me" transaction meant to them a profit of from 15 per cent to 40 per cent and an annual salary of \$25,000 for each of them.

Some details quoted below from the same paper would give a clear idea of what the four American army officers did.

.....during the war the largest number of serviceable horses and mules owned by the government at one time was about 300,000. Representative Reavis stated in Congress May 1, 1920:

"The total purchases of horses and mules during the process of the war was 395,000. These animals were purchased at different seasons, to repair the wastage and the loss by death and sickness (36,800), so that the estimate is made that there were never more than 300,000 horses and mules in the service at any one time."

For these animals the quartet of fireside patriots, who did not get nearer the firing line than their mahogany desks in Washington, spent the public's money with an abandon more reckless than a drunken sailor. A few illustrations will suffice.

There were purchased 2,551,087 sets of harness, at prices as high as \$266, per double set, and nearly nine sets for each animal. Certainly the 86,418 cavalry horses, the riding horses, the pack mules, etc., did not require harness, so it is safe to say that not more than half of the animals needed harness; therefore, at least 15 sets were ordered for those horses that required them.

Saddles were bought to the number of 945,000, at about \$40.00 each, or in the neighborhood of nine for every animal requiring a saddle. It will be recalled that cavalry was almost abandoned as a means of warfare at an early period. There were bought:

Halters, 2,850,853, or more than nine for each animal.

Saddle Bags, 585,615, nearly two for each animal.

Horse Brushes, 1,637,199, more than five for every animal.

Nose Bags, 3,033,204, nearly seven for every horse and mule.

Spur straps, 712,510 complete sets, about 36 for each officer.

There was no need for such extravagant purchase of harness and leather goods. The army had largely motorized its transportation system, even extending it to the artillery. It was known to the War Department that "the day of the horse was passing ..... The gasoline motor was taking his place."

General Pershing said: "Every effort was made to reduce animal requirements—by increased motorization of artillery and by requiring mounted officers and men to walk."

Motor-propelled vehicles had been ordered or provided for approaching 400,000, at a cost of \$700,000,000, which included 185,000 trucks and every other conceivable kind of motorized conveyance.

Yet these four "leather" officers from the leather industry, continued to purchase tens of millions of dollars worth of useless leather equipment that, even a child would have known, could never be used.

### Cure of Leprosy.

The increasing use of the improved method of treating leprosy by intravenous and intramuscular injections of soluble products of chaulmoogra and other oils, says the *British Medical Journal*, is already producing results undreamt-of only a few years ago, as testified to by reports now arriving from affected countries in various parts of the world. Thus in India the treatment was commenced in the largest leper asylum in the country at Purulia early in 1921, under Dr. Muir's direction, and he has recently sent to England the figures of the mortality among the seven hundred lepers there.

These show reduction of the death-rate in the first six months to 66 per cent., in the second six months to 29.6 per cent., and the first six months of this year to only 21 per cent, of the average rates for the three years before the treatment was begun in the same months of the year—a remarkable result in a chronic disease in such a short time as eighteen months even after allowing for some improvement in health due to simultaneous treatment for hookworms.

Nor is this an isolated result, for recent reports received by the Mission to Lepers show a similar reduction of the annual death-rate in the Fusan leper asylum from 25 per cent. to 5 per cent., the mortality in both this and the Purulia asylum having thus fallen to

one-fifth of the former rate, while these and other similar institutions are now discharging a number of lepers apparently cured.

### **Guru-Ka-Bagh.**

The Panjab Government continues to arrest, try and imprison the Akalis attempting to cut wood for fuel for the free kitchen attached to the temple at Guru-Ka-Bagh. The Akalis are equally determined to face martyrdom unflinchingly and calmly. The total number of Akalis arrested up to the 24th October was 3033. If the Gurdwara Bill on the legislative anvil had been framed in a way acceptable to the Sikhs, that could have altered the situation. But it has not been so framed.

### **Mr. Lloyd George and India.**

No Indian of any political party will shed a tear for Mr. Lloyd George at his downfall. The Non-co-operators never had any reason to love and respect him. The Moderates might have given him their sympathy; for the "Reforms" and some high posts were given to Indians under his regime, though not by him personally. But his "steel frame" speech spoilt his chances.

It is not easy to determine his personal share of the responsibility for the things which during the last few years have convulsed India. His cabinet, of course, was fully responsible. The political situation in India would have been different if there had not been any pledges given by Mr. George relating to Turkey and their flagrant violation, no Rowlatt Committee, no Rowlatt Act, no consequent agitation, no repressive measures to crush it, no Non-co-operation Movement, no martial law in the Panjab, no Jalianwalla Bagh, no practical rewarding and honoring of the heroes of martial law and Jalianwalla Bagh, no visit of the Prince of Wales, no consequent boycott of his visit, no Bombay riots, no proscription of volunteering, no taking up by the non-co-operation leaders of the challenge thus thrown out by government, no imprisonment of thousands of persons, no strikes, &c., &c. But though King George V reigned, King Lloyd George ruled, and his achievements are writ large over the pages of contemporary Indian history.

### **Policy of Retrenchment Illustrated.**

The creation of a new highly paid

post of chief commissioner of railways and making an appointment to it is one exemplification of the kind of policy of retrenchment which Government wants to pursue. Another is to be found in the filling up of the vacancy created in the Bengal Executive Council by the promotion of Sir John Kerr to the Governorship of Assam, in the teeth of a resolution carried in the Bengal Legislative Council to the effect that the number of Bengal Executive Councillors should not exceed two. The population, area and revenues of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh exceed those of Bengal. Yet in the former there are two executive councillors and two ministers, against three each in Bengal.

### **The Indian Princes and the Indian Press.**

If all that has ever appeared in the columns of the Indian press relating to the Indian States could be brought together and examined, it would most probably be found that the indigenous papers have written more to champion the cause of the princes than in adverse criticism of their administrations and that in the case of States like Baroda, Mysore, Travancore, &c., they have often laid themselves open to the charge of being blind to their faults and of singing only their praises for what they have done to promote the cause of education, industrial development, representative government, &c. It is, therefore, an irony of fate that a Bill should have been passed for the *protection* of the princes against the *attacks* of the indigenous press! We say indigenous, because all press legislation in India has ever been meant to apply only to papers owned and conducted by the natives of the country. That leads us to ask whether anybody can give the princes protection against the British press.

It is not only derogatory to the princes that they should have to be given protection by courts in British India, but it is also superfluous. For many Indian princes have for years sought to protect themselves by excluding from their territories Indian newspapers which have criticised them; as they do not want that discontent should be stirred up against them among their subjects.

Though the ostensible object of this latest piece of press legislation is to protect the princes, in reality it would often

protect the British residents and political agents from criticism, so that the Bill should have been more appropriately styled, "The Politicals Protection Bill."

### Radio.

The West, particularly America, is Radio mad. Even little boys in American schools are making their own little sets of radio apparatus. In China it is coming greatly into vogue, for commercial and administrative purposes and it is needless to add that Japan has been making continually increasing use of wireless telegraphy and wireless telephoning, for that is what radio means. India lags behind, as conscience makes the Government here excessively suspicious and fearful. The Calcutta University Science College wanted to set up radio apparatus only for educational purposes, *i. e.*, for teaching and experimentation: but Government refused permission.

### The Age of Consent.

At present the age of consent for both married and unmarried girls in India is twelve. Bakhshi Sohan Lal had introduced a bill in the Legislative Assembly with the object of raising it to fourteen and asked for the appointment of a select committee to consider it. Sir William Vincent said on behalf of Government that in England in the case of offences against girls under 13, the punishment was very severe, but if the age of the girl was above 13 and below 16, the punishment was lighter. But in Bakhshi Sohan Lal's bill, the punishment for offences against girls of even less than 14 was heavy. Moreover, Government was unwilling to include in the bill the case of married girls. Government could support the bill on two conditions: (1) that married girls would not be included in it, (2) that offences against girls between 12 and 14 years of age would be less severely punished than those against girls under 12.

Mr. Allan strongly supported the bill.

had lost thirty-two lakhs of immature mothers.

Mr. Amjad Ali said that if the bill were passed into law, all [Indian] husbands would have to go to jail, whereupon there was laughter. We do not understand what cause for laughter there was in this indirect statement of a shameful fact. What Mr. Amjad Ali meant to hint at may not be true of all Indian husbands, but it is most probably true of the majority—which shows that so far as girl wives are concerned we are not a humane people. It also explains one of the causes of our not being a physically and intellectually superior race.

Sir William Vincent having informed the Assembly that the mover Bakhshi Sohan Lal had accepted the two conditions laid down by Government, the motion for the appointment of a select committee was put to the vote. Forty-one voted against and 29 for it. So it was rejected.

We are unable to understand the mentality of the 41 members who voted against the motion, even after married girls had been excluded from the protection meant to be given by the bill to girls of tender years. There may be social and other reasons why married girls must continue to suffer. But there is no moral, religious, or social reason whatever why any man who is not the husband of a girl under 14 should not be punished for doing her injury, though, of course, there are immoral reasons. We are loth to believe that 41 members of the Legislative Assembly were influenced by immoral considerations. But what else could have been their reasons for voting as they did?

### Flood in North Bengal.

The natural cause of the unprecedented floods in Rajshahi, Bogra and some other north Bengal districts was excessive rainfall; but the inundation would not have been destructive if there had not been artificial causes also. The main artificial cause is the existence of railway embankments without a sufficient number of culverts for the outlet of water. A subsidi-



Bundles of Clothes Collected in the Science College, Calcutta, for the Flood-stricken.

ber of metalled highways without a sufficient number of culverts for the discharge of water. For details, the reader is referred to Prof. Dr. Meghnad Saha's article on the subject in this issue. The map will help in understanding the situation correctly. The deeply shaded area represents the part where the havoc done has been greatly intensified by the obstruction offered by the Sara-Santahar railway line. The area with a lighter shade has suffered for a similar reason owing to the blocking of the water caused by the Sara-Sirajganj line. The area with the lightest shade represents the upper part of the flooded area. A single arrow represents the course of flood water. Double arrows represent breaches in the railway lines.

The total area affected is 2500 square miles. The number of people affected has been estimated at 15 lakhs. The damage has been estimated at six crores of rupees.

### **Relief of Distress Caused by the Flood.**

The sufferings of the people affected, caused by the floods, are indescribable. They unexpectedly found themselves without

food, without shelter, and, in innumerable cases, without clothes even. The flooded area having been almost entirely under water, they could not even squat or lie down on the bare earth under the branches of trees. While the loss of human lives has not been inconsiderable, the loss of cattle has been enormous. From starvation alone the loss of human life would have been great, had not the cry of humanity in distress stirred the heart of Bengal to come to the rescue. Many relief organisations are at work, the largest being the Bengal Relief Committee under the leadership of Sir P. C. Ray, who looks like a spare and unpretentious looking tireless young man of sixty-two summers. This committee has already received in cash alone more than two lakh's of rupees, besides more than a quarter lakhs worth of rice and clothes. Other organisations have received from the people several thousand rupees each. But though the response has been quick and large, the distress can continue to be relieved in full only if help alone continues to pour in in undiminished volume for a few months to come. For, we should bear in mind, that lakhs of people

have lost their all. In innumerable cases they will have to be provided with new houses; in others the huts and houses still standing will require thorough repairs. Over extensive areas the crops have been totally wiped out, and in others only a fraction of the harvest will be available. The people will have to be fed until a new crop is harvested. The flood has destroyed agricultural cattle in great numbers, so that the peasants will require to purchase cattle for the plough, for carts, and for the supply of milk. The cows still alive have to be fed with fodder brought from outside the flooded area. Seeds for

able to advance small sums at low rates of interest or no interest at all. Considering that such a large number of people have been rendered homeless and have to do with just enough food to keep body and soul together and just enough clothing to hide their shame, it is no wonder that there are many cases of illness. The relieving parties have medical men among them, kind-hearted doctors who are voluntarily rendering help at great sacrifice. But medicines, diet, etc., have to be purchased to some extent, though here again charitably disposed persons have supplied some of these things



Lorry with Provisions for the Flood-stricken Starting for the Railway Station from the Science College, Calcutta.

Sir P. C. Roy sitting on the Lorry in the midst of a Batch of Volunteers.

starting agriculture afresh must be supplied. The cold season has already commenced, and therefore people will require not only cotton dhoties and sarrees, &c., but warm wrappers, blankets, etc., also. There are large numbers of comparatively well-to-do people who have been rendered destitute and who will not willingly receive charitable help. They will require loans. Usurers may consider this a great opportunity for investing money at high rates of interest and for ultimately buying out the peasants and small farmers. But this must not be allowed to be done. The relieving organisations should be

gratis. How to dispose of the carcasses of dead cattle was an urgent problem, as an outbreak of some epidemic or other was feared therefrom. The relieving parties have made arrangements for burying the carcasses. Arrangements have also been made for disinfecting wells and other reservoirs of water from which supplies of drinking water are obtained.

The bare narration of only these few details may give an idea of how much money would be needed. Those who have not yet given anything should hasten to do their duty. Those who have already given should



Marwari Workers Ready to Start For the Afflicted Areas.

be ready to give again and again, if they can. Parties of little boys and girls, and grown-up men and women have been collecting money, rice and clothes for some days past, passing along the lanes and playing on musical instruments as they passed. Some young men are themselves drawing carts loaded with bags of rice and clothes. The spirit which actuates the givers will be understood from the following extracts from interviews with Dr. P. C. Ray :—

A petty grocer, named Pannalal Motilal, was asked to contribute two pice, he gave two maunds of arrowroot. An old poor woman, who had barely anything to cover her own body, gave away her only piece of new clothing. One servant boy gave away one of his two pieces of dhoty. A paralytic beggar who was looking at the heap of small coins collected dropped two pice into it, instead of asking alms for himself. The Mohamadan carrier who was hired to bring the rice and clothing to the central office of the Relief Committee, refused to take anything, when pressed repeatedly, remarking that he was a man of flesh and blood and he had also to do his share of duty to the country.

From morn to noon, and noon to dewy eve an incessant stream of donations was pouring in, and it was a sight to see the various organisations working in different centres of the city and bringing their collections to the office of Dr. Ray. Individuals coming to Dr. Ray and paying their quota were by no means few, and they included all classes of people. That the cause has touched the innermost heart of Bengal is shown by the fact that many rich men of the city are going every day unasked to Dr. Ray to pay their contributions personally. Another fact which proves how the cause has met with a wonderful response from the poorest class is that a pile of half-pice is being collected every day on Dr. Ray's table. A few incidents which occurred on Saturday are worth while to note. One party asked a grocer to pay something. He asked them to stop, and gave away two maunds of arrowroot—practically his whole stock. The party got an ox-cart to carry the arrowroot and other things collected to office, and asked the cartman what he would take. His reply was characteristic. He said : 'If this poor man could give away two maunds of arrowroot how can I take anything from you! Have I no heart, and do I not feel for our sisters and brethren in distress like any other man?' Dr. Ray has despatched to Santahar on Saturday a quantity of rice and cloth so large that three motor lorries had to be engaged to carry the things to station. Dr. Ray complains that the Railway Board has refused to make any concession to the volunteers,

Board could not send a few passes to Dr. Ray. The Government of Bengal have sent fifteen medical officers to the flooded area, but they are without medicine—like soldiers without ammunition, said Dr. Ray.

It is a disgrace that the Railway Board has refused to make any concession to the volunteers. The destructive character of the floods is due for the most part to the railway lines traversing the country, and the Railway Board should therefore have seized the earliest opportunity to do what they could to repair the injury done. There is time yet for them to be ashamed and to give free passes to the self-sacrificing workers of accredited relief organisations.

The University Science College presents

tion for fighting destitution, hunger and disease. And the good fight is going on smoothly without any hitch, with the help of self-sacrificing and energetic young men, some of them of great intellectual distinction in arts and science, professors of the University and of Colleges, graduates of Indian and foreign universities, working from morning till late at night. So it is not the bodies alone of the people that are being fed and made fit for their work; the spirit of Swaraj also is growing. The ground-floor verandahs and some rooms of the left wing of the big College building are being used for stocking rice and clothing. The bags of rice and bales of cloth, old and new, on some days run up to the very



Workers in charge of burying carcasses in search of them with spades on their shoulders.

an unique spectacle. On the verandah facing the portico, to the left and the right, are the statues of Sir Taraknath Palit and Sir Rash Behary Ghose. If the spirits of these princely givers for education hover on the spot, they should be pleased to find that the College which they have so richly endowed for feeding, developing and strengthening the minds of their people, is being used also for feeding the famished bodies of lakhs of their unfortunate countrymen. But not for feeding the bodies alone. The essence of Swaraj is self-help. The Science College is the seat and centre and base of sup-

porting the heart. Every day huge quantities are sent away to the railway station, other bags, bundles and bales taking their place in no time. The sight is a liberal education of the heart.

One feature of this and other Swaraj organizations is noteworthy. The population affected is mainly Musalman. Yet Hindus, Musalmans, Christians, Jainas, Brahmos and others are all rendering help, Hindus most of all, some of the leading organisers and some workers being Brahmos. East Bengal and north Bengal are inhabited mostly by Musalmans. Yet whenever that region has been devastated by flood, famine or cyclone Hindus have been foremost in giving succour.

The thanks of the Bengal Relief Committee and of ourselves are due to Mr. C. Guha for kindly going to the affected area and taking photographs at his own expense, and to Messrs. U. Ray and Sons for drawing the map.

### The Turkish Situation.

Mr. Lloyd George and his cabinet believed more in the triumph of might than in honour, truth, justice and honesty. Therefore, in spite of his word of honour relying on which Indian Musalmans fought against their Turkish and Arab co-religionists, he deprived the Turks of extensive territory in Europe and Asia and helped the Greeks against the Turks to achieve his object. So far as the possession of these territories was concerned the right was all along with the Turks. If this right had been conceded at the proper time the world might have credited Mr. George with a sense of justice and even with

generosity to a conquered foe. But now that Might, the god whom Mr. George and his colleagues worship, has smiled on Mustapha Kemal Pasha, the giving to the Turks all that they want has in it both the appearance and the reality of abject surrender.

We are glad at Kemal Pasha's victory because he fought for the right. We can quite understand the thoroughgoing support which Indian Musalmans are prepared to give him, because leaders like Maulanas Shaukat Ali and Mohamed Ali never concealed their conviction that they had accepted Mr. Gandhi's doctrine of non-violence as a matter of right policy in the circumstances of India but that they reserved their right of the use of physical force, if need be, allowed them by their religion. But we do not understand why and how non-Muselman thoroughgoing followers of Mr. Gandhi are prepared to go the length of promoting and even joining "Angora Battalions," if only by way of bluff. Angora and Kemal Pasha never stood for non-violence nor are ever likely to.

### Dr. Seal at the Mysore Panchama Conference.

Dr. Brajendranath Seal's Presidential address at the ninth Panchama Conference of Mysore was worthy of his great reputation. In the South all those Hindus who are outside the pale of the four castes, who are considered inferior to the Sudras and are treated as "untouchable", "unseeable" and "unshadowable", are called "Panchamas" or the fifth caste.

Dr. Seal has faith in the great future of these Panchamas. He believes that

The Panchama is bound to arrive. For are they not of the stocks that till the soil or ply the handicrafts in this continent, in the south as in the north, of whom it has been said,—They shall inherit the Earth? And they are thoroughbred stocks from the anthropologist's point of view, physically adapted to the environment, not decadent as so many of the civilised or over-civilised Indian races have come to be. They are in touch with the soil, with Mother Earth, and that touch ever quickens and invigorates. To them was given the command—Till the earth and multiply. And they have multiplied. But not like Hagar's offspring, the Ishmaelites of the desert. They have not the vagrant or nomadic instinct. Neither have they any anti-social or criminal taint. And provided you can create a right tradition, a right social environment for them, there is no end to their potentialities of progress in the



Mustapha Kemal Pasha.



direction of their inherited instincts and predispositions.

**The Panchama is really flesh of our flesh and bone of our bone.**

If he is the last, he is also the first, first perhaps in time, autochthonous in strain,—first possessor of the soil, and therefore first to be ousted by immigrant races. First, too, is he among the many stocks that have entered into the composite radicle of the Indian peoples of-day. And to all those mixed stocks which we please to call "Aryan", he has contributed, in different degrees, not only pigment of skin, but also deep layers of human and subhuman instincts, and of prehistoric cult, myth and folklore. Neither is the Panchama himself a pure race to-day, physically or culturally. And this mixture has been a gain on both sides. We in Bengal have derived the variability, the flexibility, the proneness to produce mutants and freaks, that characterise our stock, from Aryan, Dravidian, Kolarian, Negrito and Mongolian ancestors—perhaps some humble gifts of the heart from one, of the head from a second, of the hand from a third and the ingenium *perfidivum* *Bengalensis*, or its absence if you will, from the fortuitous blend. Thanks to Buddhism, this fusion was free and open in Bengal,—with a gain in freedom and openness of mind, in a catholic sympathy and imaginative expansiveness of temperament. If only Buddhism had a stronger and longer hold in the south! Then, one may have the temerity to think, even the political history of the south during the last five years, like its social and religious history for a thousand years past, might have assumed a different hue.

### Dr. Seal holds that

In the next hundred years, under the Indian sky, the Panchama will arrive as he has never arrived before,—that, in fact, these out-cast stocks, these Indian thoroughbreds of the soil, by the inexorable laws of population, will overwhelm all exotics and decadents, in spite of their hoary civilisation, and perhaps because of it, unless in the meanwhile these civilised breeds should gain a new access of virility and fecundity from contact with the soil. And there seems to be a law in social origins and growths, similar to that biological law which lays down that the more developed and more kinetic animal organism cannot live directly on the soil, but must draw nourishment from the original matrix of Nature's energy only through the less developed and more stable plant organisms on the soil. In fact, the more civilised races, it would appear, must virilise, fertilise, renew themselves, from the infinite reserve of energy in Nature's store-house, but it is only by incorporation with the more natural races, that have grown up in the sun-baked field and the flaming forge, that this genial and generative contact and rapport with Nature can ever be established. But whatever that may be, one thing is certain. India, in the big blooming world of the twenty-first century, will be represented by those who now form three-tenths and will then form nine-tenths of its population. What kind of population is it to be?—A heterogeneous congeries of scrf-races,—of helot labour,—like creatures multiplying on the slimy ooze in equatorial Africa in the heat of the sun? Will India be the African Continent of the future, the unhappy mother of a new race of negrito slaves?

No—the God of human History avert that fate! India, early and late, has pursued a certain Vision, has practised the *Atma-Vidya*, has worked out a civilisation furnishing cults, concepts, motifs and symbols, which are, for the art of life, indispensable complements to those of Greek mintage, and which have had much the largest currency alike in geographical and in human magnitude—not so very long ago claiming the spiritual and intellectual hegemony of two-thirds of the human race, as against the remaining third!—shall India, with that unequalled continuous creative history for three millenniums in literature, art, philosophy, religion, skilled industry, and, above all, in synthetic constructions and in the conquest of the soul over the flesh, be extinguished like some blazing Sun, the central orb of a planetary system in the Firmament of History?

No; "the new charter of life held out to us is brief and terse—redeem and be redeemed."

How is the work of redemption to be carried on?

The preliminary work incumbent on social workers in this field is to study the causes of the existing backwardness and depressed condition, causes, social, economic and religious, in custom, heredity and environment. Our schemes for social welfare and social service must be preventive, curative, remedial. Dirt, disease and destitution,—drink, dissipation and debt—these are a comprehensive enumeration of the evils we seek to cure,—but we must study their causes, as I have said, in custom, in heredity and in environment—we must estimate their extent, their intensity and their incidence,—and we must carry on a campaign against them, as we have to carry on a campaign against malaria or plague. And our methods must be sometimes preventive, sometimes extirpative, sometimes substitutive, *e. g.*, substituting a lesser evil for a greater.

Dr. Seal rightly holds that "the most powerful instrument and surest guarantee of an all-round social betterment is a well-devised system of education." But "an abstract education, which in the name of the three R's, unfits or indisposes the school population for any kind of manual work, and uproots the natural connections with the soil, or with the industrial system in the country, can be no sound education of the masses."

The Panchama Conference having been held under the auspices of the Hindu Mission to the Depressed Classes in Mysore, Dr. Seal had to consider the objection that "to many ears a Hindu Mission to the Panchama will sound as a contradiction in terms."

Hinduism, they will say, is an ethnic religion, into which a man is born, with a certain fixed status. Accordingly, a mission to those who by birth are

outside its pale, and an uplift in social status to those who are within, are equally inconceivable from the orthodox Hindu point of view.

### His reply is :

These critics forget one thing:—Hinduism like every other cult and creed has had a history. The Vedas, though claimed to be Sanatana, eternal, are promulgated anew from age to age, through ever new Smritis and Samhitas. The Hinduism of to-day is the same and yet not the same as the Hinduism of yesterday,—nor has its pale been confined to the land of the seven rivers, or of the five or the ten peoples, but has gone on extending, and comprehended in its circuit not merely the Indian Continent, and its congeries of tribes and folks, but vast hordes and unnumbered tribes from Ceylon to Far Cathay and from Madagascar to the Eastern Archipelago, from Central Asia to the Malaya Peninsula. And it was Hinduism that, in its zeal of expansion and comprehension, first formulated the doctrine of the truth of all scriptures and codes, of all Acharas and Agamas—relatively to the historical and social environment—the doctrine, namely, of *Sarvagamapramanya* and this at a time when, in other parts of the globe, uninfluenced by Hinduism, religious crusades and massacres of heretics and infidels were the order of the day. Hinduism, Jainism, Buddhism, have ever had their *Parivrajakas*, their wandering monks who granted *diksha*, initiation, to whole tribes and communities.

Hinduism has no doubt had its failures and defections, but even the more militant missionary faiths of Islam and Christianity have not been free, as Dr. Seal points out and particularises, from their special risks, defections and failures. Before speaking of the risks proper to Hinduism, he pointed out the gains of the Hindu missions of previous ages referred to by him.

Those old *Parivrajakas*, wandering monks in Banga or Kalinga land, those *Shramanas*, who, wandering in the Central Asian sands over the *Bam-i-duniya* (the Roof of the World), found or founded the cult of *Shramanism*, those Brahmin priests who had arrived even before the Buddhist *Bhikshus* in the *Narikeladvipas* or the Palm-isles of the Eastern Archipelago, and worked by their side in *Serindia*,—knew the secret, and apparently kept it to themselves, of creating composite cults and kulturs, civilising without conquest, without displacement and without extermination. Indeed, those *Shaivite*, *Vaishnavite*, *Tantrik*, *Gurus*, who, belonging to a hundred *Sampradayas*, unknown to the pages of history, tramped and camped out in the jungles and on the hill sides of *terai* or peninsula, as pioneers of Hinduism to the original *negrito* head-hunting stocks of demon and serpent totems,—have achieved certain memorable results to their eternal credit. Every criminologist knows that tropical and sub-tropical climes tend to increase crime and drunkenness and violence. What these Hindu Missions have accomplished is the miracle of converting head-hunting stocks, originally given to black magic and cannibalistic orgies, in a tropical or sub-

tropical climate, into the least criminal, the least drunken, and the mildest people known to History. Let us meditate from the heights of Universal History on these outstanding facts, engraved not on clay cylinder or triumphal arch, but on the ever-renewed tablets of human flesh and blood. Add to this that cult of vegetarianism based on *Ahimsa*, which has planted an instinctive pacificism deep in every one who has been brought into the Hindu world—a pacificism which has still other worlds to conquer, a pacificism which alone can make this Earth of ours a safe or an assured habitation for the races of Man.

But if there have been these memorable gains, there have also been “the characteristic defects of these virtues.”

The Hindu Missions in their success have stupefied the individual will and killed the incentive to progress. They have perpetuated magic, and dissolved reality into a cosmic phantasm. Above all, they have created barriers between group and group, divisions within the same community. Still, there have been persistent attempts throughout the ages to fight these tendencies. The great missionary religions of *Vaishnavism* and *Shaivism* with their innumerable offshoots, north and south, of the *Ramayats*, the *Krishnaites* and the *Lingayets*, have all sought with more or less success to combat magic and *Mayavada*. And they have promulgated the universality of salvation, though they failed to strike the pure Positivistic nontheological note of the Buddhist humanism.

### Against Underground Labour for Women.

The Women's Indian Association has sent the following statement and request to the Government of India, to the mover of the Bill to amend the Indian Miners' Act, and to the leaders of public opinion :

In relation to the Bill to amend the Indian Miners' Act, the Women's Indian Association, consisting of 2,500 members, desire to place before the Government and the country the following views strongly held by them :

1. Women are prohibited from working underground in all the mines in India except coal mines.
2. In all other countries in the world, women are prohibited from working underground.
3. So long ago as 1842, women in England were forbidden to work in mines, and that not gradually but by one sweeping interdiction.
4. The Tata Company has already voluntarily stopped women working in one coal mine.
5. The continuance and the health of the race is of paramount importance. It is entirely wrong that the mothers should have to spend their child-bearing periods in underground, sunless, comparatively airless and hazardous conditions. The result has already shown itself to be a very lowered birth-rate and unhealthy womanhood and a stunted offspring. It is against all Indian traditions that motherhood should be submitted to such western, commercialised victimisation.

6. We rejoice to find that the Bill prohibits children under the age of thirteen from working in, or being taken down the mines. It logically follows that when this is enforced the mothers, the women workers, must also be prohibited from leaving their children. Nursing mothers must not be forcibly separated from their helpless babies. Young children must not be denied the protection of their mothers. Once down the mines, the women cannot come up again for ten hours.

7. It is in the interest of the men-miners also that women-miners should not leave their homes as they do at present. Men and women under existing conditions have their morning meal at 6 A. M. and do not come home again till 4 P. M. Only after that time do the already exhausted women start to prepare the food. The men spend the meantime in the drink shops, turning not unnaturally to them for stimulus. Statistics show that 75 per cent of the miners drink. If the comforts of the house are guaranteed by presence of the wives there to perform the domestic duties under reasonable conditions, the whole standard of living will be raised, even if there be a temporary decrease in wages while the transition period of readjustment of demand and supply lasts.

8. The women have to do treble work at present, first as miners, second as nurses and third as housekeepers and cooks. It is too great a burden for our sisters and we call for its immediate removal. It is inhuman that coal should be cheap at the expense of such overwork of women.

9. We call urgently on the Government of India to take the opportunity presented by the present Bill to insert in it a clause prohibiting the underground labor of women and thus restore women to their normal functions and health and lessen the evil of intemperance among the men-miners, ensure a higher standard of domestic life, save the life of the infants and improve the physique of the new generation.

10. The passing of this reform will bring India into line with all countries in this particular of humane and wise legislation and will be welcomed by all Indian humanitarians.

The statement is quite convincing. We strongly support the request of the Women's Indian Association.

### ▲ Chemical Research in India.

Considering the vast extent and the teeming population of India, there has been very little of scientific research in India. It is a pleasure, therefore, to note that the centres of scientific research have been increasing, however slowly. The following statement shows the number of original papers contributed to foreign chemical journals during the last ten years by European and Indian chemists working in Indian laboratories. The statement takes into account only the papers of the five chemical researchers in India who have contributed the largest number of papers.

Year.	Dr. J. L.				
	Dr. P. C. Ray, Calcutta.	Dr. N. Sinha, Allahabad.	Dr. R. Dhar, Dehradun.	Dr. E. R. Watson, Cawnpore.	Dr. R. L. Datta, Calcutta.
1913	6	11	3	8	7
1914	5	7	2	3	7
1915	1	5	5	3	3
1916	4	5	0	5	3
1917	5	2	2	1	6
1918	0	0	5	0	0
1919	5	2	0	0	3
1920	1	6	3	1	2
1921	1	4	3	1	1
1922 (up to date)	3	12	1	1	0
Total	31	54	24	23	32

### ▲ Mr. C. R. Das and the Kashmir State.

After his release from jail Mr. C. R. Das went to Darjeeling for improving his health. The Bengal Government did not require him to give an undertaking that he would not make any political or other speeches there. He was left free to do what he liked. He did not make any speeches, for he had not gone to that hill station for political propaganda.

When, however, for health's sake he went to Kashmir, the government of that state asked him to give an undertaking that he would not make any speeches, etc. He naturally and rightly refused to forego his liberty of action and consequently had to leave that unhappy Happy Valley.

It is not Mr. Das alone, but many other political workers, who freely speak when and where they will in British India, are not allowed either to go to many Indian states or, if they go, are not allowed to exercise their liberty of speech and action. Are the rulers of these states so conscious of the defects of their rule that they dare not allow such freedom of speech in their territories as is allowed in British India? Do they thus freely, consciously, and of their own accord proclaim to all the world that their rule is inferior to British rule and therefore cannot stand the test of criticism and of impact with modern liberal political ideas and ideals? Or are they coerced by the British Resi-

dents and Political Agents to any extent into adopting a less liberal policy than that of the British Government in the British provinces, in order that the British provinces may shine by comparison and contrast with the Indian States? Whatever may be the reason, Indian patriots cannot but be ashamed of the position and the policy of the Indian States.

### Teaching Universities in Upper India.

Centuries ago Shakespeare wrote :

"What's in a name ? That which we call a rose,  
By any other name would smell as sweet."

But what was true in Elizabeth's days is no longer true now in Upper India at any rate. For there, we find, some people think that if colleges were called universities, the cause of higher education would be greatly advanced.

The United Provinces of Agra and Oudh and the province of Delhi are educationally not among the most advanced regions in India. But they can beat the rest of India in the top-heavy arrangement that, though primary and secondary education have not made great progress there, they possess more universities than any other areas of similar extent in the country. Allahabad, Aligarh, Benares, Delhi, and Lucknow already possess universities. And it is proposed that Agra and Cawnpore should have one each. And some of these universities have salaried Vice-Chancellors drawing Rs. 3000 per mensem, though these gentlemen are merely glorified clerks and inspectors who after or on the eve of their retirement have been placed on high pedestals.

Nowhere in India is there such a craze for splendid educational buildings as in Upper India. We appreciate architecture, but cannot agree that costly buildings necessarily connote good education, or that plain-looking buildings stand for that variety of education which has been contemptuously styled cheap and nasty. If palaces could turn an illiterate mass into an enlightened population, Upper India would have been the most literate and the most enlightened part of the country.

Lucknow is going to have a Convocation Hall at a cost of Rs. 2,500,000. Though the Muir Central College, the University Library and the Senate House ought to have sufficed for providing the necessary class-rooms, &c., with some additions, if required, the extensive premises, buildings, machinery, &c., of the Indian Press of Allahabad have been purchased for the local University at a cost of about seven lakhs. But it has no money to properly pay for the services of good professors, though it can pay Rs. 3000 a month to a superannuated Vice-Chancellor. The idea in U. P. seems to be to tell the world that large sums are being spent for education and at the same time to make it so costly that fewer students than before may have the advantages of high education. Or it may be that educational waste is only in keeping with other kinds of waste which prevail in the United Provinces. For example, there is an Improvement Trust in Allahabad which spends one lakh of rupees per annum. But though we have visited that city on three successive years, we have not been able to discover any improvement *made by it* commensurate with the expenditure.

### Education of Boys and Girls in Darjeeling.

It is a pleasure to note that in Darjeeling, which is classed as a backward tract, arrangements are in progress for the free and compulsory elementary education of both boys and girls. Everywhere we should like the education of the girls to come first. For if we have educated girls, they would shame the boys into educating themselves. Moreover, educated mothers would never tolerate ignorance in their children, male or female, though educated fathers are not ashamed of having illiterate and ignorant daughters.

### The Condition of Germany and the Depreciation of the Mark.

By the courtesy and kindness of Mr. C. F. Andrews we are able to quote the

following extracts from a letter of Mr. Paul B. Mears, dated Oberammergau (Germany) August 25th, relating to the economic condition of Germany, the depreciation of the mark, etc.

"A month ago the mark stood at 500 to the dollar. To-day the mark stands at 2000. This is an index of the rate at which Germany is being driven to bankruptcy and collapse. Although Germany is a country which has many more natural resources and its efficient industrial system is built upon a much more solid basis than that of Austria, the financial situation here today is worse than in Austria this time last year. Although one does not see begging on the streets as one might in Vienna, real suffering and misery exist, as I tried to describe in my last letter. The great majority of the German people expect the same fate, which Austria has suffered, to overtake them. The immediate consequence of this enormous depreciation of the mark will be to drive the countries, which depend on Germany, such as Austria, straight into bankruptcy. Although the Austrian hates the Czech as he hates the devil, there is a general movement in Vienna today to throw up the reins of government and to let Czecho-Slovakia come in and take control. The people would prefer to unite with Germany but as France and the Entente have prohibited that, they are driven to the only other alternative—union with their northern neighbours. In many ways, such a union would improve the situation, because Austria would hereby acquire a stable currency, and in union with Czecho-Slovakia would become a more independent economic unit. While most of the technical skill and great factories are in Austria, the necessary coal and raw materials are only to be had in Czecho-Slovakia.

"Because the German Government has been continually running at a deficit, it had to print money in order to pay its bills. The heaviest demand on Germany has naturally been Reparations Bill, the sum of 50 millions gold marks every fifteen days. The German Government had been faithfully fulfilling its obligations, practi-

cally up to the time of Rathenau's murder. Up to the first of March, Germany had paid some £475,000,000 since the Armistice. The grand total which Germany had already paid in Gold Marks is 38,242,970,000 or 7,648,594,000 including payment of all kinds (date 25th August). In order to make these payments, either in specie or in kind, the Government had to print enormous quantities of treasury notes. Perhaps Rathenau's hope was that German industry would recover sufficiently to make good this inflation of the mark. More probable was the hope that France and England would see the futility of these enormous demands, that the Reparation sum would be scaled down to a reasonable amount, and that thereby the future could be definitely calculated. At any rate it has now been realized that the mark had an absolutely artificial value. The tragedy of the situation is not so much that the worth of the mark has been destroyed, as is the fact that the financial system of Germany has been broken, and Germany's ability to pay reparations and to restore the devastated areas has been almost permanently paralyzed. This steady fall of the mark has brought about such a situation that practically all the national public utilities are running at an enormous deficit. The railroads which in normal times would be a great source of income to the Government, are running at big losses, and the German taxpayer has to pay for the privilege which the foreigner enjoys of travelling at a ridiculously low fare throughout his country. The sad thing about the internal situation of Germany is that the people are being driven to confusion and despair, and that the class which has to suffer for the depreciation of the mark is the class least able to bear the burden. I mean the cultured middle class, of very moderate means and with fixed incomes. This class is the backbone of German society, the class which has given Germany its culture and to which the outside world owes most. This class in Austria to-day is being starved out by the economic pressure, for the situation with them is now three times worse than it was last year at this time. The same thing

will be true of the intelligentsia in Germany next winter, if the present state of affairs continues. Of course, the farmers, the labourers and the business men manage to live a comparatively comfortable existence, in spite of the position of the mark, but to the person whose salary is fixed for the year, or whose wealth is in paper marks, this trend of things spells ruin. One's only hope for the future is that general economic laws, at work in every country, will automatically and naturally drive these countries which are such bitter enemies to recognize that they are neighbours, who need each other, and can only live happily when they co-operate fully with each other."

### **The Passion Play at Oberammergau.**

Mr. N. Gupta's article on Passion Play in this issue will naturally remind the reader of the famous Passion Play at Oberammergau. The following description of this year's performance is taken from Mr. Paul B. Mear's letter referred to above :—

"After living in the midst of an atmosphere of feverish anxiety and despair, such as one experiences in the life of a middle class German home to-day, it is a refreshing relief to come to Bavaria and to live among the peasants of Oberammergau. I saw the Passion Play some two months ago. I have come back here now for a few weeks this summer to join the Staff of the European Student Relief and to help raise money from the Oberammergau visitors for the relief of the students and professors of Central Europe and Russia. The Passion Play crowds this year have exceeded all previous records. Although the Play is to be repeated five times next week, all seats have been sold for the next two weeks. Those who have seen both plays say that this year's performance is better than in 1910, and it is safe to say that never has the influence of the Passion Play been so great or so far-reaching as it has been this year."

"Why does Oberammergau attract week after week tens of thousands of visitors from every corner of the globe

and what is the secret of its charm? Oberammergau has become famous because of its simplicity. It is to be understood and judged not as a great grand opera nor as a famous theatrical production, but as an expression of the religious life of simple German peasants. The Passion Play would lose its charm if it were transferred to any other stage, or if it were commercialised by the sale of moving picture rights. It is a religious drama—it has power.

"This village lies nestled in the Bavarian Alps away from all the rush, turmoil and anxiety of European political life and breathes the pure invigorating air of the pine-clad hills. Its countryside and its mountain-streams are as beautiful, although not so pretentious, as any spot in Switzerland. The village streets are enlivened by the brilliant costumes of the Tyrolese, the men with their green hats, blue jackets, leather pants and knitted half-stockings, with ankles bare, the girls in an equally picturesque and variegated costume. It is a typical mountain village of simple artisans and peasants. Anton Lang, who plays the part of the Christ, is a potter. Melchior Preitsamter, who plays the part of the Apostle John, and at whose home I am living, is a carpenter and sawyer. Practically all the apostles are very humble workmen, such as woodcarvers, carpenters, blacksmiths, and farmers. The Play opens with Christ's entrance into Jerusalem. It closes with the Crucifixion and the Resurrection. It is to be understood as the expression of the deep piety of these Bavarian peasants. Although the play is given by Catholic people, it shows no trace of Church dogma or sectarian doctrine, but is simply the reproduction of the Apostolic Tradition. The well known scenes such as the Last Supper, Jesus Meeting His Mother on the Way to the Cross, the Descent from the Cross, are taken from the finest examples of Italian Renaissance Art. The Last Supper's arrangement reminds one of Leonardo de Vinci, and the Descent from the Cross of Ruben's picture in the Cathe-

dral at Antwerp. The Madonna is dressed in deep blue with a scarlet undergarment an attempt to reproduce the best type of the Italian Madonna. John's appearance is most striking, a costume of deep salmon pink with a green undergarment, and with very noble quiet facial features. Judas is one of the best actors of the performance. He was a great favourite with the medieval populace, because his part was somewhat comic. His costume is very effective, dark yellow robe with black girdle. In fact, all the costumes have been designed most carefully and artistically, after having made a most thorough study of the costumes and customs of the Orient and the Roman Empire at the time of Christ. Anton Lang, who plays the part of Christus, is really the secret of the success of the play. He has a most Christ-like appearance and his life is known for its saintliness. This is the third time he has played the part, 1900, 1910 and this year. The fine chorus, the orchestral music and the tableaux of scenes taken from the Old Testament add greatly to the total effect. The play begins at 8 o'clock in the morning, and except for a two hour's interval for luncheon continues until 6 o'clock in the evening. When the play is given five times a week, as it was last week, and as it is to be this, one can easily see that this is no small demand on the cast.

"Never have there been more Passion Play guests than this year. As the capacity of the semi-open theatre is some 5,000, and the play is given every week from the middle of May to October from three to five times, one can easily realize how many lives are being touched, and how extensive the influence is. In fact, it seems

this year that Oberammergau is to the Christian what Mecca is to the Mahomedan, Jerusalem to the Jew or Benares to the Hindu. Visitors from every quarter of the globe, of every religion and tongue flock to these plays. Students from the Orient, such as Indian, Chinese and Japanese, the majority non-Christians, come in rather large numbers. Australian globe-trotters, South American businessmen, young English or American College boys, smart Paris gentlemen, Italians, Dutch, etc. etc., here enjoy the hospitality of the simple Oberammergau homes, and are made to feel that racial differences and war-prejudices mean nothing here. This hearty hospitality from these simple German peasants is the most unique and lasting impression which Oberammergau makes on the foreigner. It causes him to consider the futility of wars and to consider whether his own home could offer such hospitality to Germans. It is a proof that this war spirit can be overcome, and that this weary old world can be got into its normal way again."

#### Errata.

1. The following foot-note to the article-heading "The Rising Temper of the East" has been omitted from page 571—

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2. The description of the picture on the left side at page 570 should be "Bullet Leaves the Bubble before it Collapses", and that of the right hand one should be "Modified Spitzer bullet, speeding 3000 feet a second and its sharp sound waves."

3. 'Owing' in p. 591, l. 12 should be 'towing'.

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## LETTERS FROM ABROAD

BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

*S. S. Morea, July 5, 1921.*

I KNOW I need not write to you, for I am travelling towards your own nest in the Venu Kunja.\* But the steamer is an ideal place for letter-writing. If ever I have the chance to visit Baghdad or Samarkhand, I am sure to go out shopping, simply because shopping will have a value for its own sake; it will be so delightfully unnecessary. But White-away Laidlaw! It is a humiliation to have to go there—to prove that man is compelled to sacrifice his precious leisure and even his good taste to the petty needs of respectability.

In a steamer, I sit down to write letters, not because it is necessary, but because it is natural, and consequently above all needs. Land has its claims upon you in return for its hospitality, but sea has none; it repudiates humanity with a magnificent indifference; its water is solely occupied in an eternal dialogue with the wind—the two inseparable companions, who retain their irresponsible infancy as on the first day of their creation.

Land imposes on us our missions of usefulness, and we have to be occupied with writing lectures and text-books; and our guardians have the right to rebuke us,

when we waste good paper in making literary paper-boats. But the sea has no inspiration of moral obligation for us; it offers no foundation for a settled life; its waves raise their signals and have only one word of command: "Pass on."

I have observed, on board a steamer, how men and women easily give way to their instinct of flirtation, because water has the power of washing away our sense of responsibility, and those who on land resemble the oak in their firmness, behave like floating sea-weed when on the sea. The sea makes us forget that men are creatures who have their innumerable roots, and are answerable to their soil.

For the same reason, when I used to have my dwelling on the bosom of the great river Padma, I was nothing more than a lyrical poet. But since I have taken my shelter at Santiniketan, I have developed all the symptoms of growing into a schoolmaster, and there is grave danger of my ending my career as a veritable prophet! Already everybody has begun asking me for 'messages'; and a day may come when I shall be afraid to disappoint them. For when prophets do appear unexpectedly to fulfil their mission, they are stoned to death; and when those whom men warmly expect

\* Literally, 'The Bamboo Cottage,' a thatched house at Santiniketan.



to be prophets, fail to act their part to the end, they are laughed to extinction. The former have their compensation ; for they fulfil their purpose, even through their martyrdom. But for the latter, their tragic end is utter wastefulness ; it satisfies neither men, nor Gods.

Who is there to save a poet from such a disaster ? Can anybody give me back my good-for-nothingness ? Can anyone restore to me the provision with which I began my life's journey to the realm of inutility ? One day, I shall have to fight my way out of my own reputation ; for the call of my Padma river still comes to me through this huge and growing barrier. It says to me,—“Poet, where are you ?” And all my heart and soul try to seek out that poet. It has become difficult to find him. For the great multitude of men have heaped honours on him, and he cannot be extricated from under them. I must stop here,—for the ship's engine is throbbing in a measure which is not that of my pen.

*S. S. Morea, July 6, 1921.*

I suppose you have read in the newspapers that in Europe I met with an enthusiastic welcome. No doubt, I was thankful to the people for their kind feelings towards me ; but somehow, deep in my heart, I was bewildered,—almost pained.

Any expression of feeling by a great multitude of men must have in it a large measure of unreality. It cannot help exaggerating itself simply because of the cumulative effect of feeling in the crowd-mind. It is like a sound in a hall, which is echoed back from innumerable corners. An immense amount of it is only contagion,—it is irrational and every member of the crowd has the freedom to draw upon his own imagination for building up his opinion. Their idea of me cannot be the real me. I am sorry for it and for myself. It makes me feel a longing to take shelter in my former obscurity. It is hateful to have to live in a world made up of other people's illusions. I have seen people press round me to touch the hem

of my robe, to kiss it in reverence,—it saddens my heart. How am I to convince these people that I am of them and not above them, and that there are many among them who are worthy of reverence from me ?

And yet I know for certain, that there is not a single individual in their midst who is a poet as I am. But reverence of this kind is not for a poet. The poet is for conducting ceremonial in the festival of life ; and for his reward he is to have his open invitation to all feasts wherever he is appreciated. If he is successful, he is appointed to the perpetual comradeship of man,—not as a guide, but as a companion. But if, by some mad freak of fate, I am set upon an altar, I shall be deprived of my own true seat,—which by right is mine and not another's.

It is far better for a poet to miss his reward in this life,—rather than to have a false reward, or to have his reward in an excessive measure. The man, who constantly receives honour from admiring crowds, has the grave danger of developing a habit of mental parasitism upon such honour. He consciously, or unconsciously, grows to have a kind of craving for it, and feels injured when his allowance is curtailed or withdrawn.

I become frightened of such a possibility in me, for it is vulgar. Unfortunately, when a person has some mission of doing some kind of public good, his popularity becomes the best asset for him. His own people most readily follow him, when other people have the same readiness,—and this makes it a matter of temptation for such an individual. A large number of his followers will consider themselves as deceived by him, when the fickle flow of popularity changes its course.

My International University is sure to create such a risk for me. And yet the fulfilment of my life is never in any ambitious scheme such as this. And therefore a voice of warning is constantly troubling me in my heart. It cries :

“Poet, fly away to your solitude.”

Curiously enough, it is an ambition which is not my own. It comes with a pressure from the outside. I am urged to

make ready a field in which other people will find their best opportunity,—and by some chance I happen to be the only man who can help them.

*S. S. Morea, July 7, 1921.*

In this modern age of the philosophy of relativity, I suppose I cannot claim for myself the quality of absolute poet-dom. It is evident that the poet in me changes its feature and spontaneously assumes the character of the preacher with the change of its position. I have evolved in me a certain philosophy of life, which has in it a strong emotional element; and therefore it can sing as well as speak. It is like a cloud that can break out in a shower of rain, or merely tinge itself in colours and offer decorations to the festival of the sky. For this reason, I give rise to expectations, which are almost of a contrary character,—I am asked to give gladness, and I am asked to give help.

To give gladness requires inspiration, to give help requires organisation,—the one depends principally upon myself, and the other upon means and materials that are outside me. Here come in difficulties, which make me pause. Poesy creates its own solitude for the poet; the consequent detachment of mind, which is necessary for creative life, is lost or broken when the poet has to choose a constructive programme. The work of construction requires continuous employment of attention and energy,—it cannot afford to grant leave to the poet to retire and come to himself.

This creates conflict within my nature and very often makes me think that the guidance of the Good is not always for the the Best. And yet, its call being natural to me, I cannot ignore it altogether. But what constantly hurts me is the fact, that in a work of organisation I have to deal with and make use of men, who have more faith in the material part than in the creative ideal. They do not have the faith to remember that, in all true works, the ideal is not the guiding principle only, but also the destination; that the per-

fection of the song is not only in the end, but all through the course of the singing.

My work is not for the success of the work itself, but for the realisation of the ideal. But those, in whose minds the reality of the ideal is not clear, and love for the ideal is not strong, try to find their compensation in the success of the work itself; and they are ready for all kinds of compromise.

I know that the idea which I have in mind requires the elimination of all passions that have their place in the narrow range of life; but most people believe that these passions are the steam power, which gives velocity to our motives. They quote precedents: they say that pure idea has never achieved any result. But when you say that the result is not greater than the idea itself, then they laugh at you!

During the last fourteen months of my campaign for an International University, I have said to myself over and over again: "Never let your pride be hurt at any prospect of failure; for failure can never affect truth. Strénuously keep all your attention on being true." My weakness creeps in where I love. When those whom I love feel exultant at the expectation of success, it urges me to procure this toy for them.

*S. S. Morea, July 8, 1921.*

I must not exaggerate. Let me admit that the realisation of ideals has its external part, which depends for its development upon materials. And materials—both human and non-human,—offer resistance. To be overcoming such resistance is success, and therefore it must not be lightly spoken of.

But what I had in my mind was this, that the mastery of grammar and the creation of literature may not coincide. Emphasis upon grammar may hinder perfectness of expression. Success in materials may go contrary to the fulfilment of ideals. For material success has its temptation. Often our idealism is exploited for the sake of obtaining success,—we have seen that in the late war. In consequence

the battle has been won, but the ideal has not been reached.

Ever since the scheme of the International University has been made public, the conflict in my mind has been unceasing—the conflict between the vision of the ideal and the vision of success. The plan itself is big and has a great scope for the ambition of men, who love to show their power and gain it. It is not merely ambition which lures our minds; it is the wrong value which we set upon certain results. To be certain of the inner truth requires imagination and faith, and therefore it is always in danger of being missed, even when it is near at hand,—whereas external success is obvious.

You remember how Chitra, in my play of that name, became jealous of the physical beauty lent to her by the Gods,—because it was a mere success, not truth itself. Truth can afford to be ignored, but not to be allied to unreality for the sake of success.

Unfortunately, facts are cited to show that all over the world the prudent and the wise are in the habit of making pact with Mephistopheles to build roads to reach their God. Only they do not know that God has *not* been reached,—and that success and God are not the same thing. When I think of all this, I feel a longing for the simplicity of poverty, which like the covering of certain fruits, conceals and protects the richness and freshness of the deeper ideal. All the same, as I have said, the pursuit of success must not be abandoned for mere want of energy and spirit. Let it represent our sacrifice for the truth and not for itself.

*S. S. Morea, July 9, 1921.*

All true ideals claim our best, and it cannot be said with regard to them, that we can be content with the half, when the whole is threatened. Ideals are not like money. They are living reality. Their wholeness is indivisible. A beggar woman may be satisfied with an eight anna bit, when sixteen annas are denied her; but a half-portion of her child she will never consent to accept!

I know that there is a call for me to work towards the true union of East and West. I have unconsciously been getting ready for this mission. When I wrote my *Sādhana* lectures, I was not aware that I had been fulfilling my destiny. All through my tour, I was told that my *Sādhana* had been of real help to my western readers. The accident which made me translate *Gitanjali*, and the sudden and unaccountable longing which took me over to Europe at the beginning of my fiftieth year,—all had combined to push me forward to a path, whose destination I did not clearly know when I first took it. This, my last tour in Europe, has made it definitely known to me.

But, as I have said before, the claims of all great ideals have to be fully paid. Not merely the negative moral injunction of non-violence will suffice. It is a truism to say that the creative force needed for true union in human society is love. Justice is only an accompaniment to it, like the beating of a tom-tom to the song. We in the East have long been suffering humiliation at the hands of the West. It is enormously difficult for us, either to cultivate, or express, any love for Western races,—especially as it may have the appearance of snobbishness or prudence. The talk and behaviour of the Moderate Party in India fail to inspire us because of this,—because their moderation springs from the colourless principle of expediency. The bond of expediency between the powerful and the weak must have some element in it which is degrading. It brings to us gifts for which we can claim no credit whatever, except perhaps persistency of expectation and unflinching employment of importunity.

Self-sacrifice on the part of the gainer, and not solely on the part of the giver, imparts true value to the gift. When our claims are feeble, and our method of realising them is altogether unheroic, then the very boons granted to us make us poorer.

That is why the Moderates in India look so pitifully obscure by the side of the Extremists. I feel almost certain that Englishmen themselves are secretly

ashamed of their partnership with a party suffering from the last stages of moral anaemia.

However, my point is that, as an idealist, it is immensely difficult for me to nourish any feeling of love for those people, who themselves are neither eager to offer it to us, nor care to claim it from us. But let me never look at that condition as an absolute one. There are screens between us, which have to be removed,—possibly they are due to the too great inequality of circumstances and opportunities between the two parties. Let us, by every means in our power, struggle against our antipathies,—all the while taking care to keep wide open channels of communication through which individuals, from both sides, may have facilities to meet in the spirit of good fellowship. I cannot tell you how thankful I feel to you, who have made it easier for me to love your people. For, your own relationship with India has not been based upon sense of duty, but upon genuine love. It makes me feel sad when I see this lesson of your love being lost,—when it fails to inspire our people with the realisation that love of humanity is with you far truer than patriotism.

I deeply regret that you could not accompany me in my last tour in Europe, though I understand the reasons that prevented you. If you had been with me you would have been able fully to realise the great truth of the mission we have undertaken. To the majority of my countrymen, the course of experience, through which I passed, will ever remain vague; and my appeal to them to view the history of our own country in the large background of humanity is not likely to carry any force. For my work, I shall ever depend upon your comradeship; and therefore I feel sad, that the reality of the ideal, which has possessed me, has missed its one signal chance of coming close to your heart. The perspective against which you have been recently setting up your scheme of life has been vastly different from mine. You have taken up responsibilities that may have to follow their own channels away from those that

I shall have to choose; and the loneliness of my task, which has been my fatality in my past life, will follow me to the end of my days. But I must not complain. I shall follow the call of my providence, and I know that to respond to it, in my own manner, is fulfilment in itself, whatever may be its results.

*S. S. Morea, July, 1921.*

For the last fourteen months my one thought was to bring India into touch with the living activities of the larger world of humanity. It was not because I thought that India would be the sole gainer by this contact, but because I was certain that when the dormant mind of India was roused from its torpor, she would be able to offer something for the needs of the human race which would be valuable.

Through different modes of political co-operation and non-co-operation, India has assumed up to the present an attitude of asking boons from others. I have been dreaming of some form of co-operation, through which she would be in a position to offer her own gifts to the world. In the West, the mind of man is in full activity. It is vigorously thinking and working towards the solution of all the problems of life. This fulness of intellectual vigour itself gives its inspiration to mental vitality. But in our Indian Universities, we simply have the results of this energy,—not the living velocity itself. So our mind is burdened and not quickened by our education. This has made me realise, that we do not want schoolmasters from the West, but fellow-workers in the pursuit of truth.

My aspiration for my country is that the mind of India must join its own forces to the great movement of mind, which is in the present-day world. Every success that we may attain in this effort will at once lead us directly to feel the unity of Man. Whether the League of Nations acknowledges this unity or not, it is the same to us.—We have to realise it through our own creative mind.

The moment that we take part in the

building up of civilisation, we are instantly released from our own self-seclusion,—from our mental solitary cell. We have not yet gained the confidence, that we have the power to join hands with the great builders,—the great workers of the world. Either our boastfulness breaks its voice in unnatural shrieking, or our self-denunciation makes an abnormal display of itself in an aggressive fluster of humility.

But I am certain that we have every claim to this confidence, and we must do everything to realise it. We do not want bragging; we need for ourselves the dignity of the man, who knows that he has some purpose to fulfil for all people and for all time. This has made me bold to invite students and scholars from different parts of the world to an Indian University to meet there our students and scholars in a spirit of collaboration. I wonder if this idea of mine will find any response in the hearts of my countrymen of the present day. But are you free to render me full help in this difficult undertaking?

S. S. Morea, July 13, 1921.

In our music, each *ragini* has its special scale in which some notes are absent and some are added, and the sequence of them is different in different *raginis*. The idea of India in my mind has its different *raginis*, presenting different aspects.

During my absence in the West, my idea of India had its own special grouping of notes, and consequently the vision had its own special emotional value. When, in my travels, I was communicating with you, I had not the least notion that your India and mine were vastly different at that moment. I came to be aware of this fact, when, at Aden, a number of Indian newspapers of different dates came into my hands. I felt for the first time in these fourteen months, that I would have to make another attempt at adjustment between my aspiration and my country.

But misgivings come to my mind as to whether any proper adjustment will be possible. I hate constant conflicts and bickerings,—always to be shouting at

the top of my voice in order to make myself heard above the shouts of other parties.

The India, about which I had been dreaming, belongs to the world. The India which I shall reach shortly, belongs tremendously to itself. But which of these must I serve?

Months ago, while sitting each day at my window in a New York Hotel, my heart had been aching morning after morning for the time of my return,—the day that should bring me back to the arms of Mother India. But to-day my heart is sad,—like this dark heaving sea, under the rainy sky. I have been wondering in my own mind, during the last few days, whether it was not my mission to remain in Europe at least another year, where I was asked to stay. But it is too late now. From this time forward, I must make the effort to train my attitude of mind to a condition for which I am not yet ready.

S. S. Morea, July 14, 1921.

There is an idealism, which is a form of egotism, egregiously self-assertive. The confidence which one has in one's own ideas may not rise from an unmixed love of truth. It may be a subtle form of bigotry of self. There is an idealism, ready to kill freedom in others, in order to find freedom for its own plan.

I feel, at times, afraid lest such a tyranny of idealism should ever take possession of my own mind. For it would mean that my faith in truth had grown weaker than my faith in myself. Pride of self insidiously creeps into our schemes for ameliorating the conditions of our fellow human beings; and when failure occurs, we are hurt because the schemes are *our* schemes.

Egotism of this kind is blindly oblivious of other peoples' missions in life. It tries to impose one vast monotony of task upon individuals who have temperaments and capacities fit for other kinds of work. It is like the tyranny of conscription, which compels teachers to dig trenches and poets to kill their fellowmen,—and

this, being against God's own purpose, is terribly wasteful. In fact, all tyrants in idealism try to usurp the rights of Providence for their own purposes.

The gloom of sadness, which has been brooding over my mind for the last few days, must be the shadow of my own egotism, whose flame of hope is dimmed by a fear. For some months, I was feeling sure that everybody would think my thoughts and carry on my work. But this confidence in me and in my plan has suddenly found a check and I am apprehensive.

No, this is wrong for me, and it is also a source of wrong for others. Let me be glad because a great idea, with all its beauty and truth, has alighted upon my mind. I alone am responsible for carrying out its commands. It has its own wings of freedom to bear it to its own goal; and its call is music and not an injunction. There is no failure for truth,—failure is only for me,—and what does that matter?

Henceforth, I shall have the chance of talking with you face to face. Yet distance has its own significance, and letters have their power of speech, which tongues do not possess. And therefore, when we shall meet, some part of our thoughts will remain unuttered for the want of a great medium of space and silence between us.

*S. S. Morea, July 16, 1921.*

Before I finish this last letter to you, my friend, let me thank you with all my heart for your unfailing generosity in sending me letters all through my absence

from India. They have been to me like a constant supply of food and water to a caravan travelling through a desert. I was sorely in need of them during the dreary months I spent in the United States. I promised to myself that I should try to pay you back in kind. I think I have kept my promise, and I hope you have got my letters in a regular weekly series, unless there have been gaps owing to the suspicions of the professional eavesdroppers who watch over the destinies of the British Empire.

I suppose that the first few weeks I was lazy and depended upon Pearson to supply you with our news,—and therefore now I am busy in making up for the deficits. But about one thing I can never hope to compete with you. As a letter-writer you are incomparable! Mine are no more letters than lobsters are fish! They are like fragments of a book; like meteors that are shot off a planet. They are shot at you, and with a flash most of them vanish into ashes; whereas yours come down like showers of rain upon the thirsty land. Yet you must consider one thing in my favour,—it is that I am heavily handicapped in my race with you, because I write in a language which is not my own, and this greatly adds to the original inertia I always have to overcome in writing any letter in any language whatsoever. On the other hand, writing letters is as easy to you as it is easy for our *Sal* avenue to put forth its leaves in the beginning of the spring months. However, I wonder if even *you* will be able to cope with my correspondence on my return! It has grown amazingly exuberant. Good bye.

## SERPENT-WORSHIP IN MALABAR

### ITS ORIGIN AND SIGNIFICANCE.

**T**HE origin and development of the serpent-cult in Malabar is of interest not only from a religious but also from a historic and ethnic point of view. While some associate serpent-

worship with the adoration of the phallic emblem, others think that it had its origin in sun-worship. In almost every country there is some tradition, if not actual practice, of serpent worship. It

may be traced from the low level of the culture of the Red Indian to the higher plane of Hindu civilization. We can trace the belief in the supernatural character of the serpent among the ancient Chaldeans, Egyptians, Greeks, Romans, Hebrews, Persians, and even amongst the early Christians.

Even after the introduction of Christianity, traces of sun- and serpent-worship remained in Syria and other parts of Western Asia. The Gnostics not simply adopted a curious blending of this ancient form of religion with their ritual, some of them even actually worshipped the serpent.\* The Manicheans held the serpent to be a beneficent agent.† Major Oldham thinks that the legend of St. George and the Dragon, although it assumed its present shape in Christian times, was probably founded upon an older story.‡

The Red Indians built temples to serpents. Other tribes on the continent of America traced their descent from a serpent ancestor. It has been said that

"The serpent has been selected of all animals as the distinctive type or emblem of wisdom. Its silent gliding motion, its habit of making haunts near human households, like an animal easily domesticated, and yet retaining its native fierceness, the remarkable effects of snake-bite where death almost immediately follows and yet without dismemberment, with a little or no loss of blood and with hardly any perceptible mark of a wound, making it appear as if the soul of the dead man had been drawn out by the serpent and dwelt in it; all these are phenomena calculated to impress the mind most forcibly."

Again Froude says :

"The snake throughout the East is the symbol of knowledge and immortality. The serpent with his tail in his mouth (an ancient Persian symbol) represents the circle of eternity. The serpent, in annually shedding its skin, was supposed to renew its life for ever. This casting off of the slough is regarded as an emblem of resurrection and immortality."

Here then we have a clear indication as to why so many races in the early stages of their civilization came to regard the

serpent as supernatural. It is worthy of note that while many religionists worshipped the animal as endowed with divine attributes, Christian tradition pointed to the 'Arch-enemy of God and man' as 'enclosed in serpent, inmate bad'. In the form of a serpent did Satan tempt the 'Mother of Mankind' to eat of.....

.....the fruit  
Of that forbidden tree whose mortal taste  
Brought Death into the world, and all our woe ;

The serpent approached Eve

"Not with indented wave,  
Prone on the ground, as since, but on his rear,  
Circular base of rising folds, that tower'd  
Fold above fold a surging maze; his head  
Crested aloft and carbuncle his eyes;  
With burnisht neck of verdant gold, erect  
Amidst his circling spires, that on the grass  
Floated redundant: pleasing was his shape,  
And lovely, never since of serpent kind  
Lovelier....."

In this lovely garb did the "Enemy of mankind" lure Eve into 'Man's first disobedience.' Christian tradition also pointed to a time when one "greater man"

"A Virgin is his mother, but his sire

The Power of the Most High ;"

should arise who would "bruise the serpent's head." As the Evil Angel, Satan tempted "the third part of Heaven's Host" and as a punishment for this he was cast into the region of eternal fire. With this may be compared the Hindu tradition of the destruction of Kaliya the great but wicked serpent-king by Krishna. Paintings of the combat between the two show Krishna bruising the head of the serpent by treading upon it, even dancing upon it. The Christian and the Hindu legends both point to the punishment of the 'Infernal Serpent.'

Snakes have a conspicuous niche in the Hindu Pantheon. Vishnu reposes on the serpent Sesha, the one with a thousand heads and thousand tongues, an emblem perhaps, of wisdom. Siva wears the serpent round his neck as an ornament. Both gods delight in their company. The Krishna temple at Ambalopuzho is as much the abode of snakes<sup>1</sup> of the hooded species as the Siva temple at Vykom, both in the Travancore State. With the Hindus, the fifth day of the bright half of the

\* *Mosheim, Inst. Eccles. Hist. V. 81.*

† *Ibid 189.*

‡ *The Sun and the Serpent, p. 195.*

month of Sravana, called *Nāgapanchami* is "sacred to the demi-gods in the form of serpents who are enumerated in the *Padma* and *Garuda Puranas*." The story of *Kadru* and *Vinata* and their progeny as related in the *Mahabharata* shows with what superstitious regard the serpent-race was looked upon by the early Aryans.

The veneration for the serpent is intimately connected with the worship of the Sun, says Major Oldham, and thus closely related to the orthodox Hindu religion. He considers that the hooded serpent was a token of the people who claimed descent from the Sun and that the Naga demigods who are described in the Brahmanical writings as "The Celestial serpents belonging to Surya ( the Sun God ) were deified chiefs of the solar race." He points out that the Asuras and Sarpas of the *Rig-Veda*, the Asuras and Nagas of Manu and the *Mahabharata* and Asuras and demons of Brahmins, all represented hostile tribes, who opposed the Aryan invasion. These Asuras, Dasyus or Nagas with whom the Aryans came in contact on approaching the borders of India, were no savage aboriginal tribes, but a civilised people who had cities and castles built of stone. One of their great cities was *Pātāla*, the capital of the territory which bore the same name, and which appears to have been included in the dominions of Vritra the great Ahi. The Asuras are identified with the Dravidians some of whom had made early settlements in the South of India. The earliest civilization of Southern India is generally ascribed to the Dravidians, and most authorities consider that the Dravidians came from Northern India. It has been supposed that they were displaced by the invading Aryans. Dr. Caldwell, a very eminent authority, asks, "Were Dravidians identical with the Dasyus, by whom the progress of the Aryans was disputed and who were finally subdued and incorporated with the Aryan race, as their serfs and dependants?" "Here as elsewhere," observes Major Oldham, "it is assumed that the Aryans were conquerors, who reduced the

Asuras to slavery. It has already been shown, however, in these pages that this was not the case. We have seen that there was a fusion of the two peoples. We have also seen that, whatever may have been the fate of the aborigines, the Asuras, were not subdued by the Aryas, and never became their serfs or dependants, but were gradually converted to Aryan usages". He goes on to point out what Dr. Caldwell himself says: "Neither the subjugation of the Dravidians by the Aryans nor the expulsion from Northern India of the Southern Dravidians by the Aryans, is recognised by any Sanskrit authority or any Dravidian tradition."\* However, the Northern Dravidians had in very early times established colonies in the South. A legend of the *Mahabharata* relates how *Kadru*, mother of serpents, compelled *Garuda* to convey her sons across the sea to a beautiful country, in a distant region, which was inhabited by the Nagas". After encountering a violent storm and great heat the sons of *Kadru* were landed in the country of *Ramanika*, on the Malabar Coast.† Here we may remember that Malabar is styled by Sanskrit writers *Ahi Desa*, i. e. the country of the Ahi ( Ahi ) or the territory of the serpents, the *Aiorum Regie* of Ptolmey, and that in the *Rig Veda* the term *Ahi* is applied to the Asuras or Dasyus.

The Dravidian colonies, some of which may have been established before the Aryas entered South India, appear to have been founded by expeditions sent, some by sea, from *Pātāla* and other ports and some by land.

Ancient Malabar legends refer to conflicts between the Hindu colonists of later times, said to have been led by the warrior Sage Parasurama, and the Nagas from *Pātāla*, whom they found in possession of the country. The *Keralot-patti* says that the first Brahman colonists of Parasurama did not remain, because they were not able to bear the incessant attacks of the serpents which infested the country. It adds that Karala

\* pp. 148-9.

† Oldham, p. 60 - 1.



was for some time under the undisturbed control of "Nagathanmar", serpents.\* Parasurama, incarnation of Vishnu as he is asserted to be, was unable to subdue the Nagas; he is said to have made a compromise by allotting a portion of the Brahman's estate or *Brahmaswam* to the Nagas, ordering the Brahmans to regard them as their *Sthaladevam* or *Bharadevata*, i. e. tutelary or patron deities. The Brahmans were also ordered to propitiate them by offering *Buli* (sacrifices) and *Pujas* (offerings). And it is said that the serpents were pacified by this. Who can doubt that this legend refers to the actual conflict that took place at one time between the Dravidian Naga settlers from *Pātāla* and their Aryan rivals?

Major Oldham refers to inscriptions of the 10th and 11th centuries which show that several of the chiefs of south-western India claimed to have been born of the race of the Nagas, to have held the *Nagadhvaja* or serpent banner, and to have had the hereditary title of "Supreme Lord of Bhogavati". They thus claimed direct descent from the Naga Rajas of *Pātāla*. A part of the country of Canara was called in inscriptions *Nagarkhanda* or the territory of the Naga people.

We know that the worship of the hooded serpent, the *Nalla Pampu* or good snake, is as prevalent in the south as among the Dravidian races in the north. The offerings made to living serpents as well as to their sculptured representation consist of milk, flour, fruit and grain, which are not the usual food of snakes but are the food of men. Flowers and lights are also offered as to ancestors. We find, too, that should a cobra be killed, it is burned as if it were a human being. It is said that the serpents who dislodged the early Brahman colonists from Malabar had human faces. We see that the serpents in Malabar are worshipped in *Kavoo*s or groves and it is just so in many of the Punjab villages. There, too, as in Malabar the groves are

left untouched by axe or spade. It is significant that the name of the serpent prefixed to the designation of the Mannarsala Nambiadi, the arch-priest of serpent worship in Travancore is that of *Vasuki* the Naga Raja of *Pātāla*, the deified hero of the Naga people in Northern India. In Malabar, the region of the Nagas, who contested the right to hold the land with the Aryans, was known as *Nigalokam* or *Pātālam*. The language used in the services at the unorthodox serpent-shrines is the local Dravidian dialect, while in the Brahmanical temples the worship of the orthodox deities is conducted in Sanskrit, as witness in the most important serpent temples at Nagarcoil and Mannarsala—both in the Travancore State.\*

The Dravidian people of South India have been divided from ancient times, into *Cheras*, *Cholas* and *Pandyas*. Chera, or Sera (in old Tamil, Sarai) is the Dravidian equivalent of Naga; Chera-Mandala, therefore, has the same meaning as Naga-Mandala, Nagadvipa or the Naga country. This seems to point distinctly to the Asura origin of the Dravidians of the South. But in addition to this, there still exists, widely spread over the Ganges Valley, a people who call themselves *Cheras* or *Seoris*, and who claim descent from the serpent-gods. The *Cheras* are of very ancient race, they are believed to have once held a great portion of the valley of the Ganges which was occupied in very early times by Naga tribes. There can be little doubt that these people are the kinsmen of the Dravidian *Cheras*. These have some peculiar customs amongst them which seem to connect them with the *Newars* of Nepal; and the *Newars* have many customs in common with the *Newars* of Malabar. Property amongst the *Newars* descended in the female line, their sister's sons and not the issue of their own loins being their heirs. This is still the Malabar Law of inheritance. Other affinities and likenesses between the *Newars* and the *Nairs*, such as similarity in marital relations, in

\* The *Keralotpatti* describes these serpents as "having human faces". A Sketch of the Dynasties of Southern India p. 55. Note 1 Robert Sewell.

\* Ib. p. 140-50; Census Report of Travancore for 1891, vol. 1.

architecture, and in name, may also be referred to.

Major Oldham refers to an inscription discovered by Col. Todd at Kanswah near the river Chambal in which a Raja called Salindra, "of the race of Sarya, a tribe renowned amongst the tribes of the mighty" is said to be ruler of Takhya.\* He then identifies the Takhya of the above inscription with the kingdom of the Panjab of the same name visited by Hiuen Tsang, the Chinese Traveller, and observes that the Naga people of Takhya were known also by the name of Saraya. A tract of country called Saraj or Seoraj where the Naga demigods are the chief deities worshipped, situated in the outer Himalayas between the Sutlej and the Beas valleys, is also mentioned. There is yet another Seoraj in the upper Chenab valley and this too is occupied by a Naga-worshipping people. The name Saraj or Seoraj appears to be the same as the Saraya of Col. Todd's inscription. Major Oldham argues that this "is the alternative name of the Cherus of the Ganges valley. It also seems to be identical with Sarai, which, as we have already seen, is the old Tamil name for the Chera or Naga. Apparently, therefore, the Saryas of Takshya, the Saraj people of the Sutlej valley, the Seoris or Cherus of the valley of the Ganges, and the Cheras, Seras, or Keralas of Southern India, are but different branches of the same Naga-worshipping people".† We have the authority of Dr. Caldwell that "the name Chera and Kerala were originally one and the same, and it is certain that they are always regarded as synonymous in native Tamil and Malayalam lists," and the Rev. Mr. Foulks observes that "Chera and Kerala denote the same country, the term Kerala being but the Canarese dialectical form of the word Chera."‡ Dr. Gundert defines the word Keralam as "Cheram the country between Gokarnam and Kumari".§ Major Oldham also refers to the similarity in name between the Kiras of the Himalayas—where

the term Kira means a serpent and the Kiras, Cheras, or Keralas of the South, and, while guarding himself against the tendency to jump at conclusions from such delusive coincidences, observes :—

"Similarity of name is not always to be trusted, but here we have something more. These people whose designation is apparently the same, are all of solar race; they all venerate the hooded serpent and they all worship as ancestors, the Naga demigods."\*

Major Oldham then examines the evidence afforded by language and finally comes to the conclusion, that the Dravidians of the South of India, were of the same stock as the Asuras or Nagas of the North". It may also be noted in this connection that a Scythian origin of the Nairs has been recently advanced.† It is suggested that the Modern Nairs are the representatives, if not the descendants, of the original Naga settlers and that the word *Nair* is but another form of *Nagar*—the plural of the word *Naga*. It has also been suggested that both the Brahmans and Sudras (Nairs) of Malabar are of homogeneous descent and that they are of a primeval Turanian race.‡ If there is anything in these suggestions the prevalence of serpent-worship in Malabar is easily accounted for.

Dr. Caldwell observes :—"Seeing the Northern vernaculars possess with the words of Sanskrit a grammatical structure, which in the main appears to be Scythian, it seems more correct to represent those languages as having a Scythian basis with a large and almost overwhelming Sanskrit addition, than as having a Sanskrit basis with a small admixture of a Scythian element".

The earlier Asura or Naga colonies to South India must have left the North long before the fusion of the Asuras with the Aryans with the result that the Dravidian languages of Southern India retain a more intimate connection with the Scythian or Turanian tongues than the northern verna-

\* P. 158.

† P. 159.

‡ Salem District Manual.

§ Mal. Dict.

† Malabar Quarterly Review Vol. I p. 20.

‡ Native Life in Travancore p. 178—The Rev. S. Mateer.

Gram. Drav. Lang : Intro p. 58.

culars. Since the conquest of Southern India by the Aryans the one prominent feature we notice is the sustained endeavour made to enrich the Dravidian vernacular with the Sanskrit grammatical forms and words and at this moment it is the pride of the Malayalam language to claim a larger admixture of Sanskrit than in any other Dravidian language of Southern India.

A close and careful study of the facts and circumstances set forth above inclines one to associate the serpent-worship of

the Nayars, who form the chief inhabitants of Kerala, with their ethnic origin in common with those that still practice that worship to a large extent in other parts of India. And it will not be far too wrong to suppose that the Aryan colonists from the North in their anxiety to absorb the Dravidian races they found inhabiting the land and bring them within the fold of Hinduism, appropriated the primitive gods of the Dravidians and gave them a place in the Hindu pantheon.

K. P. PADMANABHA MENON.

### APPA SAHEB, THE RAJA OF NAGPUR

#### III

**T**HE new terms which were imposed on the Raja, were very galling and humiliating, and the slender resources left to him were such as he could hardly maintain his dignity with as a reigning prince, so that he was obliged to propose to the Resident the cession of his principality in lieu of a pension. The Governor-General writes :

"It is proper to notice in this place a proposal made by Appa Sahib to Mr. Jenkins, for transferring to the British Government on certain conditions, the whole of the possessions of the State of Nagpore, himself retaining the name and form of sovereignty alone, and receiving a stipulated share of the revenues. This project he wished to substitute, instead of completing the arrangements detailed in the draft of the proposed definitive treaty, which would have left in the hands of the Rajah, under prescribed limitations, the administration of the territories to the State of Nagpore."

But this arrangement did not suit the Government of India. Because they knew that the revenues of the Nagpur state would not be sufficient to meet the charges which they had imposed on that prince in the shape of the subsidiary alliance and Civil and Military administration and then to pay the Raja a pension which would enable him to maintain his dignity and respectability. Accordingly, the Raja's proposal was declined. The Governor-General wrote to the Secret Committee of the East India Company :—

"After giving my most deliberate attention to the plan suggested by the Rajah, it seemed to me that your financial interests would be better consulted by adhering to the arrangement originally contemplated.

Excluding from the calculation, on both sides of the question, that portion of our military expenditure which, under any plan, would be incurred for the defence of the country and the support of the new order of things, I was of opinion that it would be more beneficial to us to obtain possession of a territory yielding a revenue of twenty lacs of rupees annually, unburthened by any other charge than that of the requisite civil establishments, than to undertake the management of a country producing annually sixty lacs of rupees, encumbered with provisions for the Rajah, his family, and the principal officers of his Government, as well as with the debts of the Rajah. The large establishments, moreover, which it would be necessary for us to maintain, from the nature of a considerable portion of the territory, and its distance from the seat of our Government, might be found much out of proportion to the pecuniary value of the possession."

It cannot be denied that the Raja consulted the interests of his subjects when he proposed to the British government to take his territory and give him a pension. But it would not have paid the British government to have done so. The Governor-General's own words quoted alone, conclusively prove that the Raja was called upon to make such payments to the British government as his exchequer did not and could not allow him to do. But the demands of the government were to be met by the Raja anyhow. Had his proposal been acceded to, then the door of the future aggrandisement on his territory by the government would have been closed. His very inability to pay their exorbitant demands was serving as a pretext to the British government to hold him up as their faithless ally and to practise

all sorts of refined brutality on him at their sweet will and convenience and to deprive him of his rights and privileges to suit their own interests.

The Raja's proposal then was not given that careful consideration which its importance demanded. It was dismissed altogether by the Governor-General. The promised treaty with the Raja was not concluded. Mr. Jenkins said that he had discovered treasonable designs on the part of the Raja who was therefore to be punished with deposition and imprisonment. To quote again from the Marquess of Hastings' despatch:—

"Before, as I have already stated, the despatch which was to make known to Mr. Jenkins my sentiments and instructions could be prepared, a second revolution at Nagpore was on the eve of its accomplishment. To avert the danger which it menaced to our interests, it became indispensable that Mr. Jenkins should abandon the course then contemplated, and should, without reference to my authority, resort to measures of vigour and severity, which the unanticipated crisis rendered imperative.

"Mr. Jenkins's suspicions of the renewed machinations of Appa Sahib against the British government were first most strongly excited by the resistance of the Killadars of Chouragurh and Mundela, notwithstanding public orders which they had received for the delivery of those fortresses to the officers of our government and by Major Roughsedges' reports of unfriendly conduct manifested by the Rajah's subedar of Ruttonpore..... but here it is only necessary to observe, that it seemed improbable the garrisons of either of the former places would have held out against the offer which had been made of paying their arrears, unless their resistance had been dictated by superior authority. In fact, the Killadar of Chouragurh himself declared, that he had secret orders contravening his public instructions and the truth of the assertion was supported by information derived by Mr. Jenkins from other quarters. With regard to Mundela, Mr. Jenkins's suspicions of the same process of intrigue being in existence were confirmed by his intercepting a letter from the Killadar's agent to his master, in which allusion was made to his secret orders.

"In addition to these circumstances, Mr. Jenkins received frequent reports of an intercourse by letters being kept up with Hajee Rao and Gunput Rao, and of secret conferences of the Rajah with Nagoo Pundit and Ram Chunder Waugh, the mischievous purposes of which were to be inferred from the exclusion of Narrayan Pundit, against whom the Rajah showed much discontent. He complained of that minister's having persuaded him to come into the Residency and it was evident he thought that had he held out he could at least have secured better terms. The rumours of his meditating an escape were very general and it was perfectly understood that one of the disaffected chiefs had received a sum of money for the levy of troops..... On the whole, Mr. Jenkins looked on the combination of circumstances as affording little short of positive proof of the guilt of Appa Sahib and his associates, and his only hesitation in removing the Rajah from the throne arose from a just conception that such a measure must be irrevocable

if once undertaken. He consequently hastened to apprise me of the state of affairs, requesting my early instructions. Mr. Jenkins, however, at the same time very properly determined to secure the Rajah's person if before receiving my instructions he should judge the probability of Appa Sahib's escaping to require such a step.

"The restoration of Appa Sahib to the throne seemed to me to render his subsequent removal a measure of considerable awkwardness: and I feel it to be indispensable, that its adoption should be supported, not merely by evidence sufficient for my own moral conviction of his renewed intrigues and designs against us, but such as should satisfy the superior authorities in England, as well as the public mind, that there was an absolute necessity for displacing him. In the event of such evidence being obtained, or of Appa Sahib's attempting to escape from Nagpore, which might be looked on as a distinct proof of treacherous intention, I could have no hesitation in sanctioning his arrest and conveyance to the nearest place of strength within your provinces; but the circumstances detailed by Mr. Jenkins, ..... did not in my judgment, amount to such proof as would justify so decisive a course of proceeding. It was, however, sufficiently strong against Nagoo Pundit and Ram Chunder Waugh, to warrant and require their removal from the territory of Nagpore, a step which I accordingly authorized. In ordering instructions to this effect to be conveyed to Mr. Jenkins, I also directed every precaution to be taken to prevent the Rajah's escape, without giving him alarm for his personal freedom, and to secure the tranquil and peaceable administration of the country. Within a few days after those instructions had been despatched, a further letter was received by Mr. Adam from Mr. Jenkins, which apprized me of the actual seizure of the Rajah and his confidential minister in consequence of the additional and incontestable proofs of their treachery which had come to Mr. Jenkins' knowledge. This letter stated the Resident's conviction that the late Rajah of Nagpore, Bala Sahib, had been murdered by order of Appa Sahib..... The circumstances which impressed Mr. Jenkins with the belief of this atrocity having been committed, materially induced his resolution to arrest the Rajah..... Two cases consequently required his deliberate consideration. It seemed doubtful in the event of Appa Sahib's being condemned on what Mr. Jenkins had already brought forward to prove his unworthiness, whether it would be proper to try him for the murder of his kinsman and sovereign though that prince had been under our special protection; and it was still more so, whether, supposing the previous circumstances to be deemed inconclusive, the other enquiry should be prosecuted. In the first case there was less difficulty, as Appa Sahib would then cease, even nominally to be a sovereign. It appeared, however, that for our reputation, we could not go on stronger grounds in deposing him than those of such a murder. The proofs for conviction were easily producible should the case be tried: but considerable difficulty presented itself with regard to the situation of the Rajah pending the enquiry. It was to be feared, that were he at liberty he would endeavour to escape, whether guilty or not. If innocent, he would be disposed to think that the British government had resolved to

degrade, if not to depose him, and he would hardly expect a fair trial; if guilty there could be no doubt of his flying. At any rate, therefore, it appeared to Mr. Jenkins necessary to secure his person before his trial, should such an investigation be deemed expedient. The trial of the Rajah's instruments would have imposed the same necessity.

"Under all circumstances, and particularly with advertence to his apprehension of escape, grounded on the knowledge of the Rajah and his advisers having become greatly alarmed at the enquiries already set on foot regarding his intrigues, which it was impossible altogether to keep secret, Mr. Jenkins determined to take the decisive step of removing him from the palace and bringing him to the Residency, where he was merely to be told that he was suspected of treachery, and that his fate would depend on the orders which further discoveries on the point might produce from me. Every suitable precaution was taken by Mr. Jenkins to prevent commotion, and on the 15th of March Appa Sahib was conveyed to the Residency. Nagoo Pundit and Ram Chunder were at the same time arrested."

The extract given above from the Governor-General's despatch is a long one, but it was necessary to do so, to show the charges against the Raja and the nature of the evidence by which those charges were to be substantiated. That the so-called intrigues of the Raja against the British government did not deserve much credit is evident even from the Governor-General's own showing. He wrote:—

"But the circumstances detailed by Mr. Jenkins, did not in my judgment, amount to such proof as would justify so decisive a course of proceeding."

It is only necessary therefore to say that those charges could not be proved against the Raja.

Mr. Jenkins knew as much and therefore he brought a fresh charge against that unfortunate sovereign. He charged him with having murdered his cousin. A good deal had been said above to show the worthlessness of this charge. It was an after-thought on the part of Mr. Jenkins to accuse the Raja of such a heinous crime in order to get the object so dear to his heart accomplished. Even assuming, for the sake of argument, that the Raja committed the murder, the Resident or for the matter of that the British government had no authority to try or punish him for that crime. At the time of the committal of that crime, the Nagpur state was in alliance with, and not dependent upon, the British government. And as such the Resident had no jurisdiction to try the Raja.

It should also be remembered that the Raja was never given an opportunity to know the nature of the charges, and the evidence by which those could be substantiated. He was made a prisoner and was going to be condemned unheard. Even the face of a trial was denied to the Bhosla Raja, whom to make a prisoner in the Residency, it is not improbable that Mr. Jenkins had resorted to treachery.

After the imprisonment of the Raja, evidence flowed in from all the quarters of the globe, as it were, to incriminate him. Intelligence was alleged to have been received, "through Mr. Elphinstone, from Bajee Rao's camp, of a letter having reached the Peshwah from Appa Sahib, written in his own hand, explaining his circumstances and proposing a combined movement." Only credulous persons and dishonest diplomats could pin their faith on the truth of such intelligence. But every rumour, every story, however absurd, against the Raja, was to be eagerly swallowed as gospel-truth when it served the purpose of the Company's servants to do so. Appa Sahib, who had been reduced to a position of perfect impotency, was totally incapable of all those designs of which he was suspected.

As regards the allegation that the Killadars of Chouragarh and Mundela offered resistance to the British troops because they had been secretly dictated to do so by some higher authority, there is hardly any evidence worthy of credit to prove it. It is said that the Killadars on their trial justified their conduct as they had secret orders from the Raja to do so. The Raja was made a prisoner on the 15th March and the trial of these Killadars of Mundela took place about a month after that date. Knowing that the Raja was a prisoner in the hands of the British, and also that he was in disgrace and that it was the intention of the British government to depose him, no one having the least particle of common sense in him would doubt that the Killadar said what he knew would not only lead to his acquittal but would immensely please his victors. And he was not wrong in his surmises.

As said before, Appa Sahib was not given any opportunity to say anything in his defence. He was not tried for the crimes with which he was charged. He was condemned unheard by one whom he had looked upon as standing "in the relation of a father to him" and by another whom he "always called his brother." It was decided that he should be kept a state prisoner in the fort of Allahabad, and the infant grandson of the late Raghojee Bhosla was to be placed on the *musnad* of Nagpur. This arrangement suited the convenience of the British government, for during the long minority of the new Raja, the affairs of the Nagpur State were to be managed by the Resident.

The treaty of subsidiary alliance then with the Nagpur state was extremely beneficial to the Government of India;—it enabled them to be masters of nearly half of the territory of that principality and that too of a very fertile tract of it. The Governor-General wrote:—

"The province of Garrah Mundelah, of which Jubbulpore is the principal town, and Sohagpore to the north of the Nerbudda, as well as the adjacent districts of Hoosirgabad, Seonee, Chupara, and

Gurwarah, to the south of that river, formed the chief part of the territory proposed to be ceded to the British government, according to the preliminary engagement concluded by Mr. Jenkins with Appa Sahib."

The gross revenue of the Nagpur state amounted to about sixty lacs, but that of the proposed cessions was not less than 28 lacs. The Governor-General wrote:

"You will observe that the gross revenue of the cessions fixed by the provisional engagement amounts to nearly twenty-eight lacs of rupees, while the net revenue is calculated at about twenty-two and a half lacs annually."

No wonder that Appa Sahib was desirous of giving up the whole of the Nagpur state to the British and content to live on a pension from them.

The subsequent events in the life of Appa Sahib after he was sent as a prisoner to be confined in Allahabad fort need not deter us long. He was not destined to be an inmate of the Allahabad fort. He had experienced treachery and perfidy in the conduct of his allies in whom he had reposed implicit confidence. How bitterly in his after-life he repented the day (or rather the midnight hour) when he concluded the treaty of subsidiary alliance with the British government, an alliance which brought nothing but misfortune to him and ruin to the fertile principality of Nagpur.

Had Appa Sahib been acquainted with the English language, he would have no doubt credited Mr. Burke with prophetic vision into the future, so far at least as the behaviour of the British Government related to him. In the course of his speech on the 1st December 1783, on the motion for going into a committee on Mr. Fox's India Bill, Mr. Burke said:—

"With regard, therefore, to the abuse of the external federal trust, I engage myself to you to make good these three positions: First, I say, that from Mount Imaus..... where it touches us in the latitude of twenty-nine, to Cape Comorin in the latitude of eight, that there is not a single prince, state, or potentate, great or small, in India with whom they have come into contact, whom they have not sold. I say sold, though sometimes they have not seen able to deliver according to their bargain. Secondly, I say that there is not a single treaty they have ever made which they have not broken. Thirdly, I say that *there is not a single prince or state who ever put any trust in the Company who is not utterly ruined*: and that none are in any degree secure or flourishing but in the exact proportion to their settled distrust and irreconcilable enmity to this nation.

"These assertions are universal: I say, in the all sense universal. They regard the external and political trust only, but I shall produce others fully equivalent in the internal."

From his own experience of the treatment he had received at the hands of the British, he must have also formed the same opinion which was so eloquently given expression to by

Burke long before he had attained his state of manhood. No wonder that he tried to escape from the bondage imposed upon him by the British.

And escape he did. The manner in which he eluded the vigilance of the escort which was carrying him a prisoner to Allahabad reads more like a romance than a real incident.—The escape of Appa Sahib, his being pursued by the troops led by European officers, his finding an asylum in the Court of some of the ruling princes of those days in India, his wandering as a fakeer, ought to serve as meet subjects for some talented poet, dramatist or novelist to exercise his pen. Regarding the escape of Appa Sahib, the Marquess of Hastings wrote:—

"I deeply regretted the escape of Appa Sahib on account of its tendency to keep unsettled the minds of a portion of the inhabitants of the country; but from all the information that I had obtained, I was satisfied that his personal qualities and character were not calculated to render him dangerous, and the contempt into which he had sunk had stripped his name of the influence which often attends that of a prince in a similarly fallen condition. I foresaw that even should he, after emerging from the fastnesses where he remained comparatively secure from our attack, continue to elude the efforts for his recapture, he would soon be reduced to the situation of a powerless unregarded fugitive, totally deprived of means to injure our interests."

The Marquess of Hastings, nevertheless, had taken great pains to recapture him but totally failed in his attempts. Had there been at that time in India any powerful and independent native sovereign, Appa Sahib's fate would have enlisted his sympathy, and the Governor-General would not then have been able to write regarding him in the manner in which he did in the extract given above.

Appa Sahib, as said before, was brought a prisoner to the Residency on the 15th March 1818; Mr. Jenkins, without giving him an opportunity to say what he had to say in his defence, or even waiting for further instructions from the Governor-General, wrote on the 17th March (i.e. two days after his making the Raja a prisoner) a despatch which was received at three o'clock A.M., on the 20th March, at Jubbulpore, in which he said:—

"I have now, from many proofs of intrigues, found it necessary to seize the person of the Rajah, and I shall send him immediately by Jubbulpore to Lord Hastings. He will have four companies of the Twenty-second and a squadron of cavalry; and I must trouble you to relieve the squadron with one of your regiment from Chupra or Dhooma. By the time His Highness reaches Bellary or Lohargong, I fancy his destination will be pointed out by Lord Hastings. As it is of consequence to send the Rajah off soon, I have no time to write for other reliefs, but probably you will know where to write to get your squadron relieved."

The destination of the Raja, as said before

was the Allahabad fort. But he escaped from the camp of Rachoore. To quote from the Marquess of Hastings' letter of the 17th October 1822 :—

"He (the Raja) went off in the dress of a sepoy, between two and three o'clock in the morning, accompanied by six sepoys of the twenty-second regiment who had been on guard over him, and had been debauched to aid his flight..... The ex-Rajah had three horsemen with him.

"A reward for the apprehension of the Appa Sahib was immediately proclaimed by the Commissioner :—

"It appears that Appa Sahib reached Hurrey a hill fort south of Chouragurh, on the night of the 14th : but that he speedily continued his course to Buthurgurh, where there was a force of his adherents collected, obviously on the contemplation of his escape, amounting to about a thousand well-armed men. At this post, however, he made but a short halt, proceeding to join the Gonds in the Mahadeo hills. Those clans of mountaineers, it would seem, had been prepared to expect him. The new Rajah of Nagpore had by this time been seated on the guddee : but although his elevation was generally hailed with satisfaction by the population of the country, a strong party was understood to be confederated in the city for the cause of Appa Sahib. Subsequent intelligence was received that the ex-Rajah, supported by the Gonds, had taken possession of the fort of Chouragurh, not finding resistance offered by the handful of men who garrisoned it ; also, that he had a vakeel at Boorhampore entertaining Arab soldiery, which could not have taken place but by the connivance of Sindia's Governor of that city.

"Shortly after Sir John Malcolm reported, that one Sheo Persaud, a man of family in the Nagpore State, but latterly serving with Bajee Rao, communicated to him the disposition of Appa Sahib to surrender himself, if Sir John Malcolm would pledge his word for Appa Sahib's security against imprisonment or indignity, and would obtain for him wherewithal to maintain himself decently in retirement. This was represented on the faith of a confidential servant despatched by Appa Sahib to engage Sheo Persaud's undertaking the negotiation. Sir John Malcolm added, that he had referred the matter to Mr. Jenkins. Government immediately apprized Sir John Malcolm that it would plight the assurance solicited, would allow an income to support Appa Sahib decorously as a private individual of rank, and would promise him all becoming attentions, if he would take up his residence within the Company's provinces. As reference had been made to Mr. Jenkins, that gentleman was informed of this determination on the part of Government : and he was instructed to intimate,..... that a lac of rupees was the annual allowance which Government would fix for Appa Sahib in the event of his submission.

"These overtures were clearly made by Appa Sahib with a view of ensuring an eventual resource, should he fail in the intrigues which he was at the same time actively prosecuting.....

"In the meantime the Resident at Nagpore had communicated his having detected a correspondence maintained between Appa Sahib and his connexions by marriage residing in that city. They were working indefatigably to enrol and organize bodies of armed adherents in the interior while they supplied

Appa Sahib with money for the collection and payment of troops on the frontier.....

"The machinations of Appa Sahib were indeed carried to a wide extent. His designs to raise the province of Chutteesgurh into insurrection were timely discovered and frustrated : similar detection attended his underhand endeavours to excite hostile disposition in Raja Keerut Sing, and other chieftains, against the British Government. His correspondence with Sirdars in the Bhopaul service was at the same time discovered : and Sir John Malcolm reported that Amrut Rao Pandit was employed at Dojein in various intrigues for Appa Sahib.....

".....Towards the latter end of October, Lieutenant-Colonel Adams projected a combined irruption of different columns into the Mahadeo hills, for the purpose of surrounding Appa Sahib, and he moved accordingly. The situation of the ex-Rajah became more critical : therefore he fled from the hills, escorted by a body of horse under Cheetoo Pindarry, to avail himself..... of repeated invitations from Jeswant Rao Lar for Appa Sahib's taking refuge in Asseergurh, should he be doubtful of maintaining his ground among the Gonds.....

".....Sharply pursued in his retreat from the Mahadeo hills, Appa Sahib was overtaken close to Asseergurh, his escort was routed, and he with his followers must have been taken, had not a part of the garrison sallied and saved the fugitives from their pursuers.....

"Cheetoo got away to the jungles, where he was devoured by a tiger.....

"A curious circumstance now occurred. Appa Sahib found means to open secretly from within the fort of Asseergurh a correspondence with Sir John Malcolm, expressing his inclination to surrender himself. As he met frank encouragement, yet did not act upon it, there is no way of accounting for his having thus negotiated, but by supposing him to imagine that, in case of the fort being taken, he might efficaciously plead a purpose which he never really harboured, the voluntarily putting himself into our hands. That he had not the intention of throwing himself upon our generosity is manifest, from his having preferred to make his escape to Boorhampore in the disguise of a fakeer. He was guided by a sepoy, the adopted son of one Hurrey Sing, who resided in Boorhampore under the protection of the governor. The latter's concurrence in Appa Sahib's reception in Boorhampore could not be doubted. Concealment, however, could not be expected to last long ; so that Appa Sahib was counselled to put himself beyond the reach of British preponderance. He consequently proceeded to Lahore, where he has been allowed to live in absolute privacy on a very scanty allowance from Runjeet Sing. That prince, in affording shelter to Appa Sahib, has done it in a manner which shews a sincere attention not to dissatisfy the British Government....."

The Marquess of Hastings' narrative regarding the whereabouts of the whilom Nagpur sovereign ends here. But Appa Sahib did not live long on the bounty of Runjeet Singh at Lahore. Prof. H. H. Wilson writes :—

"Upon the withdrawal of his (Ranjit Singh's) countenance, Appa Sahib had recourse to a petty Raja, the Raja of Mundi, beyond the first range of the Himalayas, and was suffered to remain there

unmolested for several succeeding years. At a subsequent date he returned to Hindustan, and was protected by the Raja of Jodhpur, who was allowed to grant him an asylum, on condition of becoming responsible for his safe custody and peaceable conduct."

The same author writes again in another part of his history :—

"The ex Rajah of Nagpore, Appa Sahib, had been tempted to quit his asylum in the mountains about the time of the agitation which prevailed in India at the close of the Burmese war; and after various adventures, took sanctuary in the temple of Maha Mandira, a celebrated shrine in the territory of Jodhpur. The Raja was at first required to secure the fugitive and deliver him to the British Agent at

Ajmere; but he declined compliance, pleading in excuse his inability to infringe upon the privileges of the temple, and his fear that he should be for ever disgraced in the estimation of all Hindustan if he were to refuse to an unfortunate prince the rights of hospitality. The excuse was admitted, and the demand urged no further; but Man Sing was held responsible for the conduct of his guest, and expected to restrain him from any attempts to disturb the public tranquillity. Some obscure intrigues were set on foot by Appa Sahib with individuals of no note, who engaged to accomplish his restoration to sovereignty; but neither the persons nor the projects were of a character to endanger the security or excite the alarm of the Government of Nagpore."

(Concluded.)

X.

## JARGON

SIR Arthur Quiller-Couch in his "Art of Writing," Mr. R. W. Chapman in "The Decay of Syntax," and others concerned for the good of the language, have said their say amid general approval; but all has not been said. Perhaps all that could be said *in seriousness* has been said: at least we may not wish for any more. There is still something to be said in jest, or partly seriously and partly in jest.

There might be said to be two madnesses, the first being to be a purist, and tilt at new words, new meanings, new idioms, and other changes. The second is to listen to purists; for that makes a man something of one himself.

I say *tilt* at new words, etc.; for when I read that Johnson doubted if *humiliating* was legitimate English, and would not admit *civilization*, but only *civility* (i.e. in the sense of *civilization*), I think of him as one who would stop the thing, and not without hope of doing so, which is to imagine a vain thing. The spectacle is a mortal man trying to stem an ocean tide. So, then, it is pathetic. There may be some amusement, too, as when a man comes an hour too late for a train; asks if it is gone; and all the by-standers laugh, and *hè* with them. Such a one is the man who would quarrel with us for talking of *making* money (that, he said, means *coining* it), instead of *getting* it, or for saying that a *curious* thing has happened, as if a thing

could have curiosity. He is an hour too late for the train. That meaning of *curious* (*strange, surprising, odd*) was in the "Concise Oxford Dictionary," and had been for some years, when we were told not to use the word in that sense.

If purists may be ignorant, as we may think that one, they may also be deluded. Those were, to my mind at least, who tilted at *very pleased*. The phrase was wrong, but why? No body supposes that *very tired* is wrong: why, then, *very pleased*? They argued that *tired* was an adjective; which made *very tired* right; but *pleased* was a past participle, which made *very pleased* wrong. How that? If you can say that there was a tired expression on a man's face, can you not also say that on another there was a pleased? And does not that show that they are equally adjectives, for all that both, in other contexts, are past participles? Or, if *pleased* be a past participle in *I should be very pleased*, however it be an adjective in other contexts, and that make *very* wrong, and the purists be under no delusion, yet, as the argument is one that people generally will never take in, to think that *very pleased* can be stopped is to imagine a vain thing.

But what is of most interest is the ocean tide. I have not that equipment of learning that a man must have who would seek to explain what moons control it. I have only caught the sound of it in a lonely place, and





RABINDRANATH TAGORE IN HUNGARY

**I**T is deeply interesting to trace how the fame of Rabindranath Tagore, as a world author, is increasing each year in different countries of the world. From many letters received, it is clear that the Poet's dramatic and poetical works have lately taken a stronger hold of the imagination of the Latin races of the world than heretofore. Letters have reached India to that effect from such distant places as Chile, Argentina, San Domingo, Cuba, as well as the Latin countries of Europe. Side by side with this expansion of his influence in the Latin countries, there has come news from all sides which points to an enthusiastic and sustained study of his works in Central Europe. The following is the programme of a 'Rabindranath Tagore Night' in Buda-Pest, the capital of Hungary,—the Hungarian words are given first, and then the English translation :—

Zeneművészeti Főiskola Kamaraterem  
In the hall of the High School of Music.

Vasárnap, február 26-án est 8 órákor  
Sunday, February 26, the night 8-30 P.M.

# RABINDRANATH TAGORE EST

NIGHT

Az előadást tartja : A költeményeket előadja :  
A lecture to be delivered Poems will be recited

by **BAKTAY ERVIN** by **MIKES MAGDA**  
író a Vígyszínház tagja  
Writer leading member of the  
Gaiety Theatre.

## MUSOR:

Programme :

- I. **Baktay Ervin** : Rabindranath Tagore világnézete, kapcsolatban az ind vallásbölcselettel.  
world-outlook, in connection with Indian religious wisdom.
- II. **Mikes Magda** : (Rabindranath-költemények) poems.
  1. Utas, hová mégy?  
Pilgrim, where goest thou?
  2. Mindannyian királyok vagyunk...  
We are all Kings.
  3. Oh anyám, az ifju herceg...  
Oh my mother the Young Prince.

## SZUNET

Interval

III. **Baktay Ervin** : Rabindranath Tagore költői, drámatic és életbölcseleti művei.

The poetical, dramatic and life-wisdom works of R. T.

IV. **Mikes Magda** : (Rabindranath-költemények) poems

1. Az ifju suttogott...  
The Youth whispers.
2. Gondoljuk...  
We Think.
3. Tulsidasz...  
Tulsidas.
4. Az álomtolvaj...  
The dream thief.
5. Utolsó dalomban...  
In my last song.

A költeményeket **Baktay Ervin** fordította.

The Poems translated by E. B.

At the Hall of the Academy of Music  
On Sunday, February 26, at 8-30 P.M.  
Rabindranath Tagore Night.

A lecture will be delivered by **Ervin Baktay**, author, and poems will be recited by **Magda Mikes**, prima donna of the Gaiety Theatre.

Programme :

1. Lecture by **Ervin Baktay** on "The World-Outlook of Rabindranath Tagore in relation to the religious philosophy of India."
2. Recitations by **Magda Mikes** from the "Poems of Rabindranath Tagore,"  
'Pilgrim, where goest thou ?'  
'We are all Kings.'  
'O my Mother, the young prince.'

Interval.

3. Lecture by **Ervin Baktay** on "The Poetical, Dramatic and Philosophical Works of Rabindranath Tagore."
4. Recitations from the "Poems of Rabindranath Tagore."
  1. 'The youth whispers...'
  2. 'We think...'
  3. 'Tulsidas.'
  4. 'The Sleep Stealer.'
  5. 'In my last song...'

The Poems have been translated by **Ervin Baktay**.

## THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF INDIA, VOL. I.—ANCIENT INDIA

(A REVIEW)

## I

THIS costly volume, the first of six promised on this subject, is not worth the price charged for it. It is, on the whole, disappointing and depressing. The book lacks in unity of arrangement, as well as of point of view. It consists of twenty six essays written by fourteen different authors on the different topics of ancient Indian history. Some of the topics discussed have evoked a considerable amount of controversy, which has, by no means, been set at rest. The conclusions stated in this volume are of that class of Western Orientalists who deny any kind of originality to Indians except in the realm of religion and speculative philosophy. The spirit of the last chapter supplies the general keynote of the book. Of course there are exceptions, such as the chapters dealing with the history of the Jainas and Buddhists, the last being from the pen of Professor and Mrs. Rhys Davids, also the chapters written by Mr. Bevan and Dr. Thomas. The last chapter deals with the ancient monuments of India and is from the pen of Sir J. H. Marshall of Taxila fame. On page 644, the conclusions at which he arrives, about the early Indian art, are thus stated:—"In following step by step the history of Indian indigenous art during this early period, we have seen that *much extraneous influence was exerted upon it, and that this extraneous influence was a prominent factor in its evolution.*" (The Italics are ours.) This extraneous influence came partly from Mesopotamia and Iran, but was mostly Hellenistic, though it is generously conceded that "we can detect in it nothing.....which degrades it to the rank of a servile school." Further on it is again remarked that "the art which they (i. e. the artists of early India) practised, was essentially a national art, having its root in the heart and in the faith of the people....." Put in a few plain English words, the sum and substance of Sir J. H. Marshall's conclusions about early Indian art, as described in this chapter, is that the inspiration and the original motif came from outside, but the Indian artist adapted it to his own purposes and then evolved it on national lines. On page 632 it is stated that "the extraneous influences referred to, are attested by the presence of exotic motifs, which meet the eye at every point and are readily recognised by the familiar bell capitals of Persia, by floral

designs of Assyria, by winged monsters of Western Asia, all of them part and parcel of the cosmopolitan art of the Seleucid and succeeding empires of the West. In the bibliography of this chapter we do not find any mention of the respected names of E. B. Havell and Ananda Coomaraswamy, two of the greatest students and interpreters of Indian art, which is a significant indication of the spirit in which most of this book is written.

The first chapter deals with the geography of the Indian sub-continent. It makes no reference to the ancient geographical and geological history of the country. The book is supposed to deal with the geography and history of the "Indian Empire" (meaning thereby the British Indian Empire as it exists to-day) and not of India proper and is not altogether free from imperialistic motives. For example, describing the north-western frontier, the writer says (on page 27):—"The provinces along this frontier; and the Afghan land immediately beyond it are *the one region* in all India from which, under some ambitious lead, the attempt might be made to establish a fresh imperial rule by the overthrow of the British Raj. *Such is the teaching of history,* and such the obvious fate of the less war-like peoples of India, should the power of Britain be broken either by warfare on the spot or by the defeat of our navy." (Italics are ours.)

The writer forgets that the teaching of history was falsified in the case of the British Raj itself. Contrary to the teaching of history the British did not come by this route, and now that the British have opened the north-eastern route, there is nothing to prevent foreign invaders from pouring into India from the east. In fact the writer of the next chapter, Prof. Rapson, flatly contradicts him in this respect. Says the latter (page 38):—"The Himalayas form an effective barrier against direct invasions from the north.....But at the western and eastern extremities river valleys and more practicable mountain-passes afford easiest means of access. Through these gateways swarms of nomads and conquering armies from the direction of Persia on the one hand and from the direction of China on the other, have poured into India from time immemorial." Prof. Rapson has quoted no authority for that part of his statement, which is indicated by the words we have italicised.

We know of no military invasion of India

(by a 'conquering army') from this side, unless by India is meant Burma. The writer of this chapter has considered it necessary to throw sufficient light on the problem of the defence of India in future, in this history of ancient India. On page 28 he remarks—"The defence of India from invasion depends in the first place on the maintenance of British sea-power in the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean, and in the second place on our refusal to allow the establishment of alien bases of power on the Iranian plateau, specially in those parts of it which lie towards the south and the east." One is tempted to point out to this learned writer, that neither Chandragupta nor Asoka nor Samudragupta nor Akbar had the good fortune of maintaining a navy in the Indian Ocean or in the Persian Gulf, yet they had no difficulty in defending India from invasion from this side.

The second chapter opens with that oft-repeated and much-laboured statement that 'the Indian Empire is the abode of a vast collection of peoples who differ from one another in physical characteristics, in language and in culture more widely than the peoples of Europe.' It is undoubtedly true that there are several races and many languages represented in India, but there is an ulterior motive behind the exaggerations which are indulged in under this description against which it is desirable to put the Indian student on his guard. The statement about social types are more or less all guess-work. There is no country on the face of the globe which can boast of purity of race. Look at Europe—it contains the representatives of all the races in its population; so do the United States, and even to a large extent do the republics of South America. The science of ethnology is a new science and is yet in its infancy. All conclusions based on colour, the measurements of head, etc., have been found to be fallacious, and it is unsafe to build any workable conclusions on the basis thereof.

As regards languages it is perfectly true that there are many in India, but the method by which the figure 220 has been arrived at, is quite novel and probably finds no parallel in the Census Reports of European countries. Counted by that method Europe has probably several hundreds of living languages. All the great families of human speech are represented therein, and Yiddish alone among the living languages differs widely in different countries that have a Jewish population. German Yiddish is quite different from the Russian. The Hungarian, the Finnish and the Turkish belong to the Tibeto-Chinese family or perhaps to be more exact, are more or less hybrids just as most other living languages are. The evolution of national politics is reducing the number of living languages in Europe, while in India the lack of education and the absence of a national government makes the process rather slow.

In chapter 3, Professor Rapson has discarded

the word Aryan for a new word "Wiros" to designate the peoples of the Indo-Germanic family of the human race. He says:—"A convenient term for the speakers of the Indo-European or Indo-Germanic languages would be "Wiros", this being the word for "men" in the great majority of the languages in question. Professor Rapson is of opinion, that the original habitat of the nations now called "Aryan", i. e., the speakers of the Indo-Germanic languages, was "in the areas which we now call Hungary, Austria and Bohemia"; that "the migration of peoples from the primitive habitat" 'did not take place at a very remote period'; and that 'all the facts of this migration.....can be explained without postulating an earlier beginning for the migration than 2500 B. C.' Following this line of argument Professor Keith fixes the age of the Rig-Veda at 1000 to 1400 B. C. and that of the other Vedas between 800 and 1000 B. C. The Western Sanskritists are a set of independent "Scholars" who presumed that they know Sanskrit better than any Indian has in ages ever done. In their interpretation of Sanskrit texts they do not follow and hardly refer to any Hindu authorities at all whether modern or ancient. Any European who has the presumption to start a theory becomes an authority and is being quoted, while Sayanacharyas, Yaskas and other Hindu scholars are thrown away on the rubbish heap. The bibliography of this book and foot-notes are full of European and American names, but of Hindus there are hardly a few. In discussing the age of the Rig-Veda Professor Keith sets aside the conclusions of Professor Jacobi and does not even notice those of the late Bal-Gangadhar Tilak. Most of his own conclusions are mere fanciful guesses which, in some cases, have not even a plausible foundation either in fact or in logic. On page 78 he says, "the *danustutis* are unquestionably late and it is significant that some of the most striking occur in a small collection of eleven hymns called the Valakhilyas which are included in the Samhita of the Rig-Veda, but which *tradition* recognises as forming no true part of that collection." No authority is cited for this statement and we are not informed as to which *tradition* the learned Professor refers to. On page 79 we are told that the "bulk at least" of the Rig-Veda "seems to have been composed rather in the country round the Saraswati river, south of modern Ambala." In the foot-note the authorities quoted for this view are those of Hopkins, Pischel and Geldner and those differed from are "Max Muller, Weber and Muir from among others." The following sentences which contain the grounds for this opinion will illustrate the kind of arguments relied upon for this and other conclusions of the same nature. Says Professor Keith:—"Only thus, it seems, can we explain the fact of the prominence in the hymns of the strife of the

elements, the stress laid on the phenomena of thunder and lightning and the bursting forth of the rain from the clouds; *the Panjab people has now, and probably had also in antiquity, but little share in these things; for there in the rainy season gentle showers alone fall. Nor in its vast planes do we find the mountains which form so large a part of the poetic imagining of the Vedic Indian.*" We wonder if any of these learned Professors have ever lived in the Panjab proper and also in the neighbourhood of the old bed of the now defunct Saraswati; to be in a position to state the difference of physical features between the two areas, we have italicised the part which to us seems to be entirely ridiculous. The present writer has lived for years in the neighbourhood of Ambala as well as in all parts of the Panjab proper, and he has not noticed much difference in the quantity and quality of rainfall in the two areas. The Murree Hills begin from a few miles of Rawalpindi and some of the peaks of the range rise as high as about 8000 to 9000 above the sea-level. Then the Kangra and Chamba valleys are also only a short distance from Pathankote. Some of the peaks in these valleys rise to over 10000 feet (even as much as 12000) in height, the highest peak of Dalhousie itself being about 8000 feet. "The strife of the elements" and the "phenomenon of thunder and lightning and the bursting forth of the rain from the clouds" is as common in these hills as in those of Kasauli and Simla, the nearest to Thaneshwar and Ambala.

Kasauli is about 50 miles from Ambala and over 70 miles from Thaneshwar, and Simla is still farther. Murree is less than 40 miles, from Rawalpindi and Dalhousie and Dharmshala are between 50 to 60 miles from Pathankote. The statement about the non-existence of mountains in the vast plane of the Panjab is equally amusing. Does the learned Professor think that the neighbourhood of Ambala and Thaneshwar is a mountainous country and that of Rawalpindi, Jhelum and Pathankote is not? Good many of the statements made in this chapter and others dealing with Vedic literature are of the same kind and we do not propose to fill up spaces with them and their analyses. In our humble judgment these controversial guesses ought not to form part of any Indian history. They may be interesting, as the opinions of "scholars" on Indian topics, but to put them as historical facts is extremely misleading and mischievous. In this respect we are in agreement with the late Mr. Vincent Smith that no attempt should be made to write anything about ancient India as history, for any period of time earlier than 750 B. C.

In chapter 5 Professor Keith deals with the period of the later Samhitas, the Brahmanas, the Aranyakas and the Upanishads, and makes statements which are as

fanciful as those in the preceding ones. On page 134 it is said that in this period "women were excluded from inheritance"; she had no property of her own"; "and if her husband died, she passed to his family with inheritance like the Attic Epicteros." No authority is quoted for this opinion, because the later Sutras and Smritis do entitle women to hold property of their own and also to inherit. It is added that "the Sudra also *seems* in law to have been without capacity of owning property in his own right." I have italicised the word "*seems*". Compare this with the statement on page 129 that from the Bajasaneyi Samhita "we learn of rich Sudras". How could the Sudras be rich without a capacity in law of owning property, we fail to understand. The same paragraph also says that they may be "merchants or indeed exercise any trade." To make this kind of statements without any attempt to reconcile them and then to call them history, is the very travesty of history. Dealing with the ancient Indians' knowledge of the nakshatras it is said (page 140) that "it remains.....the most plausible view that the nakshatras are derived from Babylonia *though direct proof of the existence of nakshatras there has yet to be discovered.*" Is it not funny that while the existence of the nakshatras in Babylonia has yet to be proved, it is most plausible that the Indians got them from there? About the philosophy of the Brahmans and the Upanishads we are told (page 147) that much of the speculation of the former is "puerile" and "seems to be the product of a decadent intellect," but the Upanishads do exhibit a genuine spirit of enquiry and here and there do not fail to rise to real dignity and impressiveness.

In chapters 6 and 7 and 8 the writers are on more solid ground and deal with real historical period. These chapters deal with the history of the Jainas and the Buddhists. The chapters on Buddhism are from the pen of Professor Rhys Davids and Mrs. Rhys Davids and mostly reproduced from what was already published in *Buddhist India*.

Chapters 9, 10, 11 and 12 are contributed by Professor Washburn Hopkins of America. They deal with the period of the Sutras and Epics and law books; family life and social customs as they appear in the Sutras; the princes and peoples of the epic poems and the growth of law and legal institutions respectively. There is much that is good in these chapters and equally much that is fanciful. It is a pity that the following truth stated in the opening paragraph of chapter 10, viz., that the Sutras 'differ mainly as representing the views of different schools on minute points or as product of different parts of the country and as earlier or later points' should have been ignored in generalising about the state of society in India during the whole of this period. The Sutras, the Epics and the Smritis known as Dharma-

shastras belong to different epochs as wide apart from each other in point of time and state of civilisation, as the Halcyon days of Greece from the best of the Roman period, or as the time of Christ from that of Mahommed. It is said (on page 221), and the statement is perfectly correct, that 'the earliest known Purana precedes the later law books' (presumably the Smritis) probably by centuries, *as the Sutras precede the earliest works of Buddhism.*" We have italicised the statement about the Sutras as it is flatly contradicted in the opening lines of chapter 10, where it is said that 'the general period of the Sutras extends from the 6th or 7th century before Christ to about the 2nd century.' This last statement is explained by the remark that 'the different Vedic schools had Sutras which were revised or replaced by new Sutras at various periods and that some of these extended into later centuries than others.' Consistently with these ideas one would have expected Professor Hopkins to divide the legal literature of the Aryas into three different classes representing three different epochs in the history of India. The first class would contain all the Sutras which preceded Buddhism; the second would be those contemporaneous with the rise and progress of Buddhism, say, from about 500 B. C. to about the first of the second century A. D.; the Dharmashastras which are admittedly earlier than the Puranas coming next; and the Puranas last. It would have been possible then to depict the civilisation of each period and also to point out the differences of the point of view and practice between the different schools and between the laws prevailing in different parts of the country. This is precisely what has not been done. No attempt has been made to differentiate between the times of Baudhayana, Gautama, Apastamba, and Vasishtha. Discussing the difference between the Dharma and the Grihya Sutras it is held (page 229) that 'the Dharma of Apastamba reflects a South-Indian origin, so also the Grihya Sutra of Khadira' and it is exactly these that are at first largely quoted. Then suddenly we find references to Paraskara, Sankhyayana, Ashvalayana, Gautama and others. Different topics are taken from different books and without fixing the time and the part of the country when and where they prevailed,—the whole is jumbled together in one heterogeneous mass of disconnected history. No attempt is made to give the views of all on one subject. Chapters 11 and 12 are disfigured by the same carelessness and general disorder, although all these chapters contain a good deal of information which is valuable. Quoting Manu, IX, 217, it is said that the mother is praised as equal to father in honour and in default of sons she may inherit. The fact is that Manu directs that the mother be honoured hundred times more than the father. Inheritance in default of sons goes

to the widow and not to the mother. Prof. Hopkins having finished with the legal literature and the Epics, in Chapter 13 we find Prof. Rapson discussing on the Puranas (!!!) and again discussing the 'great war between the Kurus and the Pandus' (page 307). Thus there is such a jumble in the name of history that one does not know what to accept and what to reject.

Chapter 14 is written by Prof. Jackson, late of the Columbia University of New York. It is so 'childish in its naive partiality that we reserve it for separate notice. Chapters 15 and 16 deal with the invasion of Alexander and the notices of India in early Greek and Latin literature. They are quite free from the defects of which we have been complaining above. Both contain solid historical facts dealt with in a spirit of historical research.

Chapter 16 is specially remarkable as placing all the notices of India in the early Greek and Latin literature in a small space and in well-arranged sequence. The same may easily be said of the chapters contributed by Dr. F. W. Thomas. There is not much of theorising and speculating in these chapters and no attempt is made to understand and interpret Sanskrit texts. These chapters and others that precede or follow them do not contain much of value that is not to be found in less space, with better sequence and in a better chronological order in the late Mr. Vincent Smith's *History of Early India* or in Mr. Havell's *History of Aryan Rule in India*. These two last mentioned books stand out by far the best books on the subject, among those hitherto written by Europeans. This book, however, excels in maps and plates. The printing and paper are both excellent, but the price is tremendous;—thirty-five rupees for one volume.

## II

Chapter 14 is a history of the Persian dominions in northern India down to the time of Alexander the Great, and the object is to show that northern India was subject to Persian domination for centuries before the invasion of Alexander. It is typical of the sort of special pleading to which Western oriental scholars resort when they want to prove certain theories to which they have taken a fancy. No impartial judicial tribunal will endorse the conclusions deduced by Prof. Jackson from evidence cited by him in this chapter. One may admit the general correctness of the following statement on page 321:—"The realms which correspond to-day to the buffer states of Afghanistan and Beluchistan formed always a point of contact and were concerned in antiquity with Persia's advances into northern and north-western India as well as, in a far less degree, with any move of aggrandisement on the part of Hindusthan in the direction of Iran. In a foot-note Arrian

is quoted as averring on Indian authority (not cited) that 'a sense of justice.....prevented any Indian king from attempting conquest beyond the limits of India.' Another reason may be found in the fact that as compared with India, Iran is a barren and poor country. However it is a fact that during the historical period Afghanistan and Beluchistan have been longer under India than under Iran. Afterwards when Islam conquered Iran, Afghanistan and Beluchistan were parts of India and were ruled by Hindu or Buddhist monarchs. They had been a part of the Indian territory from times immemorial; and even when "under Darius" they were considered to be part of his Indian Satrapy. Kabul and Gandhara were parts of Chandra-gupta's extensive empire; and when under Bactrian, Parthian or Scythian control, they were considered as a part of the Indian territory. Muslim invaders conquered these parts from the Hindu and Buddhist monarchs between 700 and 1000 A.D. Five centuries later Afghanistan was a part of Akbar's Indian empire and remained so up to the time of Aurangzeb. Pirdausi in one passage mentions seven princes of India, viz., the lords of Cabul, Sindh, Hindh, Sandal, Chandal, Kashmir and Multan. With this prefatory note let us now turn to the evidence relied upon by Prof. Jackson in support of his opinion, that parts of India had been conquered by Cyrus, the Great Persian monarch, who carried his arms right up to the eastern borders of Europe conquering several Greek settlements.

The first and the most important evidence adduced, is that of *Zend-Avesta*, the sacred book of the Parsees. The authorship of this book is ascribed to the Persian prophet Zoroaster (also called Zarathustra). There is great divergence of opinion between scholars about the age of Zoroaster. A large number believes that he was a contemporary of Buddha and Mahabira (see Havell's *History of Aryan Rule in India*, p. 61), but Professor Jackson belongs to that group which assigns much earlier date to Zoroaster and some of the Avestan Gathas. They believe that portions of the Avesta are even more ancient than Zoroaster, that at any rate the material may be more ancient than the form, which means that Zoroaster put ancient material into its present form. Even assuming that it was so, with which we are not immediately concerned, we fail to see anything in the Avestan texts which would justify a conclusion to the effect that prior to Darius any part of the Indian territory (Indian in the sense that it included Afghanistan and Beluchistan also) was under Persian domination.

Professor Jackson informs us (page 324) that 'the name for India in the Avesta is Hindu, which, like the old Persian Hindu, is derived from the river Indus, Sanskrit Sindhu—the designation of the stream being transferred to the territory adjacent to it and to its tributaries.' We are not quite convinced of the

accuracy of this conclusion. In our opinion, while the word, 'Hindu' has probably been used in the Avesta for 'Sindhu' river, it is not quite clear that it means the 'territories adjacent to it and its tributaries.' It is said that the first chapter of Vendidad contains an expression 'Hapt Hindu' 'as one of the sixteen lands or regions created by Ahur-Muzda.' Professor Jackson thinks that it is probably identical with 'Sapta Sindhu' of the Rig-Veda. In considering these references let us first clear the ground by one or two remarks about the relationship of the ancient Hindus and ancient Iranians. It is common ground with all scholars that both these peoples belong to one race and their languages are also akin, and that once they lived together and spoke the same language. There is a difference of opinion, however, as to how and when they separated. One class of scholars thinks that the present race of Iranians are the descendants of those Aryans who migrated from India because of quarrels with their brethren here. Hence the apparent conflict between certain expressions which are common to the sacred literature of both. The expressions Deva and Asura convey exactly contrary ideas in the two languages. Be it what may, however, the fact that while describing the extent of the universe created by Ahur-Muzda (the Zoroastrian Creator) the author of the Avesta included the land of 'Hapt Hindu' as one of the regions created by him, cannot by any stretch of language convey the idea of Iran's political domination over India at that time. References like these are common to all religious books. All that they prove is the geographical knowledge of the writers. If we were to apply Professor Jackson's interpretation to similar references in Hindu religious books, we shall have to concede Hindu political domination over the greater part of the then known world.

The second evidence is of another Avestan fragment, in which the expression 'from the eastern Indus to the western Indus' appears. Professor Jackson considers that Indus in this expression means India and that this fragment is an evidence of Iran's political domination over India. How puerile this argument is, will appear from the following paragraph which we copy bodily from this chapter (page 325). "The Avestan fragment above cited from the gloss to Vendidad, 1,18—from the eastern Indus (India) to the western Indus (India)—is best interpreted as alluding to the extreme ends of the Iranian world; for Spiegel has clearly shown by sufficient references that, at least in Sassanian times and doubtless earlier, there prevailed an idea of an India in the west as well as an India in the east. This is borne out by a passage in Yasht, X, 104, in which the divine power of Mithra,\* the personification of the sun, light

\* The Mitra of the Vedas.

and truth is extolled as destroying her adversaries in every country. The passage...runs thus:—'the long arms of Mithra seize upon those who deceived Mithra; even when in eastern India he catches him, even when in western (India) he smites him down; even when he is at the mouth of Ranha river, (and), even when he is in the middle of the earth.' The same statement is repeated in part in Yasna, lvii. 29, regarding the power of Sraosha, the guardian genius of mankind, as extending over the wide domain from India on the east to extreme west—'even when in eastern India he catches (his adversary), even when in western (India) he smites him down.' To our unsophisticated minds these passages contain no political allusions at all. They propound the extensive powers of Avestan gods. It seems most probable that 'India' (or to be exact, Indus) was the extreme eastern limit of the world known to the Iranians. In both these passages the word 'India' or 'Indus' does not appear in the text after the word western. It has been supplied by the translators. The passage probably refers to the whole world from eastern Indus (or India) to the extreme west. Thus it describes the great powers of Mithra and Sraosha. It may also be referring to the ancient prehistoric quarrels of the ancestors of the Hindus with the ancestors of the Iranians when they both lived together on or adjacent to the banks of the Indus. But most probably it refers to nothing of the kind. It is a simple description of the all-pervading and all-conquering powers of Mithra and Sraosha which extended over all the world known to the then Iranians, and even to that not known, as is evident from the reference to the middle of the earth. To twist it into a proof of Iranian domination in India can only be described as childish. This is clearly the opinion of a French scholar Darmesteter who, referring to the expression 'Hapt Hindu' in Vend. 1, says that 'we have here nothing more than a geographical description of Iran seen from a religious point of view.' This is with reference to the sixteen regions created by Abur Muzda. We think that Darmesteter also uses loose language. He should have said that "we have here nothing more than geographical description of the world known to the then Iranians from a religious point of view." James Darmesteter "regards the languages of Vend. 1, as indicating that 'Hindu civilisation' prevailed in those parts, which in fact in the two centuries before and after Christ were known as white India, and remained more Indian than Iranian still the Mussalman conquest." We can quote the testimony of several Moslem writers and historians on this point which however does not seem to be contested by Professor Jackson. After a great deal of beating about the bush in interpreting the quotations from Avestan sources, Prof. Jackson

says (page 328) that these quotations 'serve at least to show the interest or share which Persia had traditionally in northern India and the adjoining realms at a period prior to Achaemenian times, provided we accept the view, already stated (page 323), that the Avesta represents in the main a spirit and condition that is pre-Achaemenian.....' Now we maintain that these quotations prove nothing of the kind. There is no question of 'share'. Share of, or, in what? This is not the language of a researcher, but that of a diplomatist.

On page 329 Prof. Jackson turns to the evidences of Herodotus, Ctesias, Xenophon, Strabo and Arrian. The first quotation is from Herodotus, in which he says that 'Cyrus subjugated the upper regions of Asia, conquering every nation without passing one by.' Apart from the reliability of Herodotus about which we will speak later, there is no knowing what he meant by the 'upper regions of Asia.' Surely the upper regions could not include any part of India. Prof. Jackson is forced to admit that 'this statement is so broadly comprehensive that it is difficult to particularise regarding north-western India except through indirect corroborative evidence. In fact most of the allusions by Herodotus to India refer to the times of Darius and Xerxes.....'

The next quotation is from Ctesias about whom Mr. Bevan says, on page 397, that 'he apparently was a deliberate liar' and that his contribution 'seems to be the most worthless of all.' Yet let us see the piece of evidence on which Prof. Jackson relies. Relating the 'stories' regarding the death of Cyrus, Ctesias narrates that "Cyrus died in consequence of a wound inflicted in battle by 'an Indian' in an engagement, when 'the Indians' were fighting on the side of the Derbikes and supplied them with elephants." Prof. Jackson concludes that "the Derbikes might therefore be supposed to have been located somewhere near the Indian frontier, but the subject is still open to debate." (!) But may we ask what frontier is here meant, the one near the Hindukush or near Herat or near the Indus?

Now comes Xenophon. This gentleman wrote a "romance of the life of Cyrus" in which he says that that monarch "brought under his rule Bactrians and Indians," and says further that he is reported to have subjugated all the natives from Syria to the Bosphorean Sea (i.e. the Indian Ocean). This Xenophon further recites the story of an Indian king having sent an embassy to Cyrus. "This embassy," he says, "conveyed a sum of money for which the Persian king had asked and ultimately served him in a delicate matter of espionage before the war against Croesus and the campaign in Asia Minor. It is significant that Mr. Bevan makes no mention of Xenophon in his chapter dealing "with India in Greek and Latin literature."



Apparently he does not think Xenophon's romance as worth mentioning. Yet upon this slender basis Professor Jackson seems to think that Cyrus exercised some kind of "overlordship" on northern India! Against this the account of Nearchus as preserved by Arrian relates that Alexander when planning his march through Beluchistan was told by the inhabitants "that no one had ever before escaped with an army by this route excepting Semiramis on her flight from India, and she, they said, escaped with only twenty of her army, and Cyrus the son of Cambyses (not the Cyrus mentioned by Herodotus, Ctesias and Xenophon), in his turn with only seven." Megasthenes on the other hand as quoted by Strabo declares that "Indians ... had never been invaded and conquered by a foreign power." Megasthenes mentions however that the Persians got mercenary troops from India. On all this material Professor Jackson comes to the conclusion (p. 333) that "even if there are just grounds for doubting that Cyrus actually invaded northern India, there can be no question (?) that he did campaign in the territories corresponding to the present Afghanistan and Beluchistan." This then is the result of all the quotations and arguments that occupy about fifteen pages of this costly book! In the next ten pages are discussed the facts or the materials relating to the political conquest and domination of northern India by Darius and his successors. "For the reign of Darius (522-486 B. C.)," says Mr. Jackson, "we have documentary evidence of the highest value in the inscriptions executed by that monarch's command and containing his own statements." The first of these inscriptions known as "the famous Babilian Rock Inscription" admittedly "does not include India in the list of the twenty-three provinces which came to him or obeyed him." "The inference to be drawn, (continues Prof. Jackson) therefore is that the Indus region did not form a part of the empire of Darius at the time when the great rock record was made." This is a crushing refutation of all the nonsense that has been said about the conquest of India by Cyrus and Cambyses. The other two inscriptions, it is said, mentioned "Hindu", "i.e. the Panjab Territory, as a part of his realm." What justification Prof. Jackson has in translating "Hindu" into "the Punjab territory" is not stated.

This is, it is alleged, "further attested by the witness of Herodotus, who in giving a list of the twenty satrapies or governments that Darius established, expressly states that the Indian realm was the twentieth division." Herodotus further says that "the population of the Indians is by far the greatest of all the people we know; and they paid a tribute proportionately larger than all the rest." The third piece of evidence is the story of Scylax also narrated by Herodotus, that "some time about 517 B. C., Darius despatched a naval expedition under Scylax.....to explore the Indus;

and that the squadron embarked at a place in the Gandhara country somewhere near the upper course of the Indus..... The fleet, it is recorded, succeeded in making its way to the Indian ocean and ultimately reached Egypt," but it is significant that the same Herodotus adds that "this achievement was accomplished prior to the Indian conquest." He says that "after they had sailed around, Darius conquered the Indians and made use of this sea." Now Prof. Jackson rejects this last statement because it does not suit his theory. This then is the whole evidence in support of the statement that Darius conquered Kabul, the Panjab and Sindh and ruled up to the western bank of the Beas. We are inclined to think that this evidence is by no means conclusive; that at the best it establishes that Darius conquered the territory between Hindukush and Cabul and called it "Hindu" or at the most between Hindukush and Attock. The last statement of Herodotus makes us doubt this last inference. Herodotus is evidently considered to be a reliable writer, but Mr. Bevan tells us on page 395, that a "good deal of what Herodotus wrote about India (middle of the 5th century)" was no doubt drawn from Hecataeus—his idea, for instance, that the river Indus flowed towards the east (!) and that beyond the corner of India, while the Persians knew that there was nothing towards the east but a waste of land. There are certain other statements made by Herodotus which are on the face of them absurd; for example, the statements about the size of the ants "who threw up gold dust". Herodotus says, that "the ants were of the size of dogs." (!) His other statements about Indian tribes are equally absurd, unless we accept Mr. Bevan's opinion that "the Indians who came specially within the sphere of his knowledge, would be the more or less barbarous tribes near the Persian frontier." For example, he speaks of Indians who on the approach of old age killed their people and ate them; of others who when they fall sick, go into the desert and lie down there, no one paying any regard when a man is dead or fallen ill." Herodotus also says that it was from the hill-tribes of the country of Pashtu that the Persian government drew levies (page 396). Taking all this into consideration it is hardly satisfactory to accept everything which Herodotus says as gospel truth. But even relying on the evidence of Herodotus there is nothing to show that the influence of Darius went beyond the Indus. There is certainly no evidence to prove that any part of the Panjab east of the Indus was ever conquered or dominated by Darius. The inscription proves nothing beyond this, that a part of what was then Indian territory including Afghanistan and Beluchistan, was included in the dominion of Darius. The statements of Herodotus confirmed this, except that his statement about the expedition of Scylax

cuts both ways. Either the whole of his statement is correct or the whole of it is wrong. If the former, then all what it amounts to, is this that Scylax was allowed by the Indian rulers of the country to take an expedition through the Indus up to the Indian ocean, and this act of friendliness was repaid by Darius by conquering their territory. Most probably the whole of that statement is wrong because it is highly improbable as Prof. Jackson himself admits that, the Indian rulers should have allowed him to do so.

In the list of tribes that formed part of the army of Xerxes (page 340) there is not one which belonged to India proper. They were all occupying the Afghan region, and one of them was from Beluchistan. The only other piece of evidence now left is the statement of Arrian that in the battle of Arbela when Darius III made his last stand against Alexander in 330 B. C., some Indian forces were fighting on his side. But it is significant that they were fighting under the satrap of Bactria or that of Arachosia, which is almost conclusive to show that they were either mercenaries or such

Indians as lived near the Hindukush or in Arachosia. The battle of Arbela was fought in 330 B. C. Alexander reached the Kabul valley in the winter of 329-28 B. C., and he found no traces of Iranian rule or domination anywhere either in Afghanistan or in Beluchistan or in India proper. The statements of Nearchus and Megasthenes are positive on this point. The laboured propositions of Prof. Jackson are thus nothing but the outcome of a biased mind and we are sorry that so many as 26 pages should have been wasted in this discussion. In these mounds of sand, the historical particles are only few and far between. We have devoted so much space to an examination of this chapter as it discloses a curious frame of mind which most of the so-called Western oriental scholars bring to bear on the consideration of questions relating to Indian history and Indian civilization. It is extremely unfair to pass all this in the name of history. It is positively misleading and once more proves the absolute necessity of Indian scholars themselves taking to the unravelling of the problems of their country's history.

L. R.

## RUSSIAN THEATRE AND SUHRAWARDY

**I** TRUST that one need not perhaps necessarily be looked upon a deal too venturesome when one airs the hope, that the intelligentsia of our country (slow to rouse itself though it be) has had sufficient time by now to be able to awake to the truth, that national life should hardly ever aspire to a unilateral development. Let us therefore venture a bit still further in following up logic and asserting that our public opinion need not necessarily be regarded as championing the quintessence of truth and morality, in setting its face against our youthful talents going in for the stage on grounds of sentimental puritanism and that sort of thing. If then it is true that national life, in order to be rich and complete, must be many-sided in its florescence, then it stands to reason that at least the Catholic spirit in our country ought to hail Sriji Sahed Suhrawardy for taking whole-heartedly to the stage and that entirely on his own initiative to boot.

Though, fortunately in Bengal at any rate, we students take to amateur acting a good deal, few of us possibly realise, to what a noble height histrionic art can be raised, and how rich it may be in its potentiality in so far as the widening of the scope for the artistic impulse in human mind is concerned.

The reason is not far to seek. It lies by no means in any inherent inaptitude of us as a race in this direction, but only in the fact that mere dilettantism does not carry one very far in anything under the sun, however gifted or intellectually endowed one may happen to be. And there is no earthly reason why this remark should not apply to histrionic achievements. How backward we are in this art we realise first when we are brought face to face with English acting. Still more are our eyes opened when we come here to Germany, where acting and producing of the plays are taken up much more seriously than in England. What



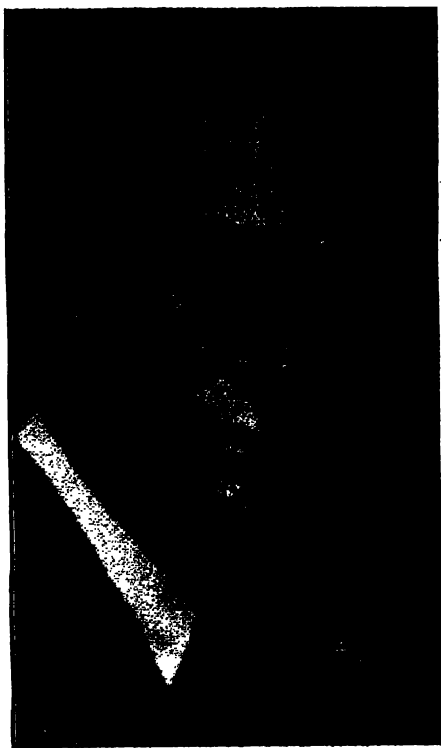
The Great Actress of Russia—M. Germanova.  
She is considered by many as an actress  
second only to the Italian Duse, the  
greatest actress of the World.

an amount of attention is focussed on the minutest details! And how busy and keen inventive genius here is to make the stage an institution that a nation may well be proud of! But when one sees the performance of the Russians one is at last so hopelessly lost in admiration at the grandeur of the acting and what they here call the "Zusammenstimmung" (i. e. a sort of harmony of the whole atmosphere so to say) of the rendering, that one catches oneself wondering whether we, in India, can ever hope to rise to such a height in this noble art.

The Russians as artists are in the front rank in the world of to-day. One has only to listen to their classical music, see their classical dancing and witness their dramatic acting to realise this. In dancing they are acknowledged to be the very best in so far as rhythm of movement as well as etherealness of the sum total effect

is concerned. I for one despite my being a lay man in the art of dancing, was literally entranced to see the Russian ballet and folk-dances—so beautiful in symmetry, dignified in bearing and far removed from all traces of vulgarity, which unfortunately debase the true art so often. In the histrionic art too, even the German papers here are moved to almost ecstatic admiration at the performance of the Moscow Art Theatrical Company. This company is out on a tour just now and performed in Berlin during the last two months. They played Tchekov, Gorky, Dostoevski and Knut Hamsun. The German theatre-goers literally besieged the theatre, notwithstanding their being innocent of Russian. But the people who did go at once felt more than compensated for their pains. Among these I happened to be one. It was one of the greatest books of all times that I saw—*Brothers Karamazov*—the masterpiece of the immortal Dostoevski. The book is a huge one, as anyone who has read it knows. So what they did was original and striking. They played only the important and stirring episodes from the book and some one read out what happened in between to supply the missing links. A most happy idea indeed, though it presupposes that the audience must have attained to that level of culture and detached appreciation which, perhaps, is not so general even among the Germans. Although I, for one, could not but regret that I was unable to enjoy the acting to the brim due to my unfortunate ignorance of Russian—and I was but one of the many who must have regretted likewise—yet this handicap did in no way affect our realising, what a really noble height these artists have elevated the histrionic art to. A worthy, nay, great representation indeed of a great masterpiece of literature! Katschalow and Germanova who played the leading roles, literally swept us clean off our feet by their faithfulness of rendering, dignity of carriage and beauty of conception. While I was seeing their acting I experienced the same sort of feeling that I once experienced long ago in Calcutta when I was fortunate enough to hear the singing

of a truly great artiste—a classical bayadère. Scales seemed to fall from my eyes there as well as here as in each case I was brought face to face with what an art could be like in its supreme grandeur and glory. With respect to the Russian acting I am by no means a victim to exaggerated admiration, as anybody who has seen it will testify. Katschalow and Germanova, two of the very greatest modern living artists, played their parts at once naturally and above the mediocre level of "naturalness" pure and simple. Their aim was higher than merely "holding the mirror up to nature." They reminded me of Maeterlinck's remarks in connection with his criticism of King Lear of Shakespeare:—".....l'instinct poetique de l'humanite l'a toujours pressenti, un drame n'est pas réellement vrai que lorsqu'il est plus grand et plus beau que la réalité." That is, the poet in human nature has instinctively sensed that a drama is a real one only when it is lovelier and loftier than realism itself. Times out of number have the greatest artists reinforced the truth of the above remark by the weight of their experiences in the realm of artistic perception and the Russian outlook of the histrionic art brought me round to see all the more clearly how it is the same thing in all arts. Germanova has impressed the connoisseurs here so deeply that she has received, I was told, several very tempting offers to play on the German stage even though her elocution in German is anything but enviable. Such is the appreciation of an artiste here! And in our country!—But alas let me not touch upon that sore point in our national life! It is well-known how great actresses here are not only well-received in society but are virtually sought after by the most distinguished among men. For instance, apart from the great Germanova who is herself the wife of a professor of archaeology, there acts in this company another very well-known actress who is the widow of the late celebrated litterateur Tchekov. When side by side one thinks of our stage—and one can hardly help comparing—one feels sad to say the least. But since it is at



Sahed Suhrawardy, the Joint-Regisseur of the Moscow Art Theatre.

best useless to regret the status of actresses in our country when the status of women is not altered, I would fain not dwell further on this point. I will only confine myself to saying that the status of the actors and actresses being what they are in our country, all right-thinking man must admire Mr. Suhrawardy for his moral courage in taking to the theatre as his life's work, when he could have chosen law or any other popularly applauded career, being himself an Oxonian and the son of a judge of the Calcutta High Court. It goes, of course, without saying that his sanity long trembled in the balance in the estimation of many a distinguished man in our country, and is perhaps still held in question by many of his sage, worldly-wise well-wishers—prematurely nodding and grey under the burden of



The Greatest Actor of Russia—KATSCHALOW—  
many experts take him to be one of the  
very best of living actors.

their wisdom. But may we not venture meekly to suggest to these eminently sane advisers of his to be just a wee bit less cock-sure of their having tapped the fount of wisdom, in view of the fact that this hot-blooded youth—who had to pass three of the most stormy years of his life in Russia simply due to his devotion to his cause—has made his way so successfully in this untrodden path that he is now the joint-regisseur of this one of the most famous theatrical companies of the world? I must explain here what the duties of a regisseur are. A regisseur is a producer and organiser of the play and on him devolves the arduous task of daily inventions and that of opening out of new vistas in the art itself. As such the success

of the production depends not a little on him and consequently he holds a position of honour and responsibility in any theatre whatsoever.

When one thinks that one of our compatriots chose this entirely new line, running counter to the advice of a whole host of his sage counsellors and with the tremendous handicap of a foreign and difficult language into the bargain, one can not help admiring his spirit of enterprise, even if we were not to speak of the subsequent success. Mr. Suhrawardy was in the Sorbonne University in Paris for one year (1910-1911). He went to Oxford then and took his degree in 1914. Then thinking better of his original pious intention of going in for the Bar—much to the scandalisation of his friends, relations and well-wishers—he turned truant and broke away to Russia to study the Russian literature and histrionic art (1916-1919). He was elected the professor of English literature in Moscow (1917). He produced there Tagore's *King of the Dark Chamber* (1918) and was so full of promise that he was taken in by this greatest Theatrical Company in Russia in spite of his being a foreigner. I was told here the other day by the great Germanova herself about the fine impression he had made on them all. Apart from the topic in question, this root of "peaceful penetration" by us into foreign countries and leaving seeds of good impression being one of the best and truest methods of our cultural propaganda, I do not think we should run the risk of falling into the pit of "over-appreciativeness" when we thank Mr. Suhrawardy for his services; and let us trust and hope that he will be able to do a good deal of real, solid work in the rejuvenation of our stage when he returns home this year after a spell of twelve years' stay in Europe and after a stay of three years of the most romantic sufferings amidst the storms and stresses of revolutionary Russia.

January, 22, Berlin. DILIPKUMAR ROY.

## THE BOSE RESEARCH INSTITUTE REVISITED

BY PROFESSOR PATRICK GEDDES.

**M**Y "Life and Work of Sir J. C. Bose", written fully three years ago, and published in 1920, ends not with the suggestion that he might now be left in calm but with his emphatic protest, that "my life has ever been one of combat, and must be to the last", and thus with the hope that he and his then lately established Research Institute may indeed continue in victorious experience, and in ample and world-enriching diffusion of its fruits. I have thus been interested in returning to Darjeeling and Calcutta after an absence of more than three years; and as I am rejoiced to find my old friend, with his Institute and workers also, are all "making good", and even breaking out into fresh developments and departures; I briefly offer this continued indication of their doings, brief outline though it must necessarily be.

The opening of the Bose Institute was exactly five years ago (30th Nov., 1917), and with large hopes, in its eloquent opening address. The reader's first question is thus naturally—how far are these being fulfilled? The answer is—first by the publication of the "Transactions of the Bose Institute" Vols. I & II, devoted to the study of Plant Movements, and including the manifold results of a series of investigations of this complex group of problems which have been so long perplexing and occupying physiologists. These are now prosecuted in ways at once more elaborately specialised and more boldly comprehensive than heretofore; and have thus yielded, not only a great variety of interesting solutions of manifold movements in detail, but a far wider, more comprehensive and more unified view of plant-growth and plant-movements than had previously been possible. This burst of highly successful investigations was rendered possible not simply by the elaboration of many of the various forms of apparatus customarily used in laboratories of vegetable physiology, but by new inventions to a degree which in fact superseded many of them altogether. Hence, as one of the oldest living teachers of that subject, since

first starting at Edinburgh in 1880, I have to confess that the Instrumental appliances of the Bose Institute often supersede ours hitherto, much as the artillery of 1918 in comparison with the earliest fire-arms, or even sometimes the bows and arrows of antiquity. Hence, too, I venture the hope, the suggestion, and the plea, that parallel to the present purely scientific tasks of the Bose Institute, there may arise some day, indeed as soon as may be, an Instrument-making department, for thus modernising the equipment of the botanical and physiological departments of Universities, Agricultural Colleges, etc., throughout the world, with credit to the Institute, and career for some of the young mechanicians it trains.

Thus have already arisen in association with advancing physiology and physics, the Cambridge Scientific Instrument Company, and largely also the magnificent Zeiss Optical Instrument-making of Jena. Indeed so many more examples—in every case combining scientific and technical progress with industrial efficiency and business-success—might be given, that I am justified in recent planning for the incipient University of Jerusalem, in scheming out its productive side, so as to be technically associated from the outset with its scientific Institutes, though at some little distance from there. In these days of discussion of Indian Industries, we hear much of jute, coal, mica, etc., and other raw materials, for comparatively low-skilled handling and use, but too little, or nothing, of that higher skill and invention on which the modern progress of industries has so essentially depended, throughout its course and which "the subtle brains and lissom fingers" of Bengal are so well fitted to. For what has been historically more central in all this than the Physical Laboratory of Glasgow University, with James Watt for its arch-instrument-maker for the age of steam, and then Kelvin, again foremost of instrument-makers in the opening age of electricity. Hence, though at first sight, to "the practical

man" there may seem no direct utility in these subtle investigations of the Bose Institute into the ways of sensitive plants, or the behaviour of seedlings, he must be reminded that he has too seldom seen the significance of scientific research and experimental instrumentation in its earlier phases. Thus even Gladstone, despite all his fine qualities and powers, and his national representativeness in his day, when reluctantly persuaded to visit Faraday's laboratory, and see some of his experiments, understood nothing, and could only say "But what is the use of all this?" Nor could he really appreciate Faraday's answer—"Well, at any rate, you'll be able to tax it some day," a foresight of the vast world enrichment from electrical developments which has followed from Faraday's work, and of which even his profound vision was but the merest glimpse. The War seemed to promise some progress of open-mindedness to science, among the public as well as their leaders; but now that it has gone, it is doubtful whether this has not done as much harm as good, by association of the idea of "science" with explosives, gases, and horrors generally. This attitude, too, is no doubt passing but the right one is hard to evoke; hence work like the present, in which the utmost resources of the physical sciences are consistently applied to the understanding of life, is of notable aid and example. And this the more, since better understanding is the way towards more effective action, and these studies of plant life and growth cannot but suggest practical bearings; first of all towards growing plants more skilfully and better that is, towards agriculture and horticulture. For the latter, this Institute will doubtless before long be using its garden, indeed to some extent it is already beginning to do so and later, why should it not win its experimental farm in the environs of Calcutta as well?

Again, though naturalists are too much divided, as botanists and zoologists, indeed hitherto all but inevitably specialised upon groups of these, and while the anatomy and physiology of plants and animals, as of man, have mostly so far been elucidated by separate workers also, the science of Biology is ever more and more unifying all these studies. And this not simply in terms of Evolution: the doctrine of evolution by natural selection is increasingly being supplemented on all sides. And here the physiolo-

gists cannot but be greatly helped and stimulated by these new advances, such for instance as the visualisation of growth, now so far surpassing that of the cinematograph, and the proof that the long-thought exceptional "Sensitive Plants" are but conspicuous developments of a universal sensitiveness, and its accompanying movements, here disclosed throughout the plant world. The immemorial tradition expressed in Linnaeus's famous aphorism—"minerals grow, plants grow and live, animals grow, live and feel"—is now corrected, by the demonstration of what is fairly called "nervous action" in plants; for this is not inferior to the simpler forms of that in animals, and even with definitely traceable localisation of "nerves". For though these are naturally of simple type, and not as yet at any rate ever found to be ganglionated, still less concentrated into ganglia or other centres, they none the less permeate and unify the organism, and they serve in effectively relating it to its environment, and this actively as well as passively, and even by what must fairly be called "sense-organs". Thus there has been for some years an interesting, but so far speculative, interpretation of the plant's marvellous "geotropic phenomena" i. e., the adjustment to the stimulus of gravitation, by which roots descend and stems rise erect; and both with powers of readjustment from disturbance, (as when growing corn is "laid" by heavy rain, or root-descent is interrupted). This explanation has been that the starch-grains within the cells of certain layers of tissue, by falling into the new positions imposed by circumstances, might act as signals and stimuli towards the needed reactions of re-erection of stem, re-descent of root: so behaving in short like the "otoliths" of many marine animals, crustaceans, etc., which thus aid in their orientation in space. For this view Bose has now given the needed experimental verifications, and this amply, and with interesting refinement, as is his way.

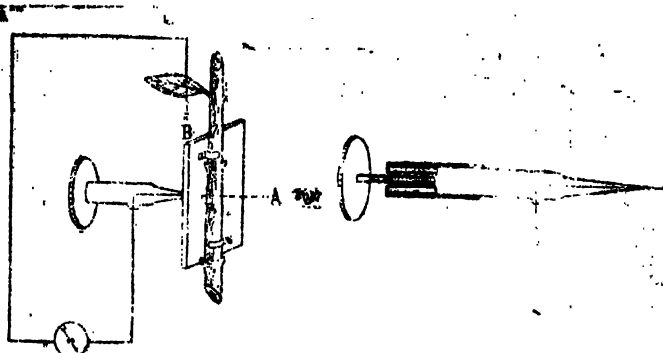
Thus, without here attempting to go into the technical details of these volumes of researches, we may at least begin so far to recognise their widely general bearings throughout the study of living beings. And though similarly we do not here enlarge upon the—better than magical—elaboration and perfection of the many forms of apparatus invented and employed for the demonstration

of growth, movements, etc., and for their accurate record and measurement, we cannot but see that such technical advances must have influences and impulses beyond their inventor's laboratory, but may before long have outcomes also in the outside world, and perhaps in ways we cannot yet foresee.

The third and fourth volumes of "Transactions of the Bose Institute"

have been delayed in collected publication through a variety of reasons, including Bose's visit to Europe in 1920; but the varied researches they summarise have none the less been in continuous progress at the Institute, and the two volumes are now appearing, bound up together. Furthermore, the past year's work has resulted in a fifth volume, "The Physiology of Ascent at Sap," now being published in London by Messrs. Longmans: so that the first five years' work will be well-justified; indeed most unusually well as research institutes go.

At Darjeeling the new Mayapuri Research Station and Bachhraj Laboratory is now practically ready. The original greenhouse, with its small laboratory section, is now on its new site, beside a fairly spacious and flower-edged lawn, ready for a pergola for climbing and twining plants, for beauty and investigation alike. Behind this a steep slope, edged on one side with shrubbery, and on the other with orchids, both massed and separate, for these too are not only creatures of beauty, but of ever-increasing scientific wonder for research as well. Up this slope from the road-level runs the long range of buildings, with rooms of laboratory accommodation and their associated wood and metal workshop. Solitary retreats are provided here and there for separate study and meditation, for enjoyment too of the magnificent mountain-view which is the glory of Darjeeling, at no house better seen, from wondrous sunrise to glorious sunsets. Finally, a lecture-room, for the discourses and demonstrations which are given as occasions arise, whether of fresh discovery or of audience desiring to learn.

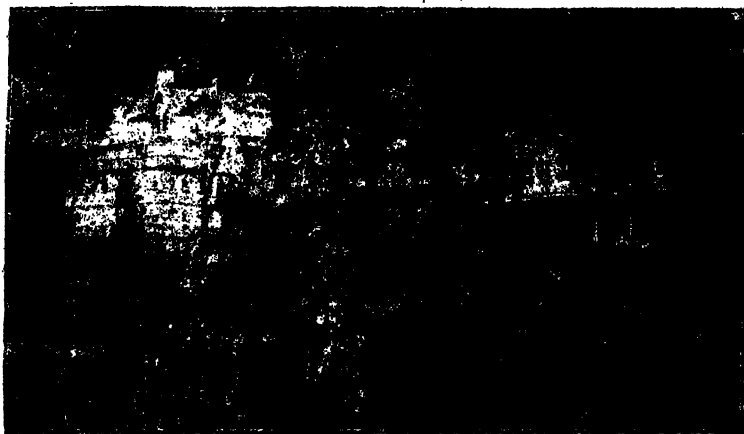


The Electric Probe by which the 'heart-beat' of plants has been recorded.

Below the road the steep forest slope between two streams has been acquired as far as the next contour road below, and laid out with well over a mile of zigzag paths, so as to bring the natural season-pigment of plant-life within easy reach of eye; in fact at once a nature-reserve and wild garden, from which much may be learned. In short, then a very practical as well as pleasing piece of planning and execution. Yet above all the best possible complement to the main Research Institute, in Calcutta, since with full contrast of tropical plain and eternal snow, given in this cool temperate hill-forest region between. In the modern city, the phenomena, the view-points and the resources are primarily, or at any rate predominantly, conditioned by that physical and mechanical order, to which civilised man has long been so increasingly confining himself; but here is the needed nature-tract in which the biologist can re-educate himself in direct touch with living nature. Hence largely it is that throughout the modern age of industry with its corresponding and interacting progress of the physical sciences, practical men and physical scientists have thought, but little of life and nature, while the naturalists, as from Hooker's first great initiative exploration of the Darjeeling and Himalayan flora, now nearly a century ago, have had but little thought of applying such physical science as they may have learned.

This separation of the physicist and naturalist in the division of the scientific labour has of course often been greatly justified, as by Kelvin and Darwin respectively: but now here in this Calcutta-Darjeeling Institute system we have one of the very best existent advances upon this long separation, still persistent in the would-be scientific education





The Mayapuri Research Station and Bachraj Laboratory, Darjeeling.

of schools and universities in town. At Calcutta the physicist and chemist, the mechanic and the electrician can hardly but continue to predominate, and so far well; but even there with their investigations directed towards the interpretation of life: here however at Darjeeling, Life is mistress of well-nigh all we survey; biology is in the ascendant, and thus, in her seasonal variety. She is far more widely suggestive of problems which the physicist may essay to solve, and thence take back with him, for treatment with the fuller technical equipment and resources of the city. The zoologists have thus long supplemented their city museums, and college laboratories by their zoological station on the seashore, as at Naples and Roscoff, from Aberdeen to Plymouth, and we trust before long from Madras to Vizagapatam (or nearer Calcutta?) to Bombay: the Paris and Montpellier botanists have also for a good many years had their forest retreats and studies; and so too the agriculturists in Europe, America and India alike, have their farms. But nowhere more, nor indeed anywhere, so far as the writer knows, as here, has this kind of association been quite so distinctly and definitely initiated towards mutual advantage and enhancement, as in this present Calcutta-Darjeeling Institute-system before us. Much of course remains to be done: in fact we know better than did our nineteenth century teachers; how, after all we have yet penetrated

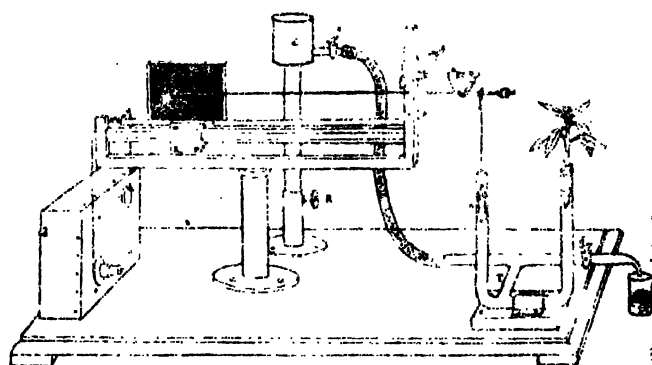
into the profundities of cosmos, and into the intricacies of the evolution of living nature.

Furthermore, by the nature of the case, alike as regards the fuller clearness, instrumentation and precision of the physical sciences, and the training and equipment of Bose and his workers alike, further expansion of the Institute has become imperative. Were I able to be one of the as yet too few substantial benefactors of this Institute, I would help towards increasing the permanent staff and material resources, as by the addition of the field-naturalist, the evolutionary and experimental embryologist, the Mendelian breeder of plants and animals, the biometrician, and so on, and not forgetting the skilled and experimental propagator, the trained agriculturist. Not that this side has been forgotten: there are indeed beginnings of it, thus of the only two active and eager field-naturalists I have met in eight years in India, Bose has already captured one, an orchid-hunter and distinguishedly successful cultivator; and is visited sometimes by the other. Histology too is in progress; and the medically trained physiologist, the bacteriologist, and more have worked in the Institute from time to time, as doubtless others also. Nowhere better than here, for instance, could the not infrequent modern problem of the advancement of vegetative growth by help of the resources of electricity, —here a long-dreamed enquiry—be taken

## THE ROSE RESEARCH INSTITUTE REVISITED

up and advanced anew and who knows to what results, alike in science and practice? And this is but a single example among many which await the full collaboration of physics with botany.

An example of how this collaboration is already beginning anew,—now that the three centuries old problem of the Ascent of Sap has received fresh experimental treatment at the Institute, and with a new and unexpected solution—is in the corresponding re-investigation, continuing



The Van Nostrand transpirometer for automatic record of excretion of water by leaves of plants.

the past century of research, of that fundamental problem of plant-life, on which the existence of the whole animal world and the human world also, entirely depends—that of how the green plant manages to win its own living, and thus ours in turn. For though most people seem still to be crudely erroneous old world view, shared and expressed by Aristotle himself and think of the plant like an animal burrowing in the ground for its food, and thus of its leaves as mere "excrecences", like the animal's plumage, scales, or hair; thus in short "nourished by its roots", as the popular phrase goes. Botanists have long have this error corrected, first in part by Van Helmont, (to whom we owe the term "mass")—a Rose of the early eighteenth century, at once physicist, chemist and botanist—who planted a small cutting in a weighed pot of earth, gave it time to grow into a little tree, then weighed it again, weighed too the earth in which it had grown; and found to his no small surprise, that this earth was all but as heavy as ever. He next burned the plant, and kept and weighed its ashes; which weight he was not a little interested to find, just made up what the earth had lost. Whence then the many pounds of plant substance he had burned? How far did this come from the water the roots had absorbed? Yet how far also from the atmosphere? To solve this question needed much further advance, alike of chemistry and of vegetable physiology. The component gases of the atmosphere became approximately known; and a fundamental step was made by Priestly, who found that green plants in water gave off bubbles in sunshine which he found largely oxygen,

bulking far beyond its proportion in ordinary air. Further investigations next showed this process to be dependent on presence of carbonic acid gas, and this was shown to be decomposed by help of sunlight, the plant releasing the oxygen but keeping the carbon, and somehow building this, with the elements of water, into starch, or sugar; these latter next turning out to be mutually convertible, and thus available for the plant's nutrition, and as reserves for its own continued life, and that of its self-propagation: whether by seeds, or asexually, by tubers as in the potato; and so, directly or indirectly, maintaining the whole animal world. Here, however, arose another and still widely popular error, that of a respiration of plants converse to that of animals. The plant, however, just like the animal, is dependent on oxygen for its respiration; and with formation of carbonic acid gas accordingly; so this release of oxygen, however useful to the purification of our animal atmosphere, is but as a waste product of the green plant's own chemical factory in the leaves. For this, instead of consuming external fuel, as we do in our factories or motors, the plant draws directly upon the energy of the sun, as animals cannot do. So here is a new function, truly super-animal, for which a new term therefore became necessary. At first, unfortunately, was applied a term of animal physiology, "Assimilation"—the process whereby the products of digestion in our circulation are appropriated by our muscular, nervous, and other tissues, for the repair of their wastage. So, though this process necessarily also goes on in all living plant cells, be they green or no, it is totally

from, and necessarily subsequent to, the unique great leaved appropriation of the energies of light radiation: a strange alchemy, which creates new energy yielding substances from such inert, because fully-oxidised, material, as carbonic acid gas.

Though this great world-process of "Photosynthesis," be so far grasped in its broad outline, and seen at the all-important support of life for plants, and thus for animals too, the ever-increasing researches of the past hundred years are still far from yielding any adequately clear knowledge, much less intimate and detailed comprehension, such as physicist and physiologist desire. Thus we go through the varied range of the spectrum to determine the photo-synthetic potency of its component ray, from red to violet and beyond; and though experimenters and experiments have been many, there is even here field for a fresh testing, now in progress. And so even with the spectroscopy of the green colouring matter (chlorophyll); while as to its chemical composition and the variability of this, we are still less clear. Less still as to its exact functioning, for which many hypotheses have been in the field; but none can be said to have triumphed. The chemistry of the process tempts us with a variety of suggestions; but though speculation and experimentation have long been busy, and far from unfruitful, we fail to reach any adequately lucid and convincing presentation of the steps of this process, and may indeed be long in doing so, since our chemical methods are obviously so far from those of the living laboratory of the plant cell. Still, with all these difficulties and more, there is plainly here one of the most fascinating fields of research the world can offer; and what may well be one of the most fertile in practical results as well. Thus it was the alchemist-like dream of one of the very greatest of chemists, Berthelot, to surpass and supersede the plant as the agency of starch and sugar-making, it might be even of protein-making as well. And though this idea be far from pleasing, of our food coming from the bio-chemical factory instead of from the fields, his imagination was consoled by Gide the economist's vision of a glorious return to nature and forest, and with flower-gardens replacing our

present more homely ones. And whatever be thought of this strange Utopia, the extraordinary progress of the chemist's art of organic synthesis, prevents us from entirely rejecting it as outside the bounds of possibility. For the synthesis of sugar, as well as of many other and complexer vegetable products, has already been accomplished. And since for instance the preparation of colouring matters replacing natural indigo and madder has long been a business matter, and that of artificial India-rubber seems coming very near a business proposition, who can say that that of sugar may not also at any rate come as far? After all, the plant-world can but use about two per cent. or so of the solar radiation per acre; so the dream of surpassing this has long been stirring ingenious minds. Enough however for our present purpose, that of welcoming this latest mobilisation of the Bose Institute to turn from the Ascent of the Sap towards a fresh investigation of the manifold problems of Photo-synthesis, or at least as many of these as circumstances and conditions may allow. An old gardener and tree-planter may also hope, and even pretty confidently expect, that the fruit of such researches may rather subserve the ancient arts of plant-culture than tend to supersede them, though even that may come some day.

As a minor example of sound research in which biological studies complement those of physics and chemistry, I may here refer to Bose's recent work (see Modern Review, September, 1921) on the floating plant now so rapidly spreading over the tanks and hills of Bengal [*Eichhornia* (*Pontederia*) *C. crassipes*], still more cruelly nick-named "Liac Devil" by exasperated boatmen, whom its spreading and resistant masses so impede, indeed may practically bring to a standstill. From America, where the mechanical view-point as yet so peculiarly predominates the vital, (though it is fair to recognise that great corrective influences are also at work) there come all sorts of suggestions for its destruction, and that of spraying chemical poisons seems to have been specially advocated in Bengal. Such spraying, despite its expensiveness, has no doubt at times its uses as notably for dealing with insect pests or moulds on leaves. Though also often failing even with these, as so notably with the *Phylloxera* of the French and other vineyards; for which, after long delays through

every imaginable form of spraying process, an entirely fresh remedy was found. (That of grafting the good vines on rough American root-stocks, with their bark a degree too thick for the Phylloxera to pierce for their sustenance in winter). But here the spraying process is on the face of it absurd; since, even in quantity it can but kill the superficial vegetation which is at once renewed from the immersed root-stocks below; so that to do that job thoroughly, we should have to poison the waters wholesale, and make an end of fish, and much more accordingly, a task happily beyond chemists and Dengal budget alike. But to the simple commonsense of botany, and of agriculture still more obviously, what can be more desirable than an ample and frequent crop of vegetation, so easily renewed from these vast water-spaces Nature is now so willing thus to fill? For what can be more easily raked in from the shore, and roped and raked too, into barges? Here a green stuff ready for all sorts of useful experimentation, from manure rich in potash at any rate, and this in a land starved of manure beyond all others—where onwards perhaps to feeding experiments, ensilage, cheap alcohol, or what not. Here too the malarialogist, the pisciculturist and more, have also to be consulted; but in the meantime, no botanist but must support Bose in his rejection of the spraying proposals, at once so extravagant in costliness, and so inevitably idle in result.

Returning to the main physico-biological and bio-physical problems of the Institute, the question arises—how far can these be broadly and intelligently outlined in principle within the comprehensive field and panorama of the sciences? Most simply stated, the physicist desires to see more and more clearly how the great forces of Nature control the plant world, and how this reacts accordingly. What are those main forces?

First, of course, all-pervading gravitation, to which the root responds by its earthward descent, its "geotropism"; yet to which the stem responds quite contrariwise, by ascent, as vertically opposed as may be. "Negative geotropism" is however an ugly and awkward term for this magnificent activity of the trees of the forest; hence "zenithotropism" is a better descriptive name, and more in keeping with the geotropism of the root. These terms merely describe; they explain nothing; but of Bose a admirable development of their

interpretation a word has already been said. The next most general and universal, may be considered the importance of the atmosphere, and its meteorological and climatic changes to plant life, also that of the hydrosphere of water even in the soil, as the means whereby the land-plants' long past emergence from the waters was rendered possible, and as needed for terrestrial life; by all these conditions maintained, balanced and adjusted throughout its seasonal and individual course. With water too may be studied the importance of soils, though as no mere "neosphere," since their essentials for the plant must be in solution. And here too may be considered the effects of stimulants and poisons. Then, too, the physiologist has to study his plants in their varying conditions of temperature. Here Bose has made peculiarly great advance, and solved many puzzles, by associating far more fully than before the influence on geotropism of varying temperatures, as is notably in the famous case of the "Praying Palm," but thereafter, as is his wont, passing on to trees, etc., more generally and again from the perplexing opening and closing of flowers by night or day respectively to wider issues. The effects of light and darkness have also minutely to be investigated throughout the spectrum, and compounded with the preceding conditions of life whence part of the intricacy of the study of photosynthesis, and the frequent discrepancies among results of investigations. Further, Atmospheric and terrestrial electricity, in their action on plant life, are still far from understood, and the experimental sterification of seeds, seedlings and growing plants, though frequently attempted, has all to be reinvestigated. Thus though these great cosmic factors conditioning plant life are not very numerous and all in outline more or less familiar. Yet their variations in detail and still more the manifold combinations of these in their incidence upon the plant, have made the physicists' approach to vegetable physiology no easy one. It is extraordinarily to the credit of Bose and his assiduous workers to have done so much in these past five years towards clearing up these manifold difficulties; and one may thus hope, that with all this experience, and the splendid and ever-advancing instrumentation of their science, the next five years more may be even more productive. A new

in vegetable physiology has in fact been broadly, deeply and richly opened; and this next period may not only be even richer in direct results, but of fresh impulse to animal physiology, and even to experimental psychology as well—not to speak of practical applications.

In the near future we forward to a further and more intimate co-operation between the physicist and the botanist. For initial, essential and general experimentation, from the physics side, the immense variety of the natural orders of plants matters comparatively little; but we, who seek to spell out the secret of their respective evolution, and that under the widely varying, though broadly similar, conditions of environment, have still our questions, too largely unsolved, our speculations too little tested. Thus the great line of co-operation between physicist and botanist—perhaps even the main one, may be by passing through the complexity of the experimental laboratory a series of the types of plants which are most representative of the vegetable kingdom—and this at all the characteristic phases of their life and growth. What are these? From the swelling of seed or stem to its budding and shooting, its leafing, to its inflorescing and its flowering, and its subsequent regrowing, if this occurs; and at any rate its fruiting, seeding and drying for rest or death as may be. That is to say, the physicist-physiologist can help. Indeed he is helping as botanists with the interpretation of the habit of plants; so as to understand the swelling of the cactus or other succulents; the bud-permanence of the cabbage, the agave or the palm; the shooting, of which climbers and twiners are but extreme examples; and the exuberant and varied leafing, which in grasses and herbs, shrubs, and trees are alike so characteristic. The physiological conditions of the onset of flowering, and the deep reaction of even the faint beginnings of this, so that the ordinary modes of vegetative growth and branching becomes arrested, and yet developed, into the manifold variation of inflorescence, are again problems in which the botanist must look for aid; as with the mysteries and wonders of life in the flower itself. These we have so far unravelled but mainly from the morphological side, but still far too little from the physiological, and these beginnings we need help to control and to perfect. Again, after flowering, or death may set in, as with the annuals, or

the long-lived talipot palm alike; yet in other cases a fresh vegetative development appears, sometimes as a vegetative rejuvenescence and re-growth of the individual plant, but more frequently as a quiet and steady vitality, which finds its extreme in the perennial evergreens. Again, what are the conditions of fruiting, so varied in their range, from the merest drying up of the carpels, to their splendidly continued growth and exuberance, sweetness in their turn, which may rival the earlier blooming petals in its beauty, or far surpass these. Again, what are the secrets of seed formation, with its minor infinity of variations, often so important to man, as from cereals to coconut. And, finally, what of the senescence and decadence of plant-life, both seasonal and individual; and how does this at times so conspicuously with cactuses and other thorny plants become characteristic of the whole habit of life?

Towards answering such questions, there are already many partial answers, and still more scattered suggestions; throughout the literature of botany, in which "ecology" is increasingly in progress. Yet now is the time, and here is the place for the initiative of that fuller, clearer and more systematic research which is required, and which would be widely suggestive throughout all fields of the science; and, above all, towards that evolutionary presentment which we have been increasingly about. There are many signs however that the Lamarck-Darwin controversy, since continued by Neo-Lamarckians and Neo-Darwinians respectively, may be, at least before long, reconciled by a fuller comprehension of the conditions of growth and of reproduction of living beings in their constant life-adjustment to environment and further, the question of how such adjustment is again associated with modification of the influence of their ancestral history, on which not only Neo-Darwinians since Weismann, but also Mendelians, so strongly also insist, cannot much longer remain so unsettled as it is at present. In such ways then, and more, there is ample field for that yet fuller collaboration of physicist and botanist in which this Institute has already taken such a leading place.

Instead of here attempting to explain in detail any one or more of the wealth of researches which these five volumes contain, it may be a simpler introduction to their study if we imagine ourselves simply taking

a walk to Darjeeling, or outside Calcutta, looking at the vegetation around us. We may thus consider an instance or two of how far the work summarised in these volumes may help us towards a fuller understanding of what we see.

Most conspicuous of all living features of the Darjeeling landscape are the big Conifers—here represented by Cypress firs, and on the whole below them the mingled dicotyledonous forest. The former trees have tall erect stems with regular and concentrated branching, markedly ascendant, in young and higher branches especially, so that if the main single growing point be broken, the nearest younger brother-branch readily assumes the ascending leadership. The leaves too are small and simple, in the Cypress especially persistently embryonic in aspect, especially as compared with the developed and elaborated leaf-variety of the lower forest trees. Here then, in these ascending spires and towers of coniferous verdure, we see *zenithotropism* to its fullest mastery of the plant life; while in the trees of more developed leafage we have a far fuller development of their *heliotropism*—their better adjustment to the life-maintaining light. The coniferous trees stand dark and opaque against the sky and are broadly similar in aspect, with comparative little distinctive individuality, until after the trials of age. Whereas, not only are the varied species of dicotyledonous trees far more varied in aspect and branching, spreading, far more often allowing light to be seen through them than do the conifers. The individuals of each species are far more recognizable at a glance. In short the conifer is dominated by its lofty *zenothotropic* stem: but the dicotyledon far more definitely by its more *heliotropic* leaves. No finer or more vivid example of this can be desired than the common leguminous flowering tree, *Erythrina indica*, with its familiar red blossom. For here the comparatively few big leaves, both their huge leaf-stalk cushion (the "pulvinus") and their three large leaflets, each with minor pulvini of their own, are peculiarly noticeable; and it needs but little observation to see that each leaflet is a sun-light-cup, which is in slow but sure and steady movements towards the sun, and so throughout the day loses little of the precious life-sustaining rays. The tree itself is thus comparatively poor in form, has seldom a

distinct top, and is very irregular in its branching; yet its success in life is demonstrated, alike by its abundance, its vigour of shoots, and by its exuberant and long continued magnificence of flower. Now turning to these Bose volumes, we may read with a new freshness, the admirable experimental analysis of these leaf movements, this sensitiveness, and we understand for the first time clearly, how the main pulvinus and the minor pulvini continue their daily task of perfect adjustment to light. Thus, though every plant makes its response to gravitation and to light as well, we are reaching a clearer and fuller understanding of these wide differences of plant-habit, and even something of the evolutionary progress of the leaf in the scale of vegetative efficiency. How far the Cypress leaf is compensated for its elementary form by that persistently embryonic character, of which the perpetual youth may well maintain the long-lived tree: how far again the more developed leaves of the Erythrine are associated with its shorter life, are examples of how fresh questions are always arising beyond our present knowledge.

But returning to this, our investigator has also done great service in elucidating the concurrent influences of changes of temperature upon the movement of leaves, and even branches: indeed, since his stimulus from the praying palm, upon the position of the main stems of trees. *Zenithotropism*, *heliotropism* and *thermotropism* are thus realised, first analysed, then synthesised in their complex resultant action upon the growth and habit of the plant, and no longer merely investigated so separately, and thus too long ineffectively, as elsewhere in the past. Again from Bose's proof of a great difference in the sensitivity and response of the different surfaces and sides of the leaf-cushions of *Erythrina*, and even of the different sides of its shoots and branches we may even wonder whether we have not here a clue towards interpreting that curious exaggeration of the ordinary dissymmetry of the leguminous flower which it shows: but this may be left as but a fresh example of the potential suggestiveness of this finer physiology, towards unravelling the riddles of floral form.

So we might continue our walk, at every turn finding how the botanist is helped beyond his traditionally too merely external empiric and descriptive observation, and

towards a more rational because functional understanding of plant forms. So too the botanists may suggest problems for the physicist-physiologists to unravel; and thus their active collaboration will increasingly illuminate these evolutionary intricacies of the plant world.

Finally, of the progress of the Institute in Calcutta much might be said: first, as regards the pleasing ordering of its garden and zoo; and the growth of additional buildings, though these latter, and also the library, and the material equipment, are of course still far from completed even for the very large and comprehensive tasks of the present, and still more for those of the opening future. But beyond all material organisation, it is certainly one of the most remarkable achievements, and one for which I have neither seen nor heard of parallel elsewhere, to have trained so many Research Assistants and Scholars, into active and skilful co-operation, and to be able to direct and supervise the work not only in Calcutta, but also in Darjeeling; or, if need be, even when abroad in Europe. Such organising powers are a fresh challenge to our science in the West, since in its way more comparable to that of its captains of industry, than to the ordinarily far too scantily seconded labours of its scientists. That so large a group of younger men can also be gathered, and to work on year after year, with such patient assiduity and such devotion to their respective shares in their chief's wide range of research, are also remarkable evidences of the fine tradition of India; indeed proof positive that the high ambition which was expressed in the opening address of the Bose Institute five years ago, that of reviving the spirit of the ancient Universities of India, as at Taxila and Nalanda, is also being substantially realised. I am sometimes asked, however, even in India as well as in the west how far are these devoted *brahmanacharins* falling into the limitation of that tradition, into the same weakness of European medieval universities that of too simply "sweating by the word of the master"?—or how far are they also actively critical in their collaboration, and actively studious for themselves? How far speculative, too, thus fitting themselves for the inevitably coming period when they can no longer have this man of genius to lead, guide and direct them? In short, how far are they themselves personally preparing themselves, as investigators, who

can carry on these path-breaking initiatives of their master through the unexplored forests and jungles of Life?—and by and by, as all-round physicists and physiologists, opening out new paths for themselves, which they in turn may be able to organise their own juniors to help them with? Here is one of the main needs of Indian University renewal, as well as a main condition of the prolonged endurance in productivity of this Research Institute. It is the disaster of Western science, even at its best, since that of the western over-individualised world generally, that so few of its great initiators succeed in founding schools to continue their thought and work, and to develop it—not even Kelvin with his creative genius, nor Huxley, with all his mastery of the art of teaching. It has indeed often, not always, been men of less marked originality who succeeded best, like Sir Michael Foster of Cambridge. My own passing visit has been far too brief to admit of positive answers to all these questions, but the impression was, that here as elsewhere, there are signs of both these tendencies: in some men towards routine, but in others towards personal thought and initiative. It has been a great advantage of scientific Germany that its students wander from university to university, instead of remaining throughout their course in one, as so much at Calcutta as at Oxford; but this Institute will in the near future be ready for the great service of attracting young physicists and physiologists from the other universities of different countries. The more varied the group of researchers, such as I have myself lived among in youth, in France and in Germany, in Roscoff or at Naples, as well as in Scotland and England, the more, then, active discussion, the more their mutual education accordingly.

Here at any rate lies the educative problem? Its highest—complementing all specific researches, yet assuring these even more fully: and its decision will surely be by the maturation of new men of science, as well as by the output of discovery in all present lines of work, and the ever-opening new ones. And now that the first five years, of strenuous initiative, and of training of assistants, are ending, the next five years will increasingly show this Institute, as one of the enduring lighthouses of the intellectual and scientific future of India. Yet to assure

this, the Institute should be freed from all material anxieties, so that this exceptionally gifted scientific leader may be more free for what may well be the highest

of all his life-tasks—that of training his late apprentices, now mostly competent journeymen, to their future mastership.

## PROVISIONAL MEMORANDUM ON THE CONDITION OF INTELLECTUAL LIFE IN POLAND

*[This has been sent to us for publication by the Information Section of the  
League of Nations.—Editor, M. R.]*

THE Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, at its second meeting, held on August 1st, 1922, decided to draw the attention of the Council and the Assembly of the League of Nations to the urgent need for coming to the help of countries whose intellectual life is threatened. In order to be able to supply the Council and the Assembly with accurate information and practical suggestions, the Committee instructed two of its members to undertake enquiries in Austria and in Poland. As regards the latter country, it was impossible to obtain all the desired information in so brief a period. Madame Curie-Skłodowska, who undertook the enquiry, reserves the right to bring on the final issue of the report on the conditions of intellectual life in Poland, and has authorised the Secretariat to make a provisional summary of the information supplied by a few of the most important organisations in that country, and also of the wishes which they have expressed.

### 1

Poland is a very ancient centre of European civilisation, which is at present in special danger, not only in consequence of the war, from which Poland has suffered more seriously and for a longer period than almost any other country, but also because intellectual life there has existed under abnormal and extremely unfavourable conditions since the end of the 18th century.

In the ancient Polish State, which from the time of its constitution in the 10th century maintained close and regular relations with western civilisation, intellectual activity developed, rapidly after the foundation of the University of Cracow in 1364. At its height during the 15th and 16th centuries, then interrupted by long years of war, this activity received fresh impetus during the last years of old Poland, which between its first and second partitions, was the first country in Europe to create a Ministry of Public Education (Education Commission), and carried out extensive university reforms.

After the second partition in 1795, all development was persistently crushed. For many years, free intellectual, literary and scientific activity was only possible

for Polish emigrants abroad, especially in France. The saddest period was that between the insurrection of 1830-31, after which the Russian Government closed the Polish universities at Warsaw and Vilna, and the constitutional reforms in Austria, which, between 1861 and 1871, allowed the Universities of Cracow and Lemberg to resume their Polish character. Since then Polish intellectual life has been able to develop almost unhindered in Galicia, but in the major part of Polish territory, which was under Russian or Prussian dominion, no Polish school of an educational standard existed until the time of the great war; in one part of Russian Poland only, certain Polish private schools had been tolerated since the revolution of 1905.

During the four years of the world-war, Poland was almost completely laid waste by the belligerents on both sides. At the end of the European war, Poland had to fight yet another two years against Soviet Russia, and, invaded anew and laid waste up to the very gates of Warsaw, was obliged to abandon all intellectual work.

However, even after the war, the entire reconstruction of intellectual life began. Advantage was taken of certain concessions granted by the German occupying authorities of Warsaw, in order to reorganise there, as early as 1915, a Polish University of Technical School, and to lay the foundations of a Polish Ministry of Education. In the summer of 1918, whilst still under Austrian occupation, a new private Polish university was founded at Lublin. As soon as Posen had rid itself of the Prussian foreign university was founded there in May 1919, which has become a fresh intellectual centre of the highest importance. A few months later, Vilna, having been for the first time, captured from the Bolsheviks, the old University, dating from 1578, was immediately reconstituted.

A provisional list of new scientific associations and institutes created in Poland between 1916 and 1920, mentions as many as 26, none of which had already been founded by the new Polish State, as for example,

\* For other institutions, see Table of Polish higher schools annexed hereto.



the great Meteorological and Geological Institutes at Warsaw, the Agricultural Institutes at Pulawy and Białystok; as regards private scientific associations, all the older ones of which were kept alive in spite of the hardships of war, very important new ones were formed during these years, such as the Physical, Chemical, Geographical and Economic Societies at Warsaw, the Mathematical Society at Cracow, the Philological Society at Lemberg, the Numismatic Society at Posen, and the Archaeological Society at Vilna, etc.; at Lemberg, a Union of Polish Learned Societies was also formed. In 1920 to encourage the collaboration of these numerous associations, the academies and general scientific societies which the Polish nation had succeeded in establishing under foreign dominion were reorganised and greatly developed during the early years of independence. Thus the Academy of Science and Arts founded at Cracow as early as 1872, has become the National Polish Academy, representing the whole of Polish science in its relations with foreign countries; its numerous special commissions, which are open to scholars who are not members of the Academy, are scientific institutes, each of which issues its own publications. The Warsaw Scientific Society, which, founded in 1907 under the Russian dominion, had to be satisfied with this modest title, is in point of fact a second National Academy. Among the numerous scientific institutes and laboratories connected with it, the most important are the institutes of Biology and Anthropology, the latter serving as the Polish Office of the International Institute of Anthropology in Paris. The Polish Scientific Societies at Posen, Łódź and Vilna have by this time become small local academies.

As regards education in general—too vast a subject to be dealt with within the limits of this report—it will suffice here to emphasize the fact that whereas the education of the masses had been neglected under foreign rule and encouraged only by private associations, the greater care has been devoted to it in free Poland; the number of secondary schools reaches 753.

## II

These particulars, incomplete as they are, might at first convey the impression that in Poland intellectual activity is progressing most satisfactorily, and that it would be an exaggeration to consider it as in a critical state. Unfortunately, however, the further development of all that has been done hitherto is menaced, and existing institutions, however numerous they may appear, are even now quite inadequate to the needs of the 28 million inhabitants, which the Polish State now numbers.

One of the causes of this situation—perhaps the most direct cause—is the same in Poland as in all other States, i. e., the economic and financial crisis; but owing to the low level of Polish exchange, which has dropped by half within the last few months and is higher only than the Austrian exchange, the crisis is far more acute in Poland than elsewhere. As in all other countries, intellectual workers are those who suffer most. The Warsaw Scientific Association, the importance of which has already been emphasized, may be pointed out as an instance of this. Its balance-sheet for 1922 shows a deficit of over 67 million marks out of a total of over 85 millions, and it seems likely that, owing to the fall in the mark, this deficit will be at greater by the end of the year. The Association,

therefore, recently sent a desperate appeal, under date of August 10th, 1922, to all Poles, beseeching them "not to allow that light to be extinguished of which even foreign domination has failed to deprive us." The position of other scientific bodies is equally critical.

It is true that the position of university professors, for instance, is not so tragic in Poland as in Austria, but their economic distress\* may have even more detrimental results for the Polish schools. Whereas the number of professors is still great in Austria, in Poland many of the new universities are already now without sufficient teaching staff, and what is more alarming still for the future, there are scarcely any lecturers (*Privat-Dozenten*). The number of students entered at Warsaw University approaching that of the Vienna University, whereas the teaching staff—nearly stationary as to numbers—is six times smaller and includes only 18 per cent of lecturers. Lemberg Technical School, a pre-war institution, has still a staff of 51 professors but only four lecturers. The position of the latter is extremely precarious, since they are not in receipt of a fixed salary, and the dues and fees formerly paid by students have been entirely abolished as a consequence of the establishment, under the Polish Constitution, of free teaching in all public educational institutions. A number of professors attached to State Universities also teach in the private universities and are therefore overworked.

The depreciation of currency has in two other instances had disastrous consequences for intellectual activity. Funds allotted as scholarships, which were considerable before the war, have now become so insignificant that it is not worth while to apply for them; thus the principal scholarship, of which many lecturers of the Polish Universities of Galicia formerly took advantage, amounted to 5,000 crowns per year—a sum which nowadays would be utterly inadequate. A further particularly serious feature of the situation consists in the fact that the ever-increasing cost of printing prevents the publication of all books for which there is no prospect of rapid sale and numerous editions. In pre-war days, the publication of scientific works was helped by the "Minnowski Fund", to which reference will be made later. Recently this institution has drawn public attention to the fact that in 1913 the sum at its disposal, 425,000 roubles, was sufficient for the publication of 224,000 pages, whereas in 1920 5,000 marks, sufficient only for the publication of 272 pages, were available. The situation has since become still worse. Lublin University, which has undertaken the publication in a special edition of the works of its most eminent professors, has been obliged to devote over one million marks to the publication of its latest volume.

The extremely precarious situation of students should also be pointed out. Save in exceptional cases, their families are unable to supply them even with the most indispensable means of livelihood in the university towns, and 75 per cent of these youths have to earn their living under

\* Their salaries were increased to such an extent that they are lower only than those of Ministers and Under-Secretaries of State; they receive, in addition, "a scientific allowance"; in spite of this, the maximum monthly pay of a professor, 27,000 marks, is equal only to 200 Swiss francs.

the most difficult circumstances. Nearly all of them are obliged to devote most of their time and strength to teaching, working in banks, etc. They are dependent for their food on canteens organised by their associations, and these canteens are themselves dependent on the subsidies of foreign philanthropic associations. Between 1921 and 1922 American organisations furnished the students of Warsaw with materials valued at 50 million marks, but they are now liquidating their stocks.

The second cause of the evils from which intellectual life in Poland is suffering is the intellectual isolation and the absolute impossibility of taking any effective share in international co-operation, or even of keeping informed of the intellectual work achieved in other countries. Here again it is a question of an evil which has fallen upon many countries, and upon all the States of Central and Eastern Europe, without exception. But, in this respect the danger in Poland is even more serious than in Austria.

In Austria, and, generally speaking, wherever normal intellectual life existed before the war, the libraries are at least stocked with all the essential books that appeared in foreign countries before 1914 and all the scientific journals have a nucleus of older collections. In Poland, only the schools in former Galicia possess anything like the same amount, while the newly created or reorganised schools, libraries, etc., have in many cases had to start with nothing, or with collections which even in 1914 would have been totally inadequate. Warsaw University, the largest in the new Poland, has inherited from the former Russian University in this city, one of the most neglected in the whole Russian Empire, a library composed principally of Russian books, and entirely devoid of the most indispensable works in other languages, certain research centres (seminaries) of this central University—or, for example, that for Romance languages and literature—had at best not a single book in their private libraries. The same applies to periodicals; in the majority of Polish universities they will require to be completed not from 1914 but from the very beginning.

This is obviously an impossibility, since even the most complete libraries in Galicia cannot continue their pre-war subscriptions. In libraries which, before 1914, subscribed to hundreds of scientific periodicals of all countries, only a few German reviews, one or two French ones, and not a single English or American one, can be found to-day. The price of reviews—even of special volumes published in countries having a higher rate of exchange—sometimes exceeds the entire yearly endowment of the institute in question. Thus, in 1921, the Botanical Institute of the University of Cracow had at its disposal an endowment of 100,000 marks, while "Botanical Abstracts", an absolutely indispensable publication, cost 130,000 marks in that year. As the price of an English book which before the war cost one pound and now costs three, is equivalent to 90,000 marks, even the Jagellon Library, which may be taken as the national Polish library, can no longer purchase any, since its total endowment amounts only to three millions a year. Private scientific associations are in an even more pitiable plight. In 1913 the great and important Warsaw Jurists Society subscribed to forty-one foreign reviews; now it can only subscribe to one soli-

tary German review. It is even more difficult to obtain the instruments and chemical products necessary for scientific laboratories. In some instances even loans and gifts cannot be accepted on account of the heavy postal expenses they entail. The Polish Academy has been obliged to refuse a valuable gift of Italian books because their transport would have cost 20,000 marks. The same postal expense, and the cost of special editions under a regular exchange of publications which can only be effected at frequent intervals with neighbouring countries such as Czechoslovakia. Consequently, Polish scholars and students can use hardly any foreign publications, for their work, and often confine themselves to the study of purely Polish questions, as they are unwilling to embark on research work, which now needs room in complete isolation.

Further, it is very difficult for them to keep in personal touch with foreign scholars. On more than one occasion, no Polish delegate has been able to attend an international scientific congress, because it was impossible to raise the necessary funds for his travelling expenses and subsistence in a country with a high rate of exchange. Often the amount of the subscriptions, converted into Polish marks, has prevented Poland from joining an important international association at the proper time; the budget for 1924 allows the sum of 20 million marks for these subscriptions, allotted principally to the various special unions of the International Research Council, of which the Astronomical Union in particular has just adopted very important resolutions in favour of Polish science.

It is no less important to facilitate the exchange of professors and students, particularly young Polish professors, some of whom have a splendid opportunity of perfecting themselves abroad in their own special branch of study. A prolonged stay in France, England, Belgium, Switzerland, Italy, the Scandinavian countries, of the United States, during which they can give lectures and at the same time carry on scientific research, is indispensable to them. As regards students, it would be a question rather of young men and women who have already completed their studies in Poland and who wishing to devote themselves to a scientific career, must necessarily pursue these studies for a certain time in foreign countries.

There is amongst the youth of Poland a keen desire to collaborate with the intellectuals of other countries; a group of Warsaw students, in its little review, hailed the institution of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation with the profound enthusiasm, and, as one of its main aims discussed almost all the problems to which the Committee devoted its attention. The need for international exchange is also felt in the province of education in general, especially in the case of the education of the people and of adults; it is essential for all who deal with this matter in Poland to be able to study on the spot new methods adopted in other countries.

Polish scholars would also like to see their articles published in foreign reviews. Here again the present situation is far from satisfactory. It is difficult to get these works accepted by publications which, even in the most prosperous countries, have had to cut down their size; in some cases Polish writers have even been called upon to refund in foreign currency the cost of special editions. It is also almost impossible for Polish writers to have their

works translated into more widely diffused languages; they have to be content with adding to their books and articles abstracts in French and English.

As regards the special difficulties with which Poland is faced, it should be noted, first of all, that the total number of students, which a year ago, amounted to about 30,000, exceeds 32,000 for the current year and will soon reach 40,000, and that, according to the trustworthy estimates, it should reach 60,000 if it is to correspond not only to the population but also to the intellectual requirements of the Polish nation, as made manifest since the war, when such large numbers of Polish students frequented foreign universities. However, the higher educational institutions at present existing in Poland are insufficient even for the present number of students. Some faculties, in particular that of medicine, have had to introduce the *numerus clausus*, that is to say, to limit the number of students entered each year. The same measure will soon have to be applied in the faculties of sciences in laboratories, where the available space is quite inadequate to the number of the students who are desirous of working in them. Even the lecture halls have become far too small, especially in view of the numbers attending courses in chemistry, political science, economics, etc. Despite this situation, a number of refugees from Soviet Russia and Ukraine have been admitted to Polish universities.

There is therefore an urgent need for new universities and higher educational institutions. Even the existing universities, however, are hindered in their development by a difficulty which arises nowhere to such an extent as in Poland, namely a complete lack of premises. Warsaw University, with its hundred institutions, schools and laboratories, is literally stifled in the buildings of the former Russian University. The premises of the Warsaw Polytechnic Institute, which were built in 1862 for about 1,200 students, are insufficient for the 3,000 students who now attend its courses, and no room is available for the new laboratories which are required. In the budget for 1922 of Cracow University, a sum of 118,500,000 marks has been assigned to the building of new premises and the upkeeping of existing ones, and even this sum is inadequate.

The same difficulty is aggravating still further the already unsatisfactory economic situation and conditions of life of teachers and students alike. Numbers of the latter are unable to secure a room, however small, or even a bed and a chair in a room shared with others. During the past year over 2,000 students were in this plight in Warsaw. Most of them gave up their studies; others continued to live in this deplorable condition, which is both insupportable and expensive. The Students' Central Co-operative Society in Warsaw has drawn up a scheme for the building of housing accommodation for 4,000 students, but the execution of this plan will require five years and will cost 5,000 millions. Even in smaller centres, such as Cracow or Lemberg, the situation is scarcely better.

The various material difficulties described above also hinder the solution of another problem, viz., the lack of scientific institutes and establishments. With the exception of Cracow and Lemberg, the intellectual centres of Poland are, in the first place, destitute of libraries and museums, and even of the necessary

buildings for any systematic installation or organisation.

The situation will become more and more critical in proportion as the Soviet Government, in conformity with the Treaty of Riga, restores the countless books and works of art which Russia has been seizing from Poland since the end of the eighteenth century. The creation of large museums is becoming increasingly urgent, as safe places must be found for the remains of artistic treasure coming from thousands of churches, palaces and other historical monuments which were reduced to ruins during the six years of warfare, and for the preservation of which a special commission has been appointed. With the exception of certain university collections, Poland is also lacking in great natural history museums and museums for prehistoric relics, anthropology, ethnography, etc., as the Powers governing Polish territory at the time when such collections were being made elsewhere neither made nor encouraged any effort in this direction. Only quite recently has the Polish Government been able to turn to the organisation of a national natural history museum and an archaeological museum at Warsaw. It has also appointed special councils for the organisation, development and co-operation of museums and libraries. Finally, as regards scientific institutes in the strict sense of the word, it will be enough to enumerate those which Polish scholars consider the most indispensable, i.e., the institutes of pure chemistry, radiology, economics and historical science on the pattern of the "École des Chartes" and Oriental research. There is also a demand for creation of a central astronomical observatory independent of the universities and of fresh zoological stations; at present there are only two, and fresh ones are extremely necessary, as the present rate of exchange makes it impossible for Poland to ensure to her scholars places at foreign zoological stations. The same reason prevents the carrying out of any scheme for organising Polish research institutes in Paris, Rome (in these two cities there are already Polish libraries which might form a nucleus for them) and London; yet such schemes are essential for the normal development of Polish science.

### III

It should be realised that Poland is herself making every possible effort to meet the requirements of her intellectual life. Particularly since the end of the war, the Government has devoted considerable sums for the ordinary expenditure of the Ministry of Education (forty-nine milliard marks, of which 6,500,000,000 are for science and higher education, in the 1922 budget) in accordance with the express recommendations passed in this connection by the Diet in the autumn of 1920; it has also assigned large sums for subsidies of all kinds. The Department of Science, which has been created within the Ministry to examine the requirements of Polish science and to encourage all efforts made in the sphere of knowledge, expended in 1921 more than 214,000,000 marks in subsidies for works and publications of a scientific nature, for the encouragement of intellectual co-operation with foreign countries, and for assistance to university students; a sum of 453,000,000 is earmarked for this purpose in the 1922 budget. Among the assets of all the scientific institutions the Government subsidy represents the most considerable figure

(more than 32,000,000, for example, in the 1921 budget of the Polish Academy, whose own revenue is only represented by a sum of 1,500,000).

Unfortunately, as a result of the crisis in the exchange rates, the Government itself is unable to assure the normal participation of Poland in international intellectual life. The most widespread and most insistent demand is for foreign scholarships, but these are quite beyond Poland's financial capacity. It has only been possible for the Government to adhere to existing international organisations: in 1921, for example, Poland adhered to the Conventions of Brussels of 1886 for the exchange of official publications. The Polish Service for International Exchange does everything possible to extend this system of exchange to non-official publications, and would be very grateful if the League of Nations would institute an appeal or take the initiative in this connection.

The Polish nation in its turn has itself made very considerable efforts to encourage intellectual work. Reference has already been made to the two free universities, of which Lublin University owes its existence to the extraordinary generosity of one individual, and it will be sufficient to mention as a typical example the "Fund for Scientific Assistance Dedicated to the Memory of Dr. J. Mianowski". This was founded during the Russian rule in 1881, for the purpose of granting subsidies and loans to persons working in any branch of science, to assist them either in research work or in the publication of the results of their research work. The support which this institution has met with among all classes of the nation, and the donations, legacies, and other grants which it has continually received, have enabled it to work without interruption even during the war, up to the present day. In the course of the forty years of its existence (up to 1921) the Fund has distributed about 2,000,000 gold roubles (5,000,000 francs) to Polish scientists, and has published more than a thousand volumes. Under the new Polish regime, financial support has been given it by the Ministry of Education, and in spite of the general economic crisis, very considerable private donations have been continuously made (more than 4,000,000 marks in 1921) so that it has been able to extend its activities still further. It has established a Scientific Council, entrusted, among other tasks, with that of assisting intellectual relations with other countries and since 1918 it publishes a year-book dedicated to the study of the requirements of Polish Science; in 1920, in the middle of the war with Russia, it convened an important Polish Scientific Congress at Warsaw, which discussed the organisation of science, its place in social life, its essential functions, its material needs, etc. The last day of the Congress was dedicated to international co-operation, and an extremely wide programme was drawn up (exchange of information and publications, translations, collaboration with international organisations, exchange of professors, scientific expeditions, foreign insti-

tutes). Unfortunately, it has so far not been possible to realise any part of this interesting programme.

It is in this sphere of intellectual exchange with the other nations that Poland requires assistance from those nations, or rather from the League of Nations.

It must be clearly understood that in the case of Poland there is no necessity for financial assistance or intervention as in the case of Austria. Within the country itself, where the purchasing power of the mark is far higher than on the international market, the national effort will be sufficient to overcome present difficulties. But it will only continue to be so if Poland find in the future wider facilities for her intellectual relations with foreign countries. Even then she does not ask that all nations should imitate the generous example of France, who has granted important annual scholarships to Polish scientists and has organised, at her own expense, travelling scholarships in France for young Poles. The wishes expressed by Polish scientists, the most important of which we summarise in conclusion, are much more modest, and remain within the general framework of the programme of the Commission on Intellectual Co-operation: they may be applied also to other countries who find themselves in a somewhat similar situation.

A beginning must be made with a special enquiry in greater detail into the requirements of intellectual life in Poland. For this purpose it will not be necessary to send a foreign commission, but use could be made of existing local organisations, such, for example, as the "Mianowski Fund" already mentioned. For Lesser Poland, recourse may also be had to the Cracow Academy.

This same local institution might serve as an intermediary in bringing to the notice of the Commission on Intellectual Co-operation all the special requests addressed to it by Polish scientists who require certain books or instruments or who wish to undertake special research work abroad. The persons or institutions concerned might indicate what publications they could supply in exchange, or, in the case of professors, what courses of lectures they could give during their visit to another country. The Mianowski Fund would be responsible for the genuine nature of these requests, and the Commission on Intellectual Co-operation could instruct its Secretariat to forward them to the most suitable addresses. The requests of the recently-created schools and institutes would perhaps merit special attention.

Finally, consideration might be given to a suggestion for the establishment of a system of international identity cards for persons visiting foreign countries for scientific purposes, granting them free access to libraries, archives, museums and other scientific establishments, free visas for their passports and, if necessary, reductions in the price of rail and steamboat fares. These papers would only be granted by the competent authorities of countries where the situation is particularly difficult, and their number would be limited.

## ANNEX

## THE UNIVERSITIES AND HIGH SCHOOLS OF POLAND.

## I. UNIVERSITIES.

## (a) State Universities.

UNIVERSITIES	FOUNDATION	FACULTIES	NUMBER OF PROFESSORS	NUMBER OF STUDENTS
				IN 1921-1922
1. Cracow	1364 1400	Theology, law and political sciences (with a school of political sciences), medicine (with a school of pharmacy), philosophy (with agricultural and teachers' colleges).	146	3,531 (2,860 in 1918)
2. Lemberg	1657	Theology, law and political sciences, medicine, philosophy.	123	4,500 (2,832 in 1919)
3. Posen	1619	Theology (in process of formation), law and political sciences, medicine, philosophy, agriculture and forestry engineering (proposed).	120	3,273 (1,814 in 1920)
4. Warsaw	1790, reorganised in 1915	Catholic theology, protestant theology, law and political sciences, medicine (with pharm. and veterinary school), philosophy.	120	7,518 (4,857 in 1918)
5. Vilna	1578, reorganised in 1919	Arts, theology, law and political sciences, medicine, fine arts.	57	3,000 (1,785 in 1920)
6. Lublin (Catholic University)	1918	Theology, ecclesiastical law and moral sciences, law and political sciences, philosophy and arts, agriculture (proposed); annexed: Institute of Education.	48	1,100 (900 in 1919)
7. Warsaw (Free University of Poland)	1906	Sciences, arts, political and social sciences, pedagogy (Institute of Education); annexed: School of Journalism.	122	2,114 (1,536 in 1920)

## II. HIGH SCHOOLS.

SCHOOL	TOWN	FOUNDATION	NUMBER OF PROFESSORS	NUMBER OF STUDENTS
				IN 1921-1922
1. Polytechnic High School	Lemberg (with Faculty of Agriculture at Dublany)	1844	54	2,386 (1,500 in 1920)
2. Polytechnic High School	Warsaw	1825 reorganised 1915	94	4,314 (2,931 in 1920)
3. High School of Political Sciences	Warsaw	1915	34	500 (407 in 1920)
4. Institute of Dentistry	Warsaw	1920	3	700
5. Veterinary Academy	Lemberg	1881	10	260
6. Higher School of Mining	Cracow	1919	14	273
7. Higher School of Scientific Agriculture and Forestry	Warsaw	1918	30	850 (714 in 1920)
8. Higher School of Horticulture	Warsaw			300
9. Higher School of Commerce	Cracow			
10. Higher School of Commerce	Lemberg			
11. Higher School of Commerce	Warsaw	1915	66	800 (530 in 1919)
12. Academy of Fine Arts	Cracow	1818	16	151
13. Academy of Fine Arts	Warsaw	1912	6	
14. Higher Teachers' Institute	Warsaw	1918	5	135

## ART AND TRADITION

**L**IFE is the uninterrupted flow of nature. Rhythm is the uninterrupted flow of the soul. Nature has its laws, and art has tradition.

Life passes from one moment of the organism into the next and the presence of any of them stands for the whole amount of moments passed which left their traces; their impressions mark that what is called physiognomy. They are insoluble to such an extent that their unity is the individual, i. e. that which cannot be divided. The individual therefore represents a relatively finite form of fleeting life and the comprehensive conception of reincarnation is needed in order to link the individual to life and to suggest its endlessness. This connection however is not a law of nature, it has its origin in the human mind and its only purpose is to give complete satisfaction by its universal validity. In other words the conception of soul reincarnating, is a work of art, imaginative, self-contained and pregnant with endless possibilities. Its rhythm is kept alive by the tension of metaphysical purpose and individual will and its width is dictated by a tradition of a moral order which represents an attempt to understand nature as self-contained responsibility, that is to say, as a cosmic work of art.

Spiritual creation and that of nature must remain separate for ever. Then only art is possible as the actual union of the two forces, divergent in their activity although they issue from one centre. For the law of nature is one. Whatever is spent by her is also taken by her. She is source and ocean, and secret and vastness are but two gestures of her plenitude. But soul is merely subject and has no meaning without the world, its object. Its functions depend upon the surroundings and wherever these consciously are forgotten or eliminated, and the world

ceases to exist for that soul and all creation comes to an end. The process of art therefore is based on a dualism which is overcome by intuition; and tradition is sent out as sentinel to safeguard artistic creation from the attacks and allurements of nature. Tradition thus is the reverse of intuition; if isolated they degenerate into convention and fancy.

Tradition also is the age of art. It denotes limitation as well as growth; it is the exponent given to creation by time. The art of the East is thousands of years old. It maintained its standard through uncounted generations of artists. Because nothing there was left to chance, the extravagant is as much unknown as is bad quality. For tradition is intensity unfolded. The creative impulse once visualises through the medium of form, vibrates on and on and moulds the path that which is to come. It is the metaphysical quality of art projected into time.

In this way the most intimate features become transmitted and objectified, yet they do not lose their privacy. There is something fatal in it which however secures surety. In age-long experience features of soul grow sharp and distinctly shaped that confession rises to the level of creation and mistakes are unknown.

The Greeks made man the measure of everything. They humanized the gods and their Gods had to believe in their own manliness. The human standard became one trend of European art-tradition; in the middle-ages however and the present day it had to give way to transcendentalism and to activist mysticism. The break itself of the humanist tradition became a feature of the Western evolution of art, which moves untiringly from idealism to realism and from impressionism to an abstract design.

the vigour breaking and rebuilding is the essential expression, while the works thus produced range as preparation or achievement.

This dualistic evolution of art is meaningless with regard to the East, for Eastern art is beyond will. There it is created by the same unquestionless necessity by which flowers appear in due season and the harvest is held when time makes it ready. The conscious effort and the unachieved aim, the tragedy of so many Western artists, never exercised its dangerous strain on the Eastern mind. It is in this sense that the whole of Eastern art is religious. There religion, as the natural state of soul, grows into artistic consciousness. It knows of no struggle and tradition in the path which adds to a goal that is reached already every step.

As every individual lives in his own time, in his own inner rhythm which is his loneliness and unique property, the most intimate expression of every civilization similarly is subject to an unavoidable mode, to its tradition.

India's tradition, purer than that of any other civilisation, has the fatal strength of a law of nature and the fastness of circumference which belongs to imagination. It is true, we do not know the beginning of Indian art and seems as if it never made a start or came into existence in a fulness which never abandoned it. Yet there is nothing which did not undergo the most radical changes. Every feature of an early and medieval work of art is different and line and figures, composition, dimension and meaning do not seem to know of their interdependence. Still there is a unity strong, that either of them can be used nothing but Indian. In what does their Indianness consist being at the same time imperceptible and obtrusive? It is their endless melody, a peculiar rhythm, the life-movement of Indian creation, which never stops but lives in uninterrupted wealth from work to work. It enlivens all forms, it supports movements and carries emotion and with a surrender which is no

infallible that it dominates every work. It evades definition and description and asserts its monarchy by an all-pervading presence. It flows in edgeless curves. There are no angles in an Indian work of art and the roundness of gestures and attitudes vibrates all over so that even the background of the groups is animated by their movement. Here the much abused word of tradition comes into its own, for the flowing movement, the never-ceasing vigour is "handed over" from form to form, from work to work throughout generations, so that the texture of Indian art as a whole does not differ from the design of any of its specimens. The evolution of Indian art is organised by the rhythm which organises the work of art and nothing is left to chance and little to extraneous influence. Thus the entire artistic production forms one body, subtle and infinitely variegated, yet one and the same through all changes. Its movements are strictly regulated. In no other civilization, therefore, we find such minute prescriptions for proportions and movements. The relation of the limbs, every bent and every turning of the figures represented are of the deepest significance. This dogmatism far from being sterile, conveys regulations how to be artistically tactful, so that no overstrain, no inadequate expression and no weakness ever will become apparent. The regulations are a code of manners. They indicate how to convey the message of vision in the terms of human experience, and their policy is to save and concentrate energies so that nothing be squandered. The system of copying and repeating, however, implied mechanism. But this was overcome by the religiousness of all creation. Tradition thus is the life-elixir of the East. It secures steadiness and keeps the channels smooth where intuition is moulded into proper form. The quality of Eastern art, therefore, never sinks below a certain level, while utmost concentration and intensity find their realisation within those limits without effort and without struggle. For this reason the Indian artist could afford to be a simple workman. The discrimination between the

significant and the superfluous was not left to him, for tradition decided the physiognomy of his work by a steady process of elimination and growth. This process of spiritual inheritance maintains in a paradoxical way the continuity of the individual who happens to conceive and to carry out a work of art. It extends far below the artistic person and makes him a member of the ageless manifestation of national genius.

But it is not only as a means that tradition carries the life of art. In an

extreme case, which is the case of India, it changes from a means into an end in itself. There, to follow tradition is the leading rule of all religious art just as to follow nature is the task set before all secular art throughout the world. A canon of prescriptions determines the religious character of creation and these unchangeable prescriptions carry in themselves the full weight of a reality which does not rival but which has the freedom of nature.

STELLA KRAMRISCH.

## WORKING WOMEN IN BATTLE-ARRAY AGAINST IGNORANCE

BY ELKIN.

**W**HEN we approached the task of eradicating illiteracy, we found ourselves facing the fundamental question: What must be our goal in this matter? Shall we attempt to have all illiterates who are laborers learn to read and to write, or must we simultaneously awaken class-consciousness in them, an understanding for the tasks of the hour, and arouse in them the spirit that battles for the new life—in a word, is not our most important task that of carrying on political propaganda by the side of elementary education? We had the latter point in view.

As a matter of fact, are reading and writing of predominating importance, when all is considered? The intelligentsia in all parts of the globe has very much greater accomplishments than reading and writing. It can not only read and write, it is even learned, and yet its entire learning does not enable it to grasp the tremendous transformation that is at present in progress, and it is only little by little that the intelligentsia is taking its place by the side of the labor population. Writing and reading may be of service to the Communist revolutionary or to the anti-Communist.

For us it is important that reading and writing shall aid in placing the laboring population in the ranks of the pioneers for a new life. It is in this sense that we took up our task.

The first question that confronted us was: Whom shall we give to the illiterates as teachers and organizers? The teachers who came from the ranks of the intellectuals can only teach reading and writing. They will very rarely go beyond this. We are quite clear that it would be necessary for us to make use in this work of the champions of Communism, the workers themselves. The war and the repeated mobilizations deprived us of the male workers, however, and therefore only one source remained from which we could draw our recruits—namely the working women. We began to draw them into the work. The sections of working-women at first responded rather weakly to the steps undertaken by us. They approved the plan with great misgivings. They were ready to make use of working-women as representatives in the commission in which they, almost always together with the men representatives, were to embody the "voice of the people."



But that was not what was wanted. We had to have the working-women themselves go about this work, themselves become organizers, propagandists, and teachers.

The working-women still felt themselves quite unfit for the work, and declined. They believed it would exceed their powers to work in the field of education. Many of them, furthermore, did not have a very good preliminary instruction, and thought that the women pupils, who were probably accustomed to the authority of the learned intellectuals, would laugh at their own teachers. If a woman with comparatively slight education, and one of their own comrade workers, should suddenly appear in place of the accustomed teacher.

But these doubts were of short duration. The example given by the strong-willed and courageous working-women carried all doubters along with it. Almost all the districts began to draw their teacher recruits from the sections of working-women and to open up evening courses. After stopping work

lay, often still in their working clothes, the working-women hastened to their classes, attentively listened to the lectures, put questions, of course at first for the most part in a form unlike that of the intelligentsia. They were interested in the question of how a woman with a young baby could be persuaded to attend school, of how a female spectator should be approached, of whether regular attendance of the classes should be punished in any way, etc. It was easy to discern in these questions a profound understanding for their tasks, a grasp of the work on its practical side, a familiarity with the circles in question, and an ability to move them in the desired direction.

The work went on at great pressure. Working-women were active as organizers in 32 out of all the 52 direct organizations of Moscow. In each district at least ten working-women were active teachers. Have they been able to discharge their tasks? This question may be answered in a decided affirmative.

To be sure, the specialists who work together with them frequently expressed themselves unfavorably on this question, but if this view of the specialists is checked up, it is possible to arrive at a different conclusion. The working-women have not the practised skill of a teacher from the spheres of the intelligentsia. Occasionally they are actually not able to answer this question or that. But they have something more valuable at their disposal than such universal knowledge. Their answer appears clearer and more homelike to the illiterate. They transmit to their pupils, the thirst for knowledge, the respect for education, the habit of approaching everything from the proletarian (working-class) standpoint.

Has the fear that the illiterates would not accept them as their teachers been realized? No. The laboring masses are already accustomed to beholding workers at the head of the state, and this is becoming quite a customary experience with them. For more than half a year we have been working at Moscow, and certain conclusions can already be drawn. The expectations that we would be able, in a very short time to teach tens of thousands of illiterates how to read and write in our schools have not been realized, for we did not take all the difficulties into consideration. It is possible that our forces were weaker than we at first believed. But we have been successful in another sense; we have won new forces and new champions, and now no one can still say that the attempt to make use of working women for this task has proved a failure. The schools in which the working-women are active, are almost always full and completely adapted to the public life. We have new organizations recruited from the ranks of the workers, who have passed through our elementary schools, and who entered the schools as opponents of the Soviets and left them as devoted adherents of the Soviet idea and the cause of the workers.

When we were struggling in this manner to impart to the working men

## INDIA AND THE OCCIDENT: LIFE AND LETTERS

and women the necessary elementary knowledge, we were met with the objection that this was equivalent to a struggle against the intelligentsia. But this was not the case; it was a strug-

gle for a new intelligentsia, and now we have this new intelligentsia, at least its vanguard, in the ranks of the working-women.

## INDIA AND THE OCCIDENT: LIFE AND LETTERS

TO the average stay-at-home Indian, the West is known more or less for her material attainments than for her spiritual eminence. To them the following excerpts taken at random from letters received by me from time to time from a couple of domiciled Bengali friends in America will come as a revelation. They will also make a special appeal to men of letters and students of literature for the comparative study of eminent continental and American authors, both classical and modern, implied in them. Further, the observations on contemporary Bengali literature should be read with profit and pleasure by the literary groups of Bengal. Be it said in conclusion that the writers of these letters are scholars, thinkers and poets, themselves.

SURESH CHANDRA BANERJI.

1

*Gora* is *par excellence* the best Bengali novel of our time as was *Bishabriksha* of the decade preceding ours. But does *Gora* surpass *Madame Bovary*, *Chartres of Parma*, and *Black and Red*? Can it surpass *Buried Alive*? Of course Balzac is the greatest novelist, so I am not naming his works at all. None can touch him, as no poet can beat William of Stratford.

My admiration for Tagore is for his delicate lyrics. He is perhaps on a par with Hugo, Anacreon, Kalidasa, Shelley, Keats and Verlaine; Tasso, of course.

By the way, Stephen Graham says that Tagore is the most widely read foreigner in Russia.

Jan. 23, 1920

D.

2

I think the author of *Bindoor Chhele* writes as a man of genius. In fact as a master of the short story he can stand comparison with any other master. There is style and technique in

his writing, then on top of it such observations. In reading *Bindoor Chhele* I smelt the odors of Bengal. Chatterjee is our Tchekoff. What a dramatic style and how Hindu! His study of the hysteric type is like Dostoevsky's.

Feb. 16, 1920

3

Every Hindu you come across knows all about the politics of France, England, U. S. India and Russia!

Where do they learn it all? And then that waste of words—they talk, talk and talk and words were not sacred. Yet very rarely you find a countryman of ours who knows any language well. He does not know his own well. Yet that talking!

It is like the Irish who would rather speak and fight than eat their dinners. It's no use, I can't see any future for the Indian until they acquire the virtues of moderation, composure and work. Badly used words are our curse. Study and creative work alone will save India. Do you see much of it at home? Pedantry is killing us: not a Hindu can learn to seek for the unexplored truths, yet there is no Hindu that can't read you a lecture on the Great Truth!

May 17, 1920

1

It is raining out of doors. After a long winter this luscious vision of green bathed in the soft music of rain is quite an experience for all the three senses—sight, hearing and smell. No end of birds singing in and through it all.

We are in the lake regions of N. Y. State, 1500 feet above the sea. The place is called Cazenovia. The luxury of the mountain lakes is that they render the ragged landscape so intimate to our emotions. The contrast of stone and water: high undulating ridges and sheets of water—there is something in it.

America is a strange country; such spaces and heights. Why does this race fail to be great? Their environment is terrific, because it is sublime. Yet they indulge in moving pictures and brass bands! At heart they are a kind, well-meaning race. In truth, I

them the kindest race on earth. But there is no taste here. Every one is a standard unto himself. Of course, here nothing being set, as it is in India, there is plenty of room for individual expression. But such expression! Must humanity always grow through want? Why does prosperity blight? Why can't we grow through prosperity and joy, just as we do in adversity and sorrow?

By the way, a few words about the Bengali short stories. Why are they thin? Some of them are traceable to influences that are foreign. Why do they write such sentimental love-stories and so moral? There is not a single bad yet interesting character in their books. Is love always made a present of to virtue? Where is out unrest? They say that Bengal is bristling with unrest. Why don't these stories mirror such unrest?.....I was reading G. C. Ghose's *Balidan* the other day. Despite defects, it is full of adamant. Karunamoy Basu is like granite. Where are our story-tellers that can make monsters? I am tired of pigmies and butterflies. Give us the Homeric. Why should the Bengali tongue be confined only to the elegiac and the sonnets?

Here is one word of praise: Our Bengali stuff in your collection that is to hand represents a better group than the average American and English stories. Our Bengali stories are pure. They are not commercial and sordid. Good and noble! But that is not enough. They must beat the Russian writers. Until they do that they will not win my suffrage

June 16, 1920

D.

5

Paris is the capital of the world. No matter where you look, history greets you in terms of Beauty. France is an ignoble country, for Frenchmen are so rude and so insolent since they won the War. Yet you forgive her when you see Paris.

I like D. L. Roy's *Mandira* and *Atkhyia*. .... But D. L. Roy is too full of adjectives. And silly moralising—it irritates me. I think, had Roy stuck to the pure comic vein, he would have been as great as Aristophanes. But he did mix things up. Bathos and pathos make a bad mixture. Just the same he has written some good poetry. Tagore never uses a single superfluous syllable. Then he is so rich in his simplicity.

About Chattopadhyaya (Harindranath). The present book (*Colored Stars*) has two merits: namely, abundant fancy and a mastery over form. When the author grows up a bit and gets passion and imagination into his work, he will be able to do big things, for he has got his equipment. I see only a promise in the present work and not any greater than in *Queen Mab*, which Shelley wrote about the same age.

Oct. 7, 1920

D.

6

Do you notice, when an American is 'inward-minded', how he shames other men of the same stamp? The other day Garland, a boy of 21, a friend of ours, refused to take a penny of one million dollars on becoming a major. He said that he believed in Tolstoi and Plato: man must live a life of renunciation!

Dec. 10, 1920

D.

7

Chatterjee's book is wonderful (*Bannerman Meye*). Since Bankim and Tagore's novel *Gora*, there has been none better than Sarat Chatterjee.

I am sorry, you preferred Wilde to Strindberg. Wilde belongs to the second class. Strindberg goes with Ibsen, Tolstoi and Turgenieff. With the exception of the *Ballad of Reading Goal* and *Salome*, Oscar Wilde was not a creator but a derived artist. His fairy tales were derived from Ireland and H. Christian Anderson, as his comedies—most brilliant of their time—were derived from Shaw and Sheridan. As to his wit—that was his own. Unfortunately for Oscar's style, which is marvellous, Walter Pater was his contemporary. And you know if you had the greatest master of English prose as your contemporary your own, like Oscar's, no matter how gorgeous, will be dwarfed. Pater has dwarfed them all. He has given English prose its ultimate perfection.

Jan. 14, 1921.

D.

8

The young Hindu lady who has been to tea downstairs with me told a very strange tale. Her parents gave her to some English folks when she was ten. The parents died soon after of plague. The English folks brought her to Costa Rica and gave her upbringing. Then they died when she was sixteen years old. Now she is the widow of an American whom she met in Panama. She knows English and Spanish. Wishes to learn French. After acquiring French she will go to India to teach those languages in a girls' school. She is only twenty-five.

Her association has been mostly with mediocrity. They have hurt her mind. But I feel that she is on her way to arrive and realise her talent. Just imagine a thorough-blooded Hindu girl left on the shores of Central America who has now worked her way up to the Y. W. C. A. of Philadelphia, U. S. A. After all Life is romantic.

Feb. 13, 1921.

D.

9

American life, full of hustle and 'unnecessary' frittering away of energy, is detrimental to the real creative mood, which must come out of leisure and assimilation of ideals. But such whirlpool of life, such intoxication of the joy

of living, such outburst of sheer animality, the exuberance of sensuality, youth, naive passion and uncultured pretensions, you will find in no other country in the world. These make the Americans so attractive and repulsive by turns. It all depends, of course, upon what mood you happen to be in yourself. The art of cultured fascination, as that of the French maidens of the *Quartier Latin*, cannot be had here; nor the avalanche of Slav passionate ecstasy; neither the languid voluptuousness of *La Spagnola* nor the clamorous outburst of the Easterners; but a gay frolicsome heartless artful sophisticated insolence, yet an attractiveness to the sheer animal in man, are in plenty. American art, what little there is of it, alas is the offspring of this national condition and psychology. Literature is shallow, superficial, 'cheek-deep'; the heroes and heroines are tin puppets. All movement but no progression. Smart cynicism, even brilliant aphorism, but no deep clinching, haunting gripping situation.

In Poetry, mere words and sonorous prosaic word combinations, a cheap realism is running amuck every where. In Drama, Eugene O'Neil and a few others excepted, we have no one who can hold his own against the second-rate European dramatists.

Yet the productivity is immense. Literally millions of books are being published monthly—ali, almost all of the 'garbage family'. I am giving you rather a gloomy picture of the literary world, because I am now passing through a reaction after my stay in America for over twelve years at a stretch. Yet there is life, there is thinking and attempting to think, there is devotion, idealism, sacrifice and hard persistent labour at the arts and literature unknown anywhere else in this planet. The keen intelligence and appreciation shown to world literature and arts are incomparable elsewhere. They are a very much better people, and they are working so hard to become cultured and civilised in spite of the odds against them. For all their time and money go to make a living and they have little left to live. The English are a glorious nation in this respect. The upper classes of English society do live and know how to live. Poised, meditative, yet active; serious, yet witty—real gentleness of the old school. The English literati are exercising a great influence on American culture now-a-days.

Feb. 18, 1921

10

.....Akhlil C. Chakravarty; M. Sc., M. E., etc. He is quite an enterprising young man. He is a great inventor and has already invented scores of machinery now adopted and in use by the packing-house barons such as Armour, Swift, Morris, Wilson, etc., of this country. His

"Chakra Automatic Vacuum Soldering Machine" has almost revolutionised the packing industry.

Feb. 24, 1921

11

New Orleans is 1000 miles south of New York. It is at the mouth of the Mississippi, though truly it is 107 miles up from the sea. Its elevation is 10 feet above the sea level. The river is very yellow and always muddy.

People here are colorful. This was once a French city, before that it had the Spanish power ruling it. Now it is Anglo-Saxon. Negroes, Mexicans, Italians, Americans, all sorts of cosmopolitan riff-raff are here. It is dirty and delightful.

Once in a while Hindoos with Turkish caps are seen going through the streets. They are almost all Bengalis. Bengal is truly far-reaching.

The Americans here are very very indolent. Women are rather pretty and lazy like Angora cats. But they are smart! Men seem to be active as hell. The American man has no desire to make love all day. He enjoys work. Rather lucky to have found his way out of woman's government. Now that women are entering politics and business I am afraid the American man's escape to savagery is becoming difficult. Woman is law and order. Man is a Barbarian—that is why woman insists on invading his privileges to teach him civilisation. Love-making is a very sinister thing, it eliminates the savage in us by imitating the male into a higher savagery—that of German dreams and sinister pursuit of possession.

By the way that Russian theory of *miac* is this: the Russian had a grandeur in social life in the sense that his experiences of sex and solitude in human society were so vivid. They never did things by halves, no, not the Russians. They were either brutes or Gods. We in India were afraid of the odysseys of material experience. That is why we are so thin in our modern art. Our social life has no intensity and terrible craving, which I felt in the Russians.

I agree with you—literature is a freak; there is no 'cause-and-effect' explanation to it. It comes once in a great while, then vanishes as the stars in the morning. Then follows the garish light of ages when mediocrity and ugliness rule the roost. We are lapsing into such an age now.

At present I am enjoying New Orleans on the Gulf of Mexico. What a town! A purely polegnot hole. It has large marshes behind it and a tideless one-currented river in front of it. Miles and miles of low land of aqua and aquatic vegetation. They had the chance of building a Venice here. Instead they have made another Calcutta.

Mar. 18, 1921

D.

THE BEARING OF DR. MEGHNAD SAHA'S RESEARCHES ON THE  
PROBLEM OF COSMIC EVOLUTION

By SIR P. C. RAY.

**D**URING the middle ages in Europe, all geographical books began with a map of the world with Jerusalem as the centre of the earth and consequently of the universe. Childish as such ideas may appear to us now, they illustrate a tendency in all ages running through the human mind—namely, to understand the position of man with respect to the phenomenal world, and to build a picture on the available knowledge. In all these attempts—whether they were made on the banks of the Nile, the Tigris or the Ganges, whether in classic Greece or medieval Rome, man was obsessed with a ridiculous idea of his own importance, and his ideas of geography and cosmogony were tainted with his own religious beliefs.

There is nothing to choose between these theories. In the light of modern knowledge, they are all equally puerile. Jerusalem or Mecca, Mount Olympus or the Himalayas can no more claim to be called the centre of the world than any Negro village in the interior of Africa.

The universe of facts is the result of century long studies by savants of all ages, and is truly an international achievement. It was preceded by a knowledge of the shape of the earth, which we owe to the Alexandrian savant Eratosthenes. We know that this earth of ours is only a tiny piece of pebble in the vast space. Its parent is the sun, from which it separated millions of years ago, as a tiny spark is thrown off from a mass of coal on fire. Life, vegetation, man—are the results of a process of cooling extending over millions of years.

A new celestial 'Geography' has succeeded the older fanciful geography of Ptolemy, and how the old ideas have been clean swept off will be manifest from one example. In ancient and medieval times, the curiosity of man to know the

origin of the myriads of stars shining about us gave rise to many enjoyable stories, e.g., the stars are the souls of some departed heroes who, as reward for their meritorious deeds, have been allowed by the Gods to have a place in the firmament.

But alas! at the touch of the Goddess of Science, all these stories have vanished like so many day-dreams! We now know that each one of these stars is a sun, some smaller but most larger than our own sun, each having its own family of planets, probably peopled with rational beings like ourselves, each with its own set of warring nations and intriguing politicians! By applying the same method by means of which a surveyor determines the distance and height of a far-off tower or hill, the astronomer can measure the distance separating us from these stars.

This trigonometric survey of the heavens, first begun by Bessel of Konigsberg in 1839, is still being carried out according to well-laid-out plans in all the chief observatories of the world, on a basis of international co-operation. They tell us a really wonderful tale; they show, at the same time, how small is man, and yet how big is his intellect! Our nearest stellar neighbour, alpha-centauri, a first class star in the southern heavens, is twenty-five billions of miles distant from us. Even light, which in a second covers nearly 2 lakhs of miles, and takes only eight minutes to reach the earth from the sun, takes full four years and a half to reach us from our nearest stellar neighbour. Space is full of apparently an unlimited number of such island universes. I say "apparently", because Professor Einstein has recently cried halt to this idea of the limitless extent of the universe. He holds that the physical universe, though unbounded is not limitless—the total number of island-universes not exceeding  $10^{21}$ , which is of the order of thousand trillions.

In spite of the immensity of the universe,

the same laws with which Newton unlocked the mystery of planetary motion are found to govern these distant worlds. Thousands of such worlds were discovered by that great explorer of heavens,—Herschel, but in none has the law of gravitation been found non-existent. This is an instance of the fundamental identity of physical phenomena.

#### THE NEW HEAVENS AND THE NEW COSMOGONY.

The overthrow of older ideas left a blank in man's mind. But "Nature abhors a vacuum", and it was not long before Kant and Laplace hastened to fill up the gap by their famous Nebular Hypothesis. The influence of this hypothesis on the subsequent course of science can be illustrated by the following episode.

In ancient times, two clever Greeks, Daedalus and Icarus, father and son, are said to have built wings, and cruised through the sky. Daedalus kept himself near the earth, and successfully performed the journey. Icarus was more ambitious and wanted to reach the sun. But on close approach to the sun, the wax of his wings melted and he fell into the sea and was drowned.

In science, too, a theory which attempts too much, runs the risk of sharing Icarus's fate. But closer scrutiny will show that Icarus's failures are more valuable to mankind than Daedalus's triumphs. Daedalus confining himself to low heights, cannot see more than the man on the earth. Icarus, in this soaring cruise, comes across new sights and new phenomena, which is the net gain to man's store of knowledge, surviving his own fate. Many people would liken the nebular hypothesis to Icarus's journey, and would predict for it the same fate. But be that as it may, it was a sublime thought, attempting to bring within one compass the knowledge of the heavens brought to light with the aid of Galileo's telescope, Newton's law of gravitation, and Herschel's survey of the heavens. Within the last hundred years, it had many ups and downs, but has been, on the whole, able to retain its ground, and meet the demands arising out of new discoveries.

Laplace postulated a theory of stellar evolution, from a primordial nebular mass by a process of gradual contraction. The contraction is the result of mutual gravitational attraction of the nebular gas, attended by a

spin of the whole mass round an axis. Laplace never saw the nebulae himself, and it is doubtful if he ever pictured to himself the various stages of his worlds in the making. The nebulae were first photographed by Lord Rosse with his giant telescope in 1840, after that thousands of them have been discovered by enterprising European and American observers, many of them showing the spin, the structure, and nuclei of condensation predicted by Laplace.

The study of the various stages of evolution of the stellar worlds remained unsolved till 1860. The stars are presumably quite as big as the sun, or much bigger, but such an immense distance separates them from us that even in the biggest telescopes they appear as mere specks of light. With the apparatus at our disposal before 1860, it was like attempting to scan the coloured lines on a child's marble with the naked eye from a distance of one mile.

Yet this seemingly impracticable step was rendered possible by the discovery of spectrum analysis by Kirchhoff of Heidelberg in 1860. This method, it is well known, enables us to determine the constituents of any luminous mass by analysing the light emitted by it, under the influence of heat or electricity. Every element, when excited by the electrical spark, or placed in the flame or the electrical arc, emits light of a particular colour. If it is seen through a glass prism, the colour is decomposed into a number of lines, which is characteristic of that element. Every element has its own array of lines, which is as distinct from the set possessed by another element, as the finger-print of one individual differs from that of another.

The solar light, when it is seen through a prism, gives the well-known colours of the rainbow. But closer scrutiny shows that this spectrum is crossed by a number of fine, dark lines. They were detected by Fraunhofer of Munich in 1814, and, for a long time, were a source of great puzzle to the scientists. Afterwards it so turned out that they were the hieroglyphics in which the sun-god has written out his own story.

The decipherment was accomplished by Kirchhoff, the Champollion of the stellar worlds. He showed that many of the dark lines were identical in position with the lines of known elements; for example, the lines called by Fraunhofer D were the same as the yellow lines seen in a sodium flame. Kirchhoff

argued that this shows that sodium is present in the atmosphere of the sun.

"Once the ice was broken", began the race for the pole! Kirchhoff himself identified iron, calcium, strontium, nickel, cobalt and about ten other elements in the atmosphere of the sun. The astronomers who followed him, notably Rowland of America, discovered no less than 20,000 lines, but of these only 6,000 have been identified.

Let us now pause for a while to consider the bearing of this discovery on the problems of stellar evolution. The earth is only a fragment of the sun, so the sun ought to show the very same elements as the earth. The earth is composed of 92 elements, but in the sun we get only forty. To take one example, in the alkali group, we have lithium, sodium, potassium, rubidium, and caesium. In the sun, the lines of sodium are very prominent, lithium can be identified, and potassium is very feebly represented. But not the slightest trace of rubidium or caesium can be found.

This is not the whole discrepancy. The chief constituents of the crust of the earth are oxygen, silicon, iron, carbon, aluminium. In the sun, on the other hand, oxygen, silicon, carbon, aluminium are represented by rather faint lines. Iron, calcium, nickel are represented by numerous sets of strong lines. In other words, there seem to be no correspondence between the composition of the sun and that of the earth.

The sun is only one of the numberless stars, by no means distinguished above its fellows. There are other stars which, if they were brought to the same distance as the sun, would outshine it by at least a thousand times. Are these bodies made up of the same elements as the earth?

This means a Physical Survey of the heavens on a stupendous scale. It was first initiated by Secchi in Italy, but carried out by Lockyer in England, and Pickering in America. At the Harvard College Observatory, the spectra of more than two hundred-thousand stars have been photographed and examined within the last forty years.

The results are, at first sight, rather perplexing for the theories of stellar evolution. By the naked eye, we can distinguish between four classes of stars—bluish white, white, yellow and red. These four classes represent four different stages of evolution, the bluish-white stars being the hottest (tempera-

ture  $> 15000^{\circ}\text{C}.$ ), the red stars being the coldest (temperature  $> 3000^{\circ}\text{C}.$ ). It was believed by most astronomers that the nebulae, by a process of gradual condensation, evolved into white stars. These, cooling with age, passed through the yellow red and deep red stages, finally to darkness and extinction, e. g., the moon which represents the lowest rung of the process.

But the spectra were rather perplexing. The whitest stars showed only lines of the lightest of elements, hydrogen and helium. These gradually grow fainter, and are replaced by a number of metallic lines, which are produced in the laboratory under a great stimulus. At the lowest stages even these tend to disappear, and a set of lines, produced in the laboratory under a low stimulus, come out.

But how are the spectra to be explained? We can detect sodium in the earth, in the sun, in a still hotter star, but not in the white stars. If the stars are composed of the same material, the ninety-two elements which are present in the earth ought to be present in the sun, and in the stars. But as a matter of fact, we obtain only hydrogen and helium in the stars which are in the first stage of evolution. Where are the other elements?

The answer was attempted by Lockyer in his famous "Inorganic Evolution". It was like Icarus's flight, unsuccessful in its ultimate aim, but bringing to light a copious harvest of facts which served as the basis of further work. Lockyer pictured to himself that all elements are products of evolution of simpler constituents, of which hydrogen and helium, and one hypothetical nebium are probably the chief. The elements are a sort of compound of these primordial elements. Metallic elements disappear in the higher stars, because under the high temperature prevailing there, they are broken up into simpler constituents, or into a proto form. With the aging of the star in course of time, elements known in the earth are formed, or evolved. The whole scientific world was then under the spell of Darwin's idea of evolution, and people smelt evolution everywhere.

But Lockyer failed to support his views by experimental proof. Thousands were the experiments which he performed for breaking up the atom and getting hydrogen or helium out of them, but not one was successful. Moreover in those days, the physicists' vision

was limited by the idea of the inviolability of the atom and Lockyer's views were regarded in orthodox scientific quarters as a sort of scientific heresy. But this idea of the indivisibility of the atom has now followed many other scientific dogmas into oblivion. In 1897, Thompson split up the atom, and discovered a more minute constituent, the electron, the atom of negative electricity, whose weight is two thousand times less than that of the hydrogen atom. Recently Rutherford has shown that the atom is a very complicated compound of the two prime elements, the electron, and the proton. The proton is the atom of positive electricity, the amount of electricity on it being the same as the amount on the electron, but it has the same weight as the atom of hydrogen. Hydrogen is the simplest compound we have of these two primordial elements. The other elements are somewhat complicated compounds. In all elements, the positive electricity is concentrated at the centre, the electrons rotate round it in paths of various shapes. When these paths are disturbed, light is produced. Under some circumstances, the outer electron may get detached from the atom, as for example when the atom is hit by a rapidly moving electron, or a light-pulse, or by another atom. In the atom, now, the positive charge exceeds the negative charge by one unit, in technical language, it is said to be "ionised". The process is known as "ionisation". The properties of these ionised atoms are entirely distinct from those of the ordinary atom.

The electrical theory of matter has ushered a new era into the history of science, and already innumerable applications have been made of it. "In astrophysics, the application which bids fair to open up a field of very great importance was first made, a year or so ago, by Dr. Meghnad Saha, an East Indian, who is a professor in the University of Calcutta." (*Publications of the Astronomical Society of the Pacific, December, 1920, p. 280.*)

Thus says Dr. H. N. Russell professor of Astronomy, in the Princeton University, New Jersey, U. S. A., who was awarded the gold medal of the Royal Astronomical Society of Great Britain for his contributions to the theory of Stellar Evolution in 1919. Professor Russell, like many

other astronomers, pondered for many years why certain types of stars are seemingly composed of only a few select elements? Why in the sun only 45 elements are found instead of the 92 elements known on the earth?

The answer given by Saha is as follows:—In the sun and the stars physical conditions are entirely determined by the temperature. So we have to trace out what happens to matter, if it is heated from the lowest temperatures to, say, 20000° C. The effect of an increasing high temperature is increased division. Solids become liquid, liquids become vapours. The vapours which consist of the gaseous molecules, may be either simple or compound. In case they are compound, further heating will decompose them into elementary gases, which consist of discreet atoms. There the physicist of the old school came to a halt. But what happens next?

In the next stage, atoms begin to be decomposed into their elements, electrons and protons. The step is not sudden, but gradual. At first, the atom begins to swell, which becomes manifest from the fact that the atom, which was dark before, now becomes luminous. At various stages of swelling, different sets of spectral lines are emitted. A further heating results in the loss of one of the outermost electrons. The atom is then said to be ionised. Further heating results in the swelling of the ionised atom, which is indicated by the emission of another set of spectral lines which are found in very hot stars.

All these steps were not only mapped out, but calculated in approximate terms by Saha. The great German physical chemist, Nernst, who won the Nobel Prize in Chemistry in 1921, has given us a formula by means of which the decomposition of a compound into elements can be calculated from other physical data. Saha showed that with certain additions and alterations the same equation gives us a formula for calculating the ionisation and radiation of gases. In other words, he treats light emission and ionisation as chemical processes,—as part of a general electronic chemistry. In the words of Dr. Milne of the Cambridge Astrophysical Observatory,

"In spite of the complexity of detail offered by the ground covered, Dr. Saha's papers offer an example of the combination of physical chemistry, the quantum theory, and of theories of atomic structure which can not fail to appeal to one's sense of the beauty of the



systematic coordination of physical phenomena." (*Observatory, September, 1920.*)

In the calculation of the process of ionisation, the first thing to be known is the amount of force (or rather work) which is required to tear off the electrons from the atomic system. This is different in different atoms. As a rule, in the atoms which are chemically very active, electrons are very easily torn off. In the atoms which are inert, the electron is bound to the atom with great force. Two atoms of hydrogen, when they combine with each other, yield a molecule, and about 80000 calories of heat are evolved in the formation of  $6 \times 10^{23}$  of such molecules. Similarly there is a heat of ionisation evolved, when the electron combines with the ionised atom. This heat of ionisation need not be directly determined, but can be obtained from electrical experiments. It gives a direct measure of the force with which the electron is bound to the atom.

How these ideas have helped to clear the problems of the sun will be clear from the following quotations from Dr. Russell's paper.

"Take now an element easy to ionize, like sodium. On the Sun's surface at  $6000^{\circ}$ , calculation shows that the internal disturbance of the atoms will be so great that most of them will be ionized. In the spots, the proportion will be smaller. Now the neutral sodium atom alone can give the familiar spectral lines of sodium—the ionized atoms giving lines in the far ultraviolet. However, in the spots, where the proportion of sodium atoms which are not ionized must be greater, the sodium lines should be stronger, and so they are, all of them.

"Potassium, which is easier to ionize, shows the same effect to a more marked extent. The rare alkali metal rubidium is still easier to ionize. Its lines do not appear in the solar spectrum at all. This suggests that in the solar atmosphere it is completely ionized, leaving practically no atoms in a condition to absorb the lines that we are looking for, but that in the spots there may be enough of the neutral atoms to produce the lines. *This was predicted by Saha, and when I went to Mount Wilson I looked the lines up on some beautiful photographs which had been made by Mr. Brackett—and found the lines in the spot spectrum just as had been predicted, thereby adding a new element to the rest of those known to be present in the Sun.*"

"The same principles are of great value in interpreting the spectra of the stars. For example, the whitest stars, like those in Orion, show the lines of hydrogen, helium, oxygen and nitrogen, but very few metallic lines. Should we therefore conclude that these stars are composed mainly of the permanent gases, with very small quantities of the metals, and that their composition differs radically from that of the Sun, where the metallic lines are strong and those of the gases (except hydrogen) are faint or absent? By no means, for there is abundant evidence that the

white stars, even at the surface, are much hotter than the Sun. At such high temperatures the metallic vapours must be completely ionized, so that there are no neutral atoms left to absorb the arc lines, while most of their atoms have lost electrons, and are no longer in a position to give even the enhanced lines. The permanent gases, however, are much harder to ionize, and their atoms are therefore in the singly ionized or neutral states, so that they may be recognized in the spectrum—oxygen and nitrogen by their enhanced lines, and helium, which has the highest known ionization potential, by the lines of the neutral atom. At the relatively low temperature of the Sun, the excitation is not great enough to stimulate absorption of the subordinate series of helium (which alone lie in the visible spectrum) and is barely sufficient to do so for oxygen; while hydrogen, which is easier to ionize, gives strong lines. Such considerations not only explain these apparent difficulties, they open up a new way of determining the surface-temperatures of the stars, which Saha has already used effectively." (*Publications of the Astronomical Society of the Pacific, Dec, 1920.*)

A word or two of explanation is probably necessary. Most of the readers have probably heard of sun-spots. They are round black spots which burst forth from time to time in the body of the sun. It is supposed that they are a sort of vortical disturbance in the sun, attended with a great lowering of temperature, say to  $4000^{\circ}$  from  $6000^{\circ}\text{C}$ . Dr. Saha calculates from his equations that Radium and Caesium, on account of their small heat of ionisation, are completely broken up in the sun, but in the spot, the broken parts will reunite, and radium will occur in the neutral form. This prediction was verified by Dr. Russell.

In the solar body, sometimes brilliant white patches, known as faculae, are seen. They are the opposite of spots, namely, regions having a higher temperature than the average body of the sun. Saha predicted that these regions would show increased ionisation. This prediction has been verified by Prof. Ch. St. John of the California University.

"Saha has adopted the Nernst equation for the equilibrium of gaseous reaction to the determination of the percentage of ionized to unionized atoms as a function of temperature and pressure. The Saha equation suggests, as he points out, that in the spectrum of faculae, owing to their higher temperature, the percentage of ionization should be increased, and the enhanced lines strengthened. Preliminary spectrograms of faculae show changes in the intensity of enhanced lines in agreement with this deduction, in direction of higher temperature." (*Physical Review April, 1922.*)

The Saha-theory signifies much more than mere detection of missing elements, or accounting for their absence from

the stellar worlds. Applied to the stars, it has explained their spectra very satisfactorily and has again set the evolution theory on its legs. It has done much more than that. Light is the only messenger between ourselves and the worlds in Space. The spectral lines tell much more than merely indicating the presence of a certain element in the stars. They give us information about the details of physical conditions in these worlds.

The stars may not exert any influence on us, but even the most confirmed utilitarian cannot deny that the sun is the supreme arbiter of the physical conditions in the earth. Even in that early dawn of intellectual life, the Vedic sages worshipped the sun God in the famous hymn, the Gayatri—"Hail to thee, thou great progenitor of the world, thou who quickenest our intellect."

In modern times, the Vedic sage's enthusiasm for the cult of Sun-worship has been succeeded by the knowledge that the Sun is not only the source of all energy and life, but it controls weather and climate.—a knowledge of which in advance would be a great boon to mankind. It is now clearly established that when the sun is very active, the magnetic instruments on the earth are disturbed, and there is a great display of 'auroral' light round the poles. Possibly the temperature of the earth as a whole undergoes a change. So a theory which throws light on the physical conditions in the sun cannot but be of great service to mankind.

In America, through the liberality of the late Mr. Carnegie, an observatory has been built on Mount Wilson, at a height of 7000 ft. above the sealevel, for studying the sun, and the stars. This observatory contains the biggest telescope in the earth (100 inch diameter) and probably the best collection of instruments in the world. A devoted band of workers, probably the brainiest in America, is here continuously at work. The Director, Prof. George Emery Hale, famous in the scientific world for his discovery of magnetic field in sunspots, and who was entrusted during the war with the organisation of America's scientific resources, thus says of the young Indian's contribution to solar physics. "The references here allude to Saha's theory of Selective Radiation Pressure, which is distinct from but allied to the ionisation theory.

"Turning to other aspects of the year's work, we

may first mention those which bear directly upon this closer alliance with physics and chemistry. For many years certain peculiarities of solar and stellar spectra have baffled all attempts at solution. As an example, it has been impossible to understand why the H and K lines, which certainly belong to calcium, an element of comparatively high atomic weight, nevertheless extend to the highest levels in the solar atmosphere, far outreaching the lines of sodium, magnesium, and other lighter elements. Dr. Megh Nad Saha, Assistant Professor of Physics in the University of Calcutta, has recently offered an explanation which appears to be generally applicable to the interpretation of many of the most puzzling phenomena of solar and stellar spectra. According to this view, the H and K lines are the enhanced lines of a calcium atom which has lost one electron, whereas the fundamental line of neutral calcium is 4227. In the higher levels of the chromosphere, where the ionization, which is only partial at the higher pressures of lower levels, becomes complete, neutral calcium and the 4227 line disappear, while H and K, representing the ionized atoms, remain as conspicuous lines. The D-lines of sodium and the b-lines of magnesium are due to the neutral atoms, which are not present at high levels, and the lines corresponding to the ionized atoms of these and other elements fail to appear because they lie in the extreme ultra-violet, with the possible exception of 4481 of magnesium. Space is lacking to give further details, but Saha has already pointed out many possible applications of his theory, and others will rapidly develop. In evidence of this, attention is called to the important results obtained by Dr. Henry Norris Russell, Research Associate of the Observatory, who has extended the theory to the case where atoms of several kinds are present, and tested it in a preliminary study of the spectra of sun-spots. Among the interesting results of this work is the discovery in the Sun of rubidium, shown by the presence in the spot spectrum of two lines in the infra-red, as predicted by Saha. *A general attack on solar, stellar, and laboratory spectra from this point of view, in which Dr. Russell and other members of the staff will take part, is being organised.* In this connection it is expected that the determination of certain ionizing potentials and the study of many other fundamental aspects of the question will be undertaken at the California Institute." (*Astronomical Society of the Pacific, December, 1921, page 298.*)

In the Paris museum of arts, there is a medal illustrating in a beautiful manner the invigorating influence of one science upon another. A lady is sinking with torpor and exhaustion. Another lady comes up and plants a torch in her hand. In the next scene, the lady who was sinking stands up with a new life and fresh vigour.

In the history of the sciences, we often come across dull epochs—when it seems that there is nothing else to be done except in extending the works initiated by former masters; in the pursuit of a particular branch of science, the investigator no longer experiences that pleasing sensation of thrill and

expectancy, and scientific work is reduced to the level of mere dry, routine business. Oftentimes, during such dull periods, unexpected light is thrown from a cognate science which instills a new life into it.

Probably no other science furnishes better examples of this type than Astronomy. It has often been called the mother of sciences, for it dates from the very dawn of intellectual life in this earth of ours. Mathematical and physical sciences largely grew up as handmaids to astronomy. But repeatedly, in course of its progress, it has sunk to the level of a dry routine subject, but it has as often been rescued from that position by borrowing new light from sciences that sprang from it, from mathematics and physics.

In the foregoing pages, we have related how atomic physics came to the aid of astronomy, and it is a matter of gratification to us that this happy union was effected through the intermediary of an Indian.

"It is a significant pioneering work in a virgin soil.....and is to be greeted as a very important step in the working together of physics and astrophysics".....so says Prof. W. Westphal of the Berlin University in presenting a report of the work to the Berlin physical colloquium [*Naturwissenschaft*, October 1922].

One distinguishing feature of Dr. Saha's

work is that it not only closes a period of controversy and doubt, but opens up a new field of research work. Already important applications of the ionisation theory have been made by Prof. H. N. Russell and Prof. A. S. King, and more is coming forth in course of time. Prof. Russell says at the conclusion of one of his papers:—

"The principles of the ionization theory will evidently be of great importance throughout the whole field of astrophysics. And, Dr. Saha has made an application of the highest interest to the question of the physical meaning of stellar spectra. The possibilities of the new method appear to be very great to utilize it fully, years of work will be required to study the behaviour of the elements mentioned above and of others, in the stars, in laboratory spectra and by the direct measurement of ionization, but the prospect of increase of our knowledge, both of atoms and of stars, as a result of such researches, makes it urgently desirable that they should be carried out." (*The Astrophysical Journal*, March, 1922.)

Scientific work may be likened, in some respects, to prospecting for gold. Sometimes the gold hunters may be labouring through miles of quartz-veins, without coming across a single pennyweight of gold. At other times, after two or three strokes, he may come across solid nuggets of gold. My young friend, in his search for truth and knowledge, has come across what promises to be a bed of solid nuggets.

## SANCHI

\*By B. GHOSAL, M. A., CURATOR OF THE SANCHI MUSEUM, BHOPAL

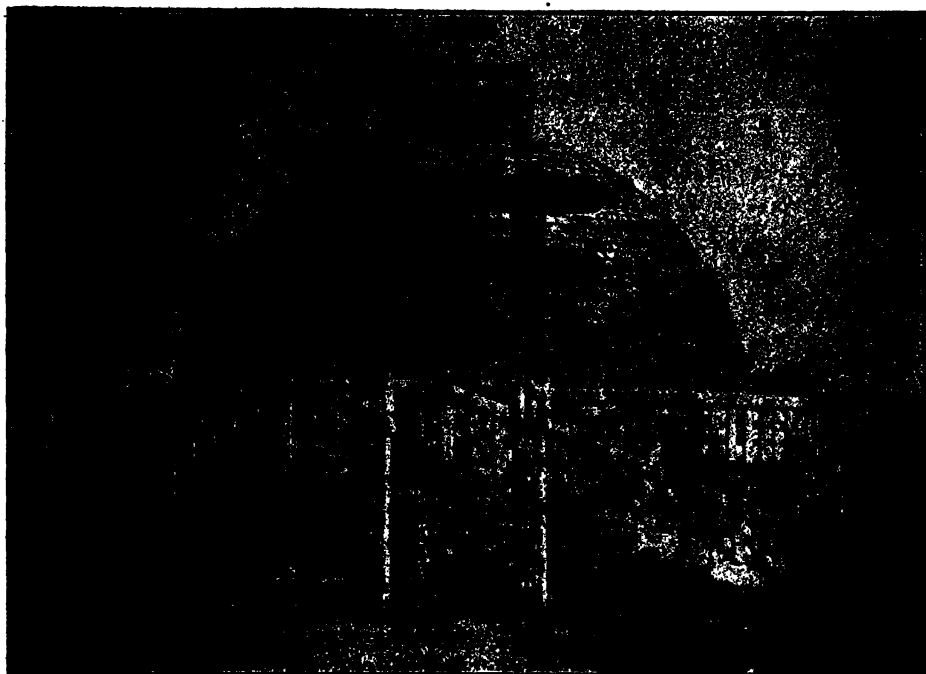
### INTRODUCTION

THE ancient name of Sanchi, was Kakanada, and it seems probable that Sanchi is referred to under the name of Chetiyagiri in the Buddhist Chronicle of Ceylon.

It was at Sanchi that Asoka set up one of his edict pillars as well as other monuments. So the history of Sanchi starts from during the reign of Asoka, in the third century B.C. It covers a period of some fourteen centuries, synchronizing almost with the rise and fall of Buddhism in India.

Unlike other famous Buddhist monuments, Sanchi had no connexion which the life or acts of Buddha. The place is scarcely mentioned in Buddhist literature; and the Chinese pilgrims Fa Hien and Hien Tsiang, who visited India between the fourth and seventh centuries A.D., have not a word to say about Sanchi. It is a strange coincidence, therefore, that these remains should be at once the most magnificent and the most perfect example of Buddhist architecture in India.

To make the history of Sanchi and its bearing upon the architecture and



Sanchi Stupa (Tope No. 3).

sculpture of these monuments more easily intelligible, I shall divide it into three periods :-

(1) The first extending from the reign of Asoka to about A.D. 400 when Chandragupta II overthrew the Kushan power.

(2) The second from the advent of the Imperial Guptas to the death of the Emperor Harsha (A.D. 647).

(3) The third embracing the later medieval period down to the close of the twelfth century.

### I. EARLY PERIOD

(a) *Sanchi during Asokan period :-*

The edict inscribed on a pillar of the gateway of the great stupa, relates to the penalties for schism in the Buddhist church. The edict is in early Brahmi characters and may be translated as follows :-

.....path is prescribed both for the monks and nuns. As long as

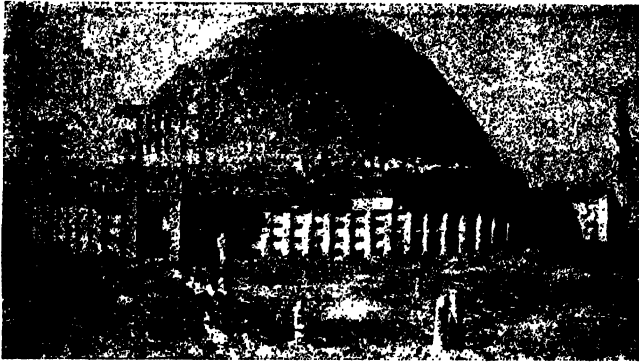
( my ) sons and great grandsons ( shall endure ) the monk or nun who shall cause divisions in the Sangha shall be compelled to put on white robes and to reside apart. For what is my desire ? That the Sangha may be united and may long endure.

It is clear from the memorials which the Emperor erected at Sanchi that the Sangha there was an object of special interest and care to him.

( b ) *Sanchi in Sunga period :-* After the death of Asoka in 232 B.C., the empire of the Mauryas rapidly fell to pieces. About the year 185 B.C., the throne of Magadh passed to the Sungas.

Several of the most important monuments at Sanchi probably belong to this period, viz., the second and third stupas, with their balustrades, but not the gateway of the latter; the ground balustrade and stonecasing of the great stupa and pillar, No. 25.

*Foreign artistic influence nationalised :-*



San hi Stupa.

Here and there the reliefs of the Sunga period, at Sanchi, reveal the influence which foreign, and especially Hellenistic, ideas were exerting in India through the medium of the contemporary Greek colonies in the Punjab, but the art of these reliefs is essentially indigenous in character, and, though stimulated and inspired by extraneous teaching, is in no sense mimetic. Its national and independent character is attested not merely by its methodical evolution on Indian soil, but by the wonderful sense of decorative beauty which pervaded it and which, from first to last, has been the heritage of Indian art.

(c) *Sanchi in Andhra period*.—Eighty years before the beginning of the Christian era, Eastern Malwa came under the power of the Andhras of the South.

It was under the Andhra dynasty that the early school of Indian art achieved its zenith, and the most splendid of the Sanchi structures were erected, viz., the four gateways of the great stupa, and the single gateway of the third stupa, all five of which must have been set up within a few decades of one another.

*Andhra art is not mimetic.*—The decorations of these gateways are manifestly the work of experienced artists. That Hellenistic and Western Asiatic art affected the early Indian school during the Andhra period, even more intimately than it had done during the Sunga period,

is clear from the many extraneous motifs in the reliefs, e. g., from the familiar bell capital of Persia, from the floral designs of Assyria, and from the winged monsters of Western Asia. But though Western art evidently played a prominent part in the evolution of the early Indian school, we must be careful not to exaggerate its importance. The artists of early India were quick to profit by the lessons which

others had to teach them, but there is no more reason in calling their creations Persian or Greek than there would be in designating the modern fabric of St. Paul's Italian. The art which they practised was essentially a national art, having its root in the heart and in the faith of the people, and gave eloquent expression to their spiritual beliefs and to their deep and intuitive sympathy with nature.

(d) *Sanchi in the Kushan period*.—From A. D. 150 to the close of the fourth century A. D., Sanchi remained in possession of the Western Satraps, who were feudatories of the Kushan empire of the north.

*Gandhara Art.*—The most important achievement of the Kushans was the importation of a large number of Greek sculptors from Asia Minor to decorate the Buddhist monasteries which were erected over the Peshawar district, after the conversion of Kanishka. Remains of this school have been found extensively in the Gandhara district, from which they have received their name. The school of Gandhara is admitted on all hands to be closely related to the art of the Roman empire in the Augustan and Antonine periods, and was at its best between A. D. 100 and 300.

*Sanchi under the Satraps.*—Buddhism was as flourishing at Sanchi under the Satraps as it was elsewhere under their overlords, the Kushans. The only remains at Sanchi in which any connexion with the suzerain power of the North can

be traced are a few sculptures in the Kushan style from Mathura showing that the art was at a low ebb, which bear an inscription of the year twenty-eight, of the reign of King Shahi Vasiska.

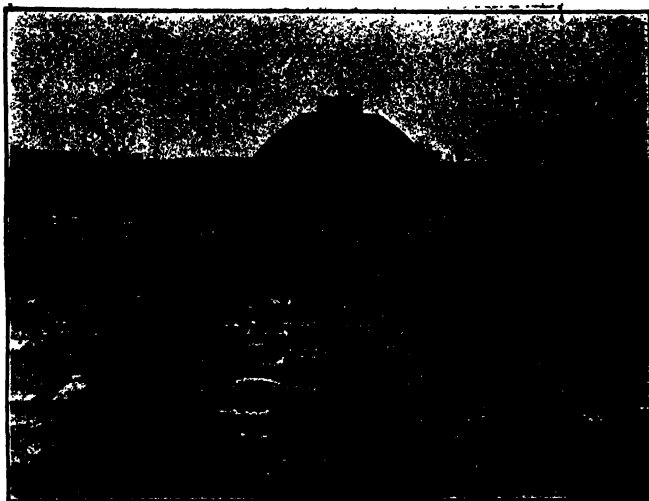
## II. EARLY MEDIÆVAL PERIOD, THE AGE OF THE IMPERIAL GUPTAS

The age of the Kushans was followed by the period of Hindu imperialism in the north under the Guptas and Harshavardhana.

The actual annexation of Eastern and Western Malwa was achieved by Chandra Gupta II, during whose time Brahmanism supplanted Buddhism as the dominant State religion in India. An echo of this emperor's conquest occurs in an inscription carved on the balustrade of the great stupa at Sanchi, near the east gate dated the year 93 of the Gupta era, i. e., A. D. 412-13.

*The Gupta Age.*—The rule of the Imperial Guptas lasted for little more than 150 years, but it marks in many respects the most brilliant and striking of epochs in Indian history. It was during the age of the Gupta emperors that India once more, as in the days of Asoka, asserted herself as a dominant factor in Asiatic politics, and even showed symptoms of a colonizing activity that culminated in the civilization of Java, Sumatra and Cambodia, and laid the foundation of a greater India.

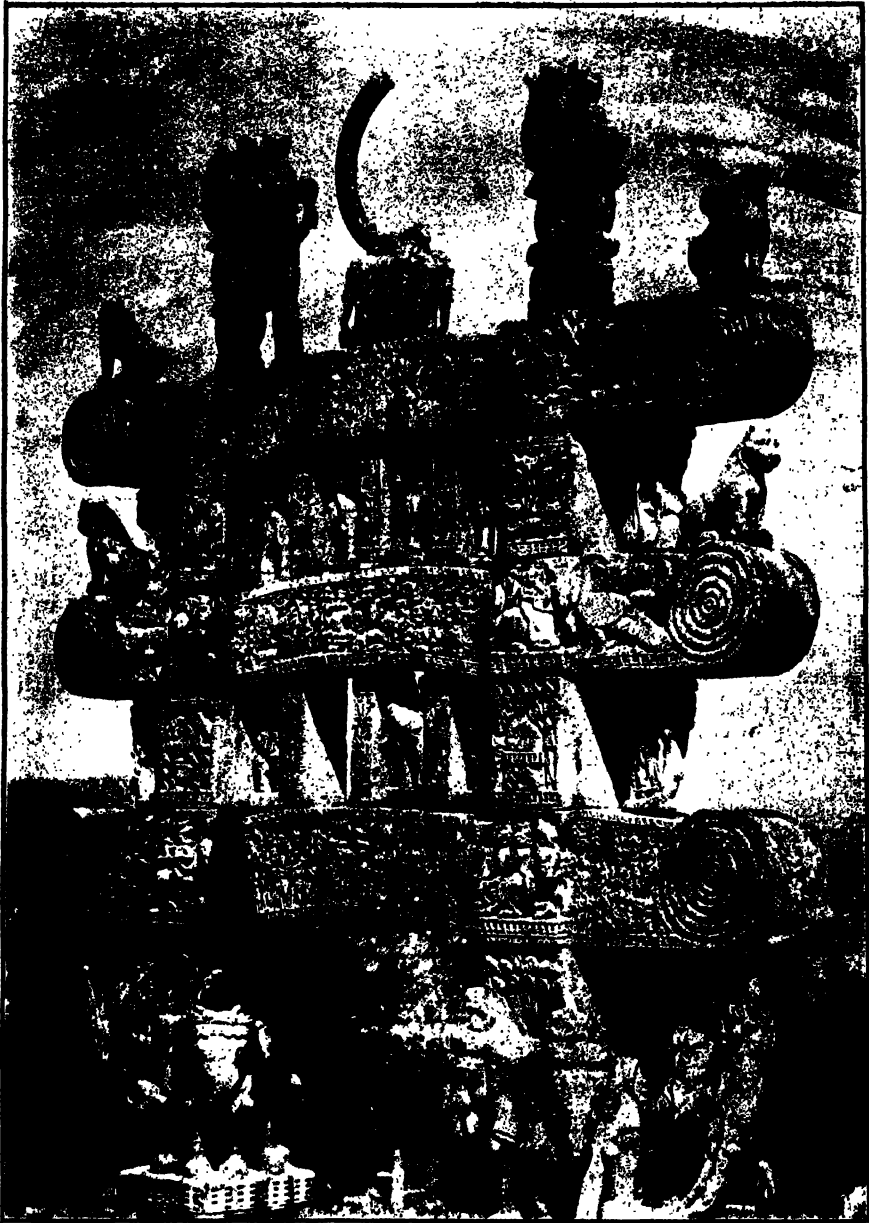
*Indian Renaissance.*—And it was also the age when the thought and genius of the Indian people awakened, when there was an outburst of mental activity such as has never since been equalled. The Gupta age, the age of Kalidasa, in fact marked a true Renaissance of the Indian intellect; and the new intellectualism was reflected in architecture and the formative arts as in other spheres of knowledge and thought. Indeed, it is precisely in their intellectual qualities—in their logical thought and their



Sanchi Stupa—A view from the monasteries.

logical beauty—that the architecture and sculpture of the Gupta age stand pre-eminent in the history of Indian art, and that they remind us, in many respects, of the creations of Greece 800 years earlier, or of Italy a thousand years later.

*Examples of the Art of the Gupta Age at Sanchi.*—A conspicuous example of the art of the Gupta age at Sanchi is to be found in the little shrine of the early fifth century A. D., which stands a few paces to the east of Temple Eighteen. Despite the absence of that refinement and clear definition, which are the keynotes of Athenian architecture, the classical character of this temple's construction, of its well-balanced proportions and its appropriate ornamentation, are undeniable. We cannot but perceive that it is permeated with essentially the same elements of logical thought and logical beauty as the earlier architecture in the West. How it is that, here, in the heart of Central India, we are confronted with this strange similarity? Did India borrow from the ideas of Greece? The answer to this question is in the affirmative. But it is not to any superficial imitation that the classical traits in this building are due. The cause lies deeper. This little shrine, in fact, reflects in its every stone the mentality and temperament



North Gate of the Great Stupa at Sanchi ( back view of the top architraves ).

of the people and of the epoch which produce it—an epoch which was essentially creative and not imitative, and if we compare it with the gateways of the great

stupa we shall find in their different characters an eloquent index to the change which came over Indian culture during the first four centuries of the Christian era.

*Images of Buddha.*—The early school of Indian art regarded the formative arts merely as a valuable medium in which to narrate the legends and history of its faith. In the more advanced and cultured age of the Guptas a closer contact was established between thought and art, and sculptor and painter alike essayed to give expression to spiritual ideas in terms of form and colour.\* The types of the Buddha in which it succeeded in combining beauty of definition with a spirit of calm and peaceful contemplation are among the greatest contributions which India has made to the world's art.

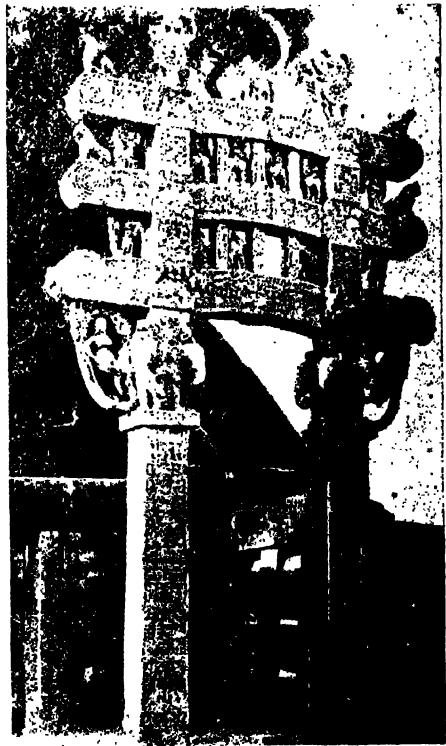
#### THE HUNS

For two generations northern India lay under the yoke of the Huns and it was not until A. D. 528 that their power was shattered by the victories of Yasodharman. Then followed a period of quiescence which lasted until the beginning of the seventh century.

#### THE AGE OF HARSHA

The renaissance of India did not come to an end with the break-up of the Gupta power. The ideals of the Gupta culture were still vital forces in the life of the people and were brought once more to their full fruition when Harsha of Thaneshwar (A. D. 606—647) inaugurated his brilliant reign and established an empire almost co-terminous with that of the Guptas. The age is also marked by the apogee of painting in India, with the Buddhist frescoes of Ajanta, frescoes of which it has been said that they are the foundation of all Asiatic painting.

\* 'The whole spirit of Indian thought is symbolized in the conception of the Buddha, sitting on his lotus throne, calm and impressive, his thoughts freed from all worldly passions and desires, and with both mind and body raised above all intellectual and physical strife; yet filled with more than human power derived from perfect communion with the source of all truth, all knowledge, all strength. It is the antithesis of the Western ideal of physical energy; it is the symbol of the power of the spirit which comes not by wrestling nor by intellectual striving but by the gift of God, by prayer, by meditation, by yoga, union with the universal soul,' says an eminent Indian art-critic.



A Gate at Sanchi.

*The art of the sixth and seventh centuries at Sanchi.*—The art of the sixth and seventh centuries is represented at Sanchi mainly by certain detached images now kept in the museum on the site. They are infused with the same element of calm contemplation, of almost divine peace, as the images of the fourth and fifth centuries A. D., but they have lost the beauty of definition which the earlier artists strove to preserve, and though still graceful and elegant, they tend to become stereotyped and artificial. Unfortunately, there is now left no trace of the frescoes which once must have adorned the monasteries and shrines at Sanchi; and only those who know the grandeur of the Ajanta decorations can appreciate how vastly different these buildings must have looked in ancient days.





Portion of the Architrave on a Gate.

### III. LATER MEDIEVAL PERIOD

The whole period between the death of Harsha and the Mohamedan conquest of Hindustan may be termed the Rajput period, and is characterized by the formation of petty principalities in the north and by the Hindu reaction against Buddhism; which was carried further early in the eighth century by Kumarila Bhatta, and a century later, by Sankaracharya.

At the close of the ninth century Eastern Malwa, which was then ruled by the Paramara dynasty, was included in the empire of Kanauj. By A. D. 974, it appears to have asserted its independence and to have become the predominant State in Central India.

*Eastern Malwa during the time of Raja Bhoja (1018—1060).*—Ten years after the sixth expedition of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni, aimed against Anangapal of the Punjab, and the defeat of the

Hindus, the celebrated Raja Bhoja began to reign in Malwa (1018—1060). He was himself an author, and as a patron of literature and art was always surrounded by a crowd of scholars.

*Examples of the Architecture and Sculpture of the later Medieval Period at Sanchi.*—The power of the Paramars declined with the death of Raja Bhoja. Of the architecture and sculpture of this later medieval period there are various examples at Sanchi including the whole group of structures on the eastern terrace numbered from forty-three to fifty, besides a vast array of detached carvings, small stupas, statues, and the like. One and all bear witness to the rapidly declining purity both of the Buddhist religion and of Buddhist art, but it is in temple no. 45, situated in the highest part of the eastern plateau that the visitor will best appreciate the wide gulf which

separates this architecture from that of the Gupta age. There are no Buddhist edifices of importance later than the twelfth century A. D., at Sanchi; and it is probable that the Buddhist religion, which had already been largely merged into Hinduism, died out in Central India about that time.

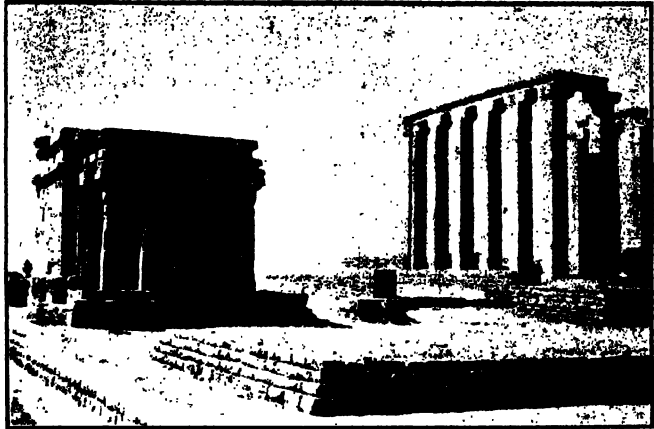
#### TYPES OF BUILDINGS AT SANCHI.

I now proceed to describe the types of buildings to be found at Sanchi. The buildings on the plateau, on the hill-top, divide themselves naturally into four classes :—

(a) *The Stupas*.—In the first and most important class are the *Stupas*, which were erected either to enshrine the relics of the Buddha, or of one of his saints.

The chief fascination of Sanchi resides in these grand old stupas, with their rich and elaborate carvings. Of the stupas on the hill-top there are many scores, ranging in date from the third century B. C., down to the twelfth century A. D.

*Stupa 1*.—The crowning beauty of the great stupa is the richly carved gateways which front the entrances between the four quadrants of the rail, and constitute a most striking contrast with the massive simplicity of the structure behind. These gateways form the last of the additions to this remarkable stupa. The first of the four gateways to be erected was the one at the south entrance, in front of the steps by which the terrace was ascended. Then followed in chronological order the northern, the eastern, and the western, their succession in each case being demonstrated by the style of their carvings. Of these the best preserved is the northern, which still retains most of the ornamental figures. The decorative or symbolical reliefs on these gates relate to the four great events in the life of Buddha, his en-



Old Temples ( nos. 17 and 18 ) probably of the early 5th century A.D., ( Gupta Age ), situated to the south of the Great Stupa at Sanchi.

lightenment, his first sermon, and his death, as also to some of the events of his life, in his previous incarnations, as told in the Jataka stories, like the Chhaddanta Jataka, the Vasantara Jataka, the Syama Jataka, the Alambusa Jataka and the Mahakapi Jataka.

Of events after the death of Buddha depicted on the gates two are worth mentioning. The middle architrave, of the south gateway, front part, represents the Emperor Asoka proceeding to pay a visit to the stupa at Ramagrama; as also the second panel, front face, of the left pillar of this gate, shows the same emperor in his chariot with his retinue around.

*Stupa 3*.—About fifty yards north-east of the great stupa is stupa No. 3. This stupa has only one instead of four gateways, and this *torana* appears to have been the latest of all the five *toranas* or gateways on the site. It was added probably in the early half of the first century A. D.

The richness and exuberance of the floral designs on these gateways are among the greatest beauties of these monuments; motifs taken from the plant world have at all times been handled with exquisite taste by the Indian artist, but never more exquisitely than by the sculptors of Sanchi.

*Stupa 2*.—350 yards down the western



Capital of the Asoka Pillar at Sanchi.

slope of the hill is situated Stupa No. 2. There are no gateways to this stupa but the ground balustrade is in almost perfect

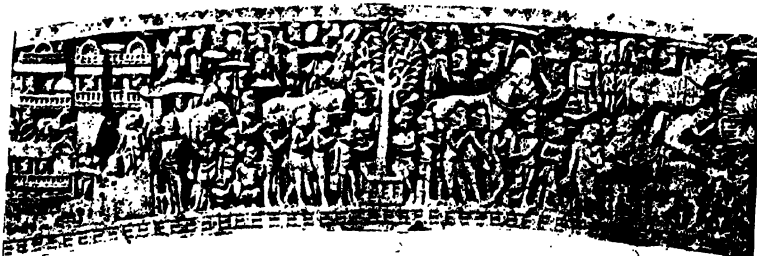
preservation, and exhibits a variety of most interesting reliefs of the primitive Indian school which present a striking contrast with the more advanced art of the gateway sculptures. What strikes one especially about these reliefs is the extraordinary crude treatment of living figures coupled with the no less extraordinary power of decorative design.

(b) *In the second class are the memorial pillars* which were set up by the Emperor Asoka, or other devotees in later ages.

The number of these pillars must once have been very considerable; but very few of them now remain, and only one need be described here, being the earliest and most famous of all.

This pillar of the Emperor Asoka is placed near the south gateway and is of particular interest for the perfection of its workmanship, and the edict inscribed on its shafts. Many years ago this pillar was broken into several pieces by a local zemindar, who wanted to utilize its shaft in a sugar-cane press!

When intact this pillar was forty-two feet in height and consisted of a round and slightly tapering monolithic shaft with bell-shaped capital surmounted by an abacus, and a crowning ornament of four lions, set back to back, the whole finely finished and polished to a remarkable lustre from top to bottom. This pillar of Asoka is the handiwork of a Perso-Greek sculptor who had generations of artistic effort behind him. Persian or Greek influence is apparent in every



The Departure of Buddha from Kapilavastu (A bas-relief decoration on the middle architrave of the east gateway front).



The visit of Asoka and his Queens to the Bodhitree (A bas-relief decoration on the lowest architrave of the east gateway front).

feature of monument as well as in the edict incised upon it.

The sandstone of which the pillar is carved came from the quarries of Chunar, near Benares. The lions from the summit, though now sadly disfigured, still afford a noble example of the sculptor's art.

These and other small fragments of this pillar are now removed to the museum building.

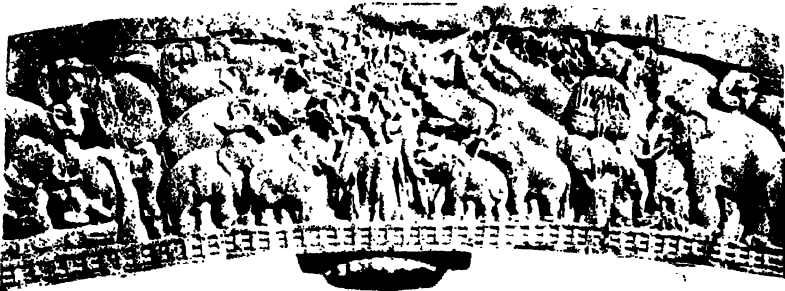
(c) *Thirdly, there are the chapels or Chaitya halls* in which the faithful met together for their religious observances, and the shines in which, in medieval times images of the Buddha were set up. The most striking of these subsidiary building is the Chaitya hall or temple which stands directly opposite the south entrance of the grand stupa. (Temple 18.)

*Temple 18.*—The visitor will find a wonderful charm in the classic columns of the nave of this temple, which transport the memory back to the pillared aisles of Paestum or of Athens, and he

will mark with surprise the striking resemblance between its rounded apse and apses of the early Christian churches.

The pillars and walls of this chapel, that are now exposed to view, date back no further than the seventh century A. D., and the sculptured joint of the porch is more modern still by three or four centuries; but beneath the floor of this temple are the remains of three older chapels which successively occupied the same site, but being constructed of wood perished one after another before the existing edifice was built.

(d) *Fourthly, there are the monasteries* in which the monks and nuns lived side by side. Of these buildings there are five examples, and they range in date from the fourth to the eleventh centuries of our era. The earlier ones, which once occupied the eastern side of the plateau, were built of wood and have perished or been buried beneath the foundations of later structures. Those that have survived, or are now exposed to view,



The Chhadanta Jataka (A bas-relief decoration on the lowest architrave of the west gateway front).

are all built more or less on the same plan, the plan of the ordinary domestic house of ancient India—with a square open court in the centre and ranges of two storied chambers on the four sides. The most interesting, as well as the most modern, among them is the one occupying the highest part of the plateau towards the east. Here, there have recently



An ornamental decoration on the outer face of the right side pillar of the west gateway.

been unearthed the remains of several courts surrounded by monastic cells; and on the eastern side of what was evidently the principal court is a lofty shrine containing an image of the Buddha seated in that familiar attitude, beneath the Bodhi tree, when touching the earth with his right-hand he called on her to bear witness for him against Mara, the Evil One. Not one out of ten visitors imagines that the shrine is not Buddhist at all but Hindu; for its style is precisely that of a Hindu temple of the late medieval period, and were it not for the statue of the Buddha is the sanctum and some of the images in the niches round its outer walls, there would be nothing to indicate its Buddhist character.

The reason for this is that by the eleventh century Buddhism had come deeply under the influence of Hinduism, and this influence made itself manifest in many new doctrines and ideas which it absorbed from the parent religion as well as in the more superficial matter of architecture.

*Recent Repairs.*—In conclusion, it remains to say a few words about the recent excavations and repair of these in-



A decoration on the railing of Stupa no. 2 at Sanchi.

comparable monuments. The site has been recently restored by the learned head of the Archaeological Department of the Government of India, Sir John Marshall, at the instance of Her Highness the Nawab Begum of Bhopal, in whose domains these monuments are situated. The learned Doctor describes his operations as under:—

'My operations have been of a fourfold character:—

1. In the first place the whole enclave up to the limits of the surrounding wall, which dates from the later medieval epoch, had to be swept clear of jungle.

2. The extensive areas to the south, east, and north-east of the great stupa had to be excavated.

3. The many fallen members of the buildings have had to be pieced together, and as far as possible, restored to the position they originally occupied, and the buildings themselves strengthened and protected against the ravages of the climate.



A woman under a tree (A projected form from a pillar at Sanchi).

'4. And, fourthly, a museum has been erected to house the many minor antiquities that the spade has brought to light and the whole site has been beautified by leveling and turfing and by the planting of trees and creepers.'

'As to the measure of repair that I have carried out,' says Sir John, 'the most important tasks have been the reconstruction of the dome and balustrades of the

third stupa: the setting up of the columns of the apsidal temple (No. 18) to the south of the great stupa, which were leaning at parlous angles; and the rebuilding of the whole south-west quadrangle of the great stupa itself which was threatening to collapse and carry away with it parts of the balustrades and two of the gateways.'

'The crowning umbrellas have' now been placed on top of the great stupa, and the sculptured balustrades of its stairways and terraces set up in their places.

The visitor who now wanders through the courts and chambers of the monasteries finds it difficult perhaps to realize that a short time ago scarcely a vestige of them was visible above the ground; standing on the high terrace to the east of the great stupa, he will hardly suspect that beneath his feet there still lie buried many more remains still older than these monasteries, which, it may be, some future explorer will bring to the light of the day.

A fact worth noting about Sanchi is that the emperor Napoleon III once wrote to the great Sikander Begum asking for one of the gates as a gift.

The Government of India, however, refused to allow it to be removed, and instead, plaster casts were taken and sent to Paris.

There are also casts at the South Kensington Museum, London; at Dublin, Edinburgh, and Berlin.

Bhopal.

B. GHOSAL.

## GLEANINGS

### Solidified Kerosene "Ice," New Form of Fuel

Solidified kerosene, which can be carried in the pocket or transformed into liquid and burned in a lamp after mixing it with water, is a discovery of Dr. O. F. Reinhold, of Maplewood, N. J., for which remarkable utility is claimed.

The new form of fuel looks like petroleum

jelly. It gives as much heat or light as liquid kerosene, and because of its compact, portable, solid form, it contains one third more heat units to the gallon. Unlike liquid kerosene, the new product requires neither wick nor mechanical contrivance to effect combustion. Kerosene cannot be ignited with a match, but you can set fire to Dr. Reinhold's product with a match, and it will burn like a stick of wood or "solidified alcohol."

The jelly burns steadily at an even heat until consumed, leaving an oily residue, which the inventor claims can be used as a lubricant. When mixed with water, the jelly can still be ignited by a match, and the same oily residue appears.

Another advantage is the fact that the new substance eliminates the danger of kerosene explosions.

### Risky Method of Climbing A Peak in Switzerland.

Mountaineering in the Swiss Alps furnishes many thrills, but few equal to that in connection with the scaling of the peaks of the Kreuzberg in the valley of the Upper Rhine. There are eight peaks, the lowest being 5,673 and the highest 6,207 feet above sea level. The ascent and descent have to be made with ropes suspended from a large protruding bowlder. With the help of the ropes and the use of his feet, the mountaineer negotiates the almost vertical face of any of these peaks.

Photo-



Risky Method of Climbing A Peak in Switzerland.



Climbing Stiff Mountains in Switzerland.

### Marine Safes Will Float if Ship Goes Down

A novel method of equipping a ship with four or more floating marine safes that will release themselves if the ship goes down and will float, even if the doors are open, has recently been devised.

The safes, manufactured of triple steel, lighter than the water they displace, are mounted in a shaft or well that opens from an upper deck of the ship. Each safe is accessible to a deck through a door. The upper opening of the shaft is covered with canvas, so that in case of sinking, the safes simply float out of the shaft as the ship goes down.

### One Man Builds Domed Church

Combining in its wide sweeping dome, its windows, and cornice decorations, interest-

ing features of both Greek and Norman architecture a unique religious edifice under the name of Bethany Temple, has been constructed in the city of Sierra Madre, California, by one man. Nothing about the edifice is professional. All the materials were taken from near-by sources.

The temple proper is 52 feet in diameter and 30 feet high from ground to top of dome. A second building, which houses the Sunday school, is 57 feet in diameter and 18 feet high.

The entire construction work was done by a local artisan, L. D. Cornuelle, under supervision of the Rev. W. H. Rawlings. It required a year and a half to complete the structures.

Gothic windows and graceful domes with walls of stones taken from nearby streams were selected by the designer to distinguish Bethany Temple, a religious center at Sierra Madre, Calif.

Only the dome is of wood; all else is concrete.

The edifice is illuminated by indirect lighting in invisible fixtures in white and soft colors that can be manipulated at will.

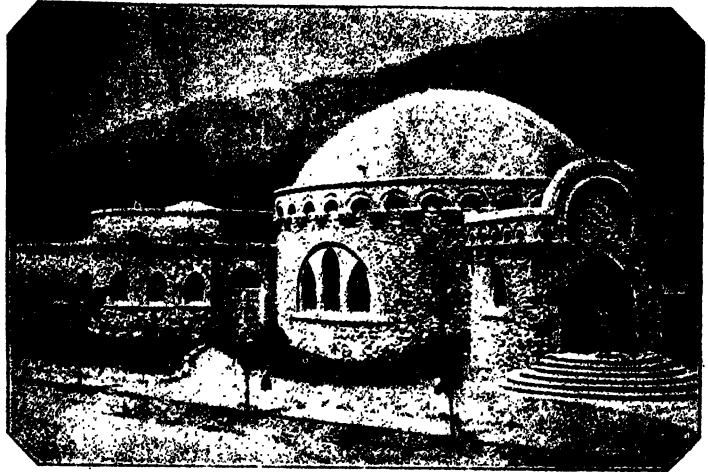
### Colored Nets Fool Fishes.

Because fishes are "wise" enough to steer clear of white nets, fishermen of Dalmatia color their nets with brown and bright green dyes, extracted from the bark of plants. Into these nets the fishes swim unsuspectingly, possibly because the green and brown nets resemble seaweed.

### Can You Stand on Your Upper Teeth?

One of the most amazing muscular feats is being exhibited by Gladys Portia, a woman gymnast, who can support her entire weight by her upper teeth alone. Upside down, bent almost double, and with only the grip of her jaws on a rubber pad to sustain her, she is able to maintain this position for more than a minute by her remarkable sense of balance.

The remarkable development of the muscles



The Domed Church built by One Man.

of the neck and throat, as well as those of the jaws, necessary for this trick of balancing, can readily be seen by comparing the line from the chin to chest with that of an ordinary person standing with chin raised in the air.

### Alarm Clock Lights the Fire in the Morning.

For the benefit of persons who dislike to get up in the morning to light the fire, a Frenchman has invented a clock that lights an alcohol lamp when the alarm sounds.

The mechanism, released by the alarm, moves an arm, which removes a cap cover-



Alarm Clock Lights the Fire in the Morning.

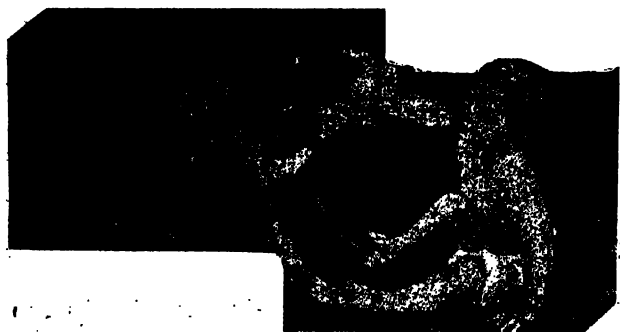


ing the burner of the lamp, while another arm rubs a point of ferrocium over a rough stone and produces sparks that light the lamp.

If a pan of water has been placed on the lamp before retiring, the sleeper may have another beauty nap after the alarm has sounded, until the water for shaving or making coffee reaches the boiling point.

### The Dog-nurse

This dog does not wear a cap and gown but makes an excellent Nurse just the same. "Brownie"—the wonder dog holds the feeding bottle just the way baby likes to have it.



Brownie—the Dog-Nurse.

### New Discoveries about Twins

A nation-wide twin hunt, following the recent dramatic death in Chicago of the famous Blazek sisters—"Siamese twins," joined together from birth—has brought to light the fact that there are now living in this country two attractive young girls, Violet and Daisy Hilton, who are also said to be fastened together at the spine in fashion similar to the joining of Rosa and Josefa Blazek.

Now, the amazing fact has been unearthed by scientific investigation that while Siamese twins, such as the Blazek sisters, may be utterly unlike in all respects, although closely shackled by bonds of flesh for life, certain ordinary twins may be so nearly identical—not only in appearance, but in mind and spirit—as to seem almost the same personality.

The original Siamese twins themselves, Chang and Eng, made famous by P. T. Barnum and exhibited for years in all parts of the world, bore no marked similarity in features, yet were strikingly similar in tastes,



The original Siamese Twin.

The mutual adjustment of their movements was amazing. When bodies joined, the twins could tumble head over heels without the slightest inconvenience.

These twins were discovered in Siam and rescued from a tragic fate by a British merchant in 1824, when they were about 13 years old. Fearing that the strange brothers were evil spirits and might bring harm to his country, the superstitious king of Siam was planning to put them to death when the merchant prevailed upon him to allow the boys to be taken away for exhibition.

Some biologists believe that fraternal twins, who may or may not be of the same sex, but show ordinary fraternal resemblance, are presumably derived from two separate ova. Identical twins, on the other hand, who are always of the same sex, are supposed to originate by division from one and the same fertilized ovum, while the conjoined twins may have developed from separate ova that have grown together during the prenatal period.

### TWINS IN MIND AS WELL AS BODY

Sitting in separate rooms and told to draw a man and a tree with a bench under it, these



Twins in Mind as Well as Body.

Identical twin sisters produced the remarkably similar freehand drawings shown here. Dr. Gesell's admirably thorough study of them showed that their physical development at the age of nine years, their height, weight, head dimensions, pulse, blood pressure, muscular strength and degree of ossification of the bones of the hands were almost identical. Particularly astonishing in this list of similarities, was the coincidence of the patterns of the palms of their hands, and the soles of their feet.



Said to be joined at the spine Violet and Daisy Hilton, 16-year-old twins recently attracting interest in San Antonio, Texas.

Most interesting of all is the mental similarity of the twins, discovered by Dr. Gesell's novel scheme of giving the twins a series of 25 educational tests. In many instances both girls



Drawings of the Twins in Body as well as Mind.

made the same mistakes and showed the same tendencies of alertness, attention, deliberation, sense of humor, and emotional reactions.

### Modern Fire-alarm System for New York.

New York City has just inaugurated a new fire-alarm system for the Borough of Manhattan, that has taken a number of years to complete, at a cost of \$1,500,000. The system has been so perfected that it takes only 10 seconds for an alarm to pass through the central station and reach the station intended to answer the call.

When it is desired to send in an alarm, the person goes to one of the fire-alarm boxes, which are located at every other street intersection, and, noting the instructions on the door, turns the handle until the bell rings. A mechanism is thereby set in motion that transmits to headquarters four complete rounds of the code signal indicating that particular box. After the first round has been received at the central station, the dispatcher takes from a file a perforated card corresponding to the box sending in the alarm, and places it in the selector switch. Directly after the second round from the box, he presses a key and sets in motion the automatic-transmitter control, which instantly sends the alarm to all fire houses, during the day, and to all companies due at the station on the first and second alarm, at night. This signal is then transmitted twice over what is called a "combination circuit," and once over what is called the "gong circuit," to all the engine houses. The fire companies are under instruction to proceed to the point designated by the alarm, according to which station it is nearest. When the call comes into the central station, it is heard and seen by the dispatcher and automatically registered to avoid error. The alarm boxes are of the succession-noninterference type, meaning that, if two or more boxes on the same circuit are pulled for a fire, each box will transmit its signal of the alarm to headquarters with no interference to the signal from any other box.

## SHORT STORY FROM SIKH HISTORY

## 1

**A**T Tarn Taran, Guru Arjun Dev, the fifth Guru of the Sikhs, was preaching the holy name and giving lessons in Sikhism to the assembled congregation of the seekers after truth. They had come from far and near to get the nectar of life at the hands of the Great Guru. A simple-hearted man, from some remote corner of the Punjab, approached the holy Guru with folded hands and down-cast eyes, and humbly enquired—"What is 'Sikhi'?" The Guru smiled, and told him to go to Bhai Bhika in Gujrat. The whole congregation had expected a fine discourse from the Guru, but they were amazed when he directed the thirsty truth-seeker to go to an unknown Sikh for quenching his thirst. The Guru's actions are unquestionable and none dare ask the reason or object of this quaint order. The Sikh bowed, took the dust of the Guru's feet and left the congregation.

After paying homage at Amritsar, he wended his way to Lahore, crossed the Ravi and the mighty Chenab of those days, and reached Gujrat, a small town on the western bank of the river. He found out the residence of Bhai Bhika with some difficulty. Bhai Bhika was no very rich but a workman who worked with his own hands. In Bhai Bhika's house, the Sikh heard music and songs, and saw preparations for some marriage. The inmates of the house welcomed the stranger with great warmth, gave him a seat and enquired about his journey and the place he came from. When the Sikh told them, he had come from Tarn Taran, the abode of the Guru, all the inmates joyfully exclaimed, "Blessed art thou, blessed art thou," and took the dust of the feet which had come from the Guru's nagri.

## 2

The new-comer was amazed at the warmth of his reception in the house of Bhai Bhika. He enquired about the master of the house, and a closed door to one side of the house was pointed out to him, and he was told that Bhai Ji was working quietly inside and none was allowed to disturb him. But the new-comer, seeker after Sikhism, could not wait for Bhai Bhika's emergence from the room. He went and stood before the door, and sang praises of "Wahiguru", the Great God and shouted aloud—"Sat Kartar, Sat Kartar." Bhai Bhika at once knew that another of his holy fold had come. He opened the door and admitted the Sikh into his room and shut the

door again. When the new-comer told Bhai Bhika he had come from Tarn Taran, Bhai Ji was overjoyed to see a Sikh from Guru's nagri, he kissed his feet, and seated him in a seat of honour. "If I see a Guru's Sikh, I prostrate myself before him, bow and kiss his feet,"—this lesson of the Guru was ringing in Bhai Bhika's ears and he acted accordingly. The great pleasure and happiness of a Sikh at meeting another of his creed, in those remote times in the reign of Emperor Jahangir, can better be imagined than described.

## 3

When the first obligations of hospitality were over, both the Sikhs sat and sang praises of Wahiguru. Bhai Bhika enquired about the great Guru and the congregation, and heard attentively the account of the daily routine at the holy Sat-Sangs. After they had remained in Sat-Sang for some time, the time of dinner arrived. Before leaving the room, the new-comer enquired, whose marriage was going to be celebrated? Bhai Bhika replied, "The Guru's younger servant's" (meaning thereby his own son). When the Sikh rose and looked through a door opening into a back courtyard, he noticed there a wooden bier, usually used for carrying dead-bodies to the cremation ground—under construction. The Sikh was confused at this, and enquired what it was. He was told, it was an "Arthi" for carrying the dead-body. "Of whom?"—was the further enquiry. "Of my son, who is to be married tomorrow," was the quick reply. Horror and wonder petrified the Sikh for a moment, he was speechless. Mystery shrouded in mystery loomed before his eyes. He asked Bhai Bhika to explain all this, he could not understand why there were preparations for the marriage in that part of the house, and preparations for the last journey to the cremation ground in this. Bhai Bhika calmly replied, that there was no mystery at all in this. It was all the great Guru's Will—Will to which every Sikh had to bow. He was simply obeying orders of the great Guru in all his acts. It was His Will that the marriage should take place next day and there were preparations for it in one part of the house. It was the same Will again that had ordained that the boy should die after marriage, and he was arranging in the other part for the death ceremonies. These happenings were all ordained by the Supreme Guru, and the Sikh has to obey, obey like the wooden puppet, the path of the string of the conjurer. Bhai Bhika

prostrated himself at the feet of the Sikh, and implored, "Oh true Sikh of the Sat Gurm, Oh seer of Tarn Taran, do not examine this humble servant, full of sins and shortcomings. I cannot stand scrutiny at the sight of a Sikh, I am sinful, full of sins, I cannot carry out His commands. Forgive me! Oh, forgive me!" The new-comer was speechless and all the time pondering in his mind over the object of his visit. He was learning the living "Sikhi". He embraced Bhai Bhika and said, "Bhai, the Great Guru remembers you, and it was He who directed me to come to you."

4

Next morning, the marriage procession of Bhai Bhika's son passed with great éclat through the streets of Gujrat. Songs in praise of God were sung. The whole atmosphere was resounding with echoes of the holy songs, and people said, it was the marriage procession of a Sikh's son. After three days the marriage party returned to Gujrat with pipes and drums playing in the van. The bridegroom was riding a mare while the palanquin of the bride was borne by "Kahars" in the rear. Just outside the city gate, the bridegroom complained to his father of acute pain in his intestines; Bhai Bhika understood the pain to be the fore-runner of the great tragedy. He advised his son not to mind it and to concentrate his mind on the holy *Shabad*—"Wahiguru." The party entered the town and the nearer it reached the house of Bhai Bhika the acuter became the pain of his son. The boy told his father, it was becoming unbearable, but Bhai Bhika always consoled his son by saying,—"It is Guru-sent, hence, must be endured. Remember the Guru." The party dispersed on reaching the house of Bhai Bhika. Bride and bridegroom were taken inside with due ceremony. Great joy and rejoicing prevailed in the house at the incoming of the new bride, but the indisposition of the bridegroom rather damped the enthusiasm.

5

Bhai Bhika's son is lying in a room, suffering from acute colic; medicine is of no avail. The Hakim has seen the patient and left. All joy is converted into anxiety for the life of the only son of the family. Bhai Bhika shows not any sign of anxiety on his face, he sits by the side of his suffering son and sings:—

"What pleases Thee, Thou dost, but few abide by Thy will, Oh Lord!

He who bows to Thy Will, enjoys the happiness. The self-willed man shows his cleverness.

He does not accept the inevitable (Will) and suffers pain.

Deceived by illusion, he suffers pain of birth and death; and cannot find rest in the Abode of Happiness."

(GURU AMAR DAS)

The boy cries, "Papa, the pain is acute. Something is cutting the intestines and piercing the sides. I am dying, do something for me, dear father." The father replies calmly—"My dear boy! You are a Sikh, you must abide by the Supreme Will. This pain is the Guru's Messenger and we must greet it. Don't think of it, with every breath the holy name must be inhaled and exhaled. My boy, see, thou mayst not lose the grain of "Sikhi", thou hast earned during thy life-time. This is the time of trial, stand firm. The boy is silent, his eye-balls are immovable, as if in Samadhi, but with every breath a faint voice—"Wahiguru"—is heard. A calmness rests on the face, signs of return of glow and rosinness on the cheeks appear, which hearten the poor mother and the horror-struck bride sitting in one corner. But Bhikha-ji who was all this time holding his son's head in his lap and reciting "Asa-di-Var"—song of the dawn, sings the last stanza,.....places the head on the bedding and rises for a prayer. All is over.

6

It was about noon when the people of Gujrat witnessed the strange spectacle of the procession carrying the dead body of the boy, whose marriage party had passed through the very same streets the evening before. This was the last procession of a Sikh marriage of the human soul with the Almighty Purkh. This was the great Anand marriage—"Lose thyself in order to find the Lord—the husband." Kabir says—"It is through death that eternal happiness is found." This procession to the cremation ground was preceded by drums and pipes. Bhai Bhika's face showed no signs of grief, he was all the time singing praises of God—"Thy will is sweet to me, Oh my Lord."

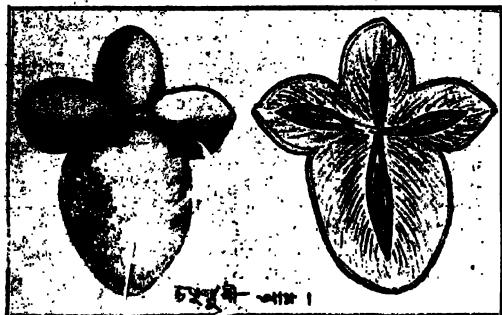
The last rites were performed with as little attachment as the marriage rites the day before.

7

The Sikh who had come from Tarn Taran at the Guru's bidding, to take lessons in "Sikhi" from Bhai Bhika, witnessed all these happenings and was all the time saying—"Dhan Guru, Dhan Guru." Blessed is the Guru. The path to Sikhi was now as clear to him as daylight, no lectures were needed, no private conferences wanted; no Raja-Yoga, neither seclusion in mountain caves nor baths in rivers, were required, but one thing alone—resignation to the Supreme Will.—This is the path to "Sikhi". Surrender thyself to the Supreme Will and thou art a Sikh. The Sikh saw this experiment in the laboratory of Professor Bhika and was satisfied; all his doubts were set at rest.

BUDH SINGH.

## FREAKS OF NATURE



Horned Mango

This curious specimen was collected and sent by Mr. Surendra Nath Roy of Khetupara, Pabna. Although union of fruits or 'Syncarpy' is or fairly common occurrence, we very rarely come across 4 mangoes united in such a curious fashion. The left hand figure shows the external view of the intact specimen and the right-hand figure shows the inner view of a section cut lengthwise.

P. M. D.



Cocuanut with two shells.



Two Yolks in an Egg.

( Photo taken by Mr. Atul Chandra Bose, Artist, Calcutta )

## A HERO OF OLD MAHARASHTRA

BY PROF. JADUNATH SARKAR.

IN the long history of Aurangzib's struggle with the Marathas, after the sun of Maratha royalty had set in the red cloud of Sambhuji's blood and the people's war had begun, two stars of dazzling brilliancy filled the political firmament for nearly a decade and paralysed the alien invader till at last they clashed together with fatal results. They were Dhanaji Yadav and Santaji Ghorpare, and the history of Southern India from 1689 to 1698 is very greatly the biography of these two men.

Dhanaji Yadav was the great-grandson of Shivaji's mother's brother and was born about 1650. He first saw service under Pratap Rao Gujar, the Commander-in-Chief of the Great Shivaji and continued to fight under the Maratha banner ever afterwards. His first great achievement was the defeat that he inflicted upon a Mughal detachment in the plains of Phaltan, shortly after Rajaram's accession (1689), for which he was given the title of Jai Singh. He accompanied this king in his flight to Jinji, in the Madras Karnatak, in the autumn of that year.

Like him Santaji Ghorpare was a Maratha of Shivaji's caste and descended from that branch of the Ghorpare family which lived at Kapshi in the Kolhapur State. Entering Shivaji's service with his father and two brothers, he won an extensive jagir for his family in the Kopal district north of the Tungabhadra.

## II

Santaji had an inborn genius for handling large bodies of troops spread over a wide area, changing his tactics so as to take prompt advantage of every change in the enemy's plans and condition and organising combined movements.

The success of his tactics depended on the rapid movement of his troops and on his subordinates carrying out his orders punctually to the minute. He, therefore, insisted on implicit obedience from his officers and enforced the strictest discipline in his army by draconic punishments. As Khafi Khan writes [ii. 446], "Santa used to inflict severe punishments on his followers. For the slightest fault he would cause the offender to be trampled to death by an elephant."

The man who insists on efficiency and discipline in a tropical country makes himself universally unpopular, and, therefore, "most of the Maratha nobles became Santa's enemies and made a secret agreement with his rival Dhana to destroy him." [*Ibid.*]

The first recorded exploit of Santa was done during Rajaram's flight to Jinji. After that king had been surprised by the Mughal on an island of the Tungabhadra and escaped with his bare life, he hid himself in the territory of the Rani of Bednur (now the Nagar division in the N. W. of Mysore) for some time. Aurangzib sent a large force under Jan-nisar Khan, Maflab Khan, and Sharza Khan to invade this country; but as the Emperor's official history admits, "Santa triumphantly opposed them, till at last the matter was settled by the Rani paying a small fine under the name of tribute." [*M. A.* 349.] Santa's younger brothers Bahirji (surnamed Hindu Rao) and Maloji were among the companions of Rajaram captured on the island and lodged in Bijapur fort, whence they escaped by bribery. [*Ibid.*]

Rajaram, when going to Jinji, had left Santa in Maharashtra, charging him to act under the orders of Ramchandra, the *Amatya* who had been practically invested with a regent's full powers for Maratha

affairs in Western Deccan. [Jane, letter 433.] For some time he did so, and we find him co-operating with the Amatya and other generals in defeating the famous Bijapuri general Sharza Khan (now in the Mughal service with the title of Rustam Khan) near Satara on 11th May 1690. Sharza offered a long resistance, but was worsted and made prisoner with his wife and children; the entire baggage of his army was seized together with 4000 horses and eight elephants; and he had to ransom himself by paying one lakh of Rupees. [M. A. 336, K. K. 416, Z. C.]

### III

Late in 1692 Santa and Dhana were sent by Ramchandra to the Madras Karnatak, each at the head of 15,000 cavalry to reinforce Rajaram, who was threatened in fort Jinji by a new imperial force despatched by Aurangzib under Prince Kam Bakhsh and the Wazir Asad Khan, a year earlier. Santa arrived first and burst into the Conjeveram district. The terror inspired by his raiding bands caused a wild flight of the inhabitants far and near into Madras for refuge (11th to 13th December 1692). When the Maratha force arrived near Kaveripak, Ali Mardan Khan, the Mughal faujdar of Conjeveram went out to encounter it, deceived by the screen of cavalry as to his enemy's vast numbers. He could not avoid a battle when he learnt the truth. In the course of the fight, his corps of Bahelia musketeers deserted to the enemy, and Ali Mardan in vainly trying to retreat to Conjeveram was hemmed round and captured with 1500 horses and six elephants. His entire army was plundered by Santa (13th Dec.). [Fort St. George Diary, Dilkasha, 108b, Z. C.] The defeated Khan was taken to Jinji and held to ransom for one lakh of *hun*.\*

After the Mughal siege-army had purchased its retreat to Wandiwash and Jinji had been freed from danger (January 1693), Santaji laid siege to Trichinopoly, the ruler of which was at chronic war with Rajaram's first cousin and firm ally, Shahji II., the Raja of Tanjore. Rajaram himself arrived

on the scene soon afterwards and the Trichinopoly Nayak had to make peace in April. [Z. C.]

### IV

Early in May Santa quarrelled with his king and went back to Maharashtra. Rajaram, in anger, took away Santa's title of *Senapati* (Commander-in-Chief) and gave it to Dhana Yadav.\* [Z. C.]

Malhar Ramrao Chitnis, who is usually wrong in his dates and names, reports an earlier quarrel (in 1690) and describes it thus:—"When Rajaram went to Jinji, he commanded Santaji Ghorpare and his two brothers to obey the orders of the Amatya (Ramchandra). But Santa did not co-operate at the siege of Panhala and did not act according to his instructions. Remaining in the Sendur district, he waged war up to the Tungabhadra, captured the fort of Guti, seized some frontier *thanas* and stayed there. The Amatya reported these things to the king at Jinji, who was displeased and took away the post of Commander-in-Chief and conferred it on Mahadji Pansabal in 1690. He wrote about it to Ramchandra, and sending two men to Santa took away his *Sikke-katar* and placed them in charge of Ramchandra..... Then Santa tried in vain for a fortnight or a month to interview Ramchandra who declined to see him. So, he went to the King at Jinji and staying there gave an undertaking to serve like all other officers to the satisfaction of the king, while his two brothers would remain under the orders of Ramchandra. Making this agreement he went to Jinji to oppose the army sent by the Emperor....." [ii. 34]

"For his great services.....Rajaram greatly liked Dhana and.....now gave him honour equal to that of *Senapati* with the right of playing the *naubat*..." [ii. 36] Mahadji fell in battle at Jinji and Santa was made *Senapati* in his place. [ii. 40]

\* This is how I interpret the phrase *Dhanajis namsad kula*, according to Persian idiom.

Chitnis reports a later quarrel which I am inclined to place in May 1693 :— "For some reason or other Santaji Ghorpare quarrelled with the courtiers of Rajaram and insulted them. Thereafter, the king sent Mane to attack Santa, but the other sardars after much reasoning dissuaded him..... So, Santa was merely censured and his post of Commander-in-Chief was given to Dhanaji. Things went on in this way for two or three years." [ ii. 42. ] Much of Chitnis's account is unsupported by contemporary sources, and I am inclined to regard it as confused and partly inaccurate.

Returning home about the middle of 1693, Santaji acted as his own master and devoted his time and resources to carving out a principality for himself in the Bellary district. He refused to obey the orders of the king's *locum tenens* and did not lend his aid to the national party when they raised Prince Muizuddin's siege of Panhala in November next.

His brother Bahirji, too, had left Rajaram in a huff ( March 1693 ). The reason for the rupture I infer to be the usurpation of the real control of the government by the Brahman ministers at Jinji in consequence of Rajaram sinking into debauchery and imbecility, so that the men of the sword rebelled against their own loss of influence at Court and the appropriation of the wealth of the state by the men of the pen. Bahirji joined another malcontent, Yachapa Nayak ( who had made himself master of Satgarh fort ) and probably tried to imitate his example of winning an estate for himself. The royal forces attacked the two deserters near Vellore in May. But the quarrel was made up and Bahirji returned to his master's side in February 1694. ( Z. C. )

While thus "fighting for his own hand" and pursuing an independent career of depredation in imperial territory, Santa was defeated after a long chase and a three days' running fight by Himmat Khan at the village of Vikramhalli

( early Nov., 1693 ). Three hundred of Santa's own soldiers and 200 of his Berad allies were slain, and 300 mares, some flags, kettledrums, &c., were captured by the Mughals, who suffered a heavy loss in killed and wounded. But the pursuit failed through a quarrel between Himmat Khan and his coadjutors Hamid-ud-din and Khwaja Khan, so that Santa, without any fear, sent 4000 men under Amrit Rao towards Berar, while he himself led 6000 cavalry towards Malkhed—Karnul hills—Haidarabad &c. In March 1694 we find him in the Mahadev hills ( *Akhbar* year, 37 ).

Another cause of Santa's attitude of aloofness from the government was his being drawn into the cross-currents of ministerial rivalry at the western capital of Maharashtra. He sided with Parasuram, the rival of the Amatya, while Dhana belonged to the faction of the latter ( *Dil.*, 122 a. )

For nearly a year after the battle of Vikramhalli we hear of Santa only as a fast roving raider all over the Deccan.

## VI

But in October 1694, Shankarji Malhar ( the *Sachiv* ) formed a plan of joint action and sharing of profits with him and persuaded him to March to the Madras Karnatak, saying, "Go with your troops and do our master's work. Hasten to the Raja with light equipment [ literally, alone ]. Remain there showing due respect. Raise the siege. Don't violate your faith." He took an oath from Santa to act in this spirit, and added to his forces the contingents of Hanuman Rao Nimbalkar and other generals, making a total of 25,000 horse, which marched in a compact body, firing its artillery on the way. Shankarji made an agreement with Santa to conduct the revenue [ collection ] in concert and to remain faithful [ to each other's interests ], and sent his brother (?) Yesaji Malhar as his representative with this expeditionary forces. [ Z. C. ]

Meantime Zulfiqar Khan had concluded a successful campaign against the Raja of Tanjore and exacted from him a bond to abandon the cause of Rajaram which he



had hitherto helped most usefully with money and provisions, and to pay a tribute of thirty lakhs of rupees every year. ( May 1694. ) Then he came back to Jinji and renewed his pretended siege of it, occupying the country around. [ Z. C.; Fort St. George Diary. ]

Santa seems to have effected nothing for his master this time, and soon returned to the north-western corner of Mysore. In November 1695, Dhana was sent to prop up the Maratha cause on the Madras side, which he succeeded in doing, by driving away Zulfiqar from the siege of Vellore. [ Z. C. ]

## VII

But in this very month, Santa performed the most glorious achievement of his life,—one which still further raised his reputation for invincibility and made him the dread of even the greatest Mughal generals.

Santa was reported to be going back to his own estate in the Chittaldurg district, heavily loaded with booty from the imperial dominions. Aurangzib, then encamped at Brahmapuri ( on the Bhima ), ordered Qasim Khan, the able and active governor of the Sera country ( western Mysore ) to intercept the raiders. To reinforce Qasim Khan, he sent a detachment from his own camp under some of his highest younger officers,—Khanazad Khan ( afterwards Ruhullah Khan II and Lord High Steward ), Saf Shikan Khan, Sayyid Asabet Khan and Muhammad Murad ( the Paymaster of Prince Kam Bakhsh's army ),—with a command of 25,000 men on paper but five to six thousand troopers in actual muster. It was, however, a very choice corps, being composed of men from the imperial guards and personal retinue and the contingents of the nobles who had to petrol round his tent on different days in the week (*haft chanki*), with artillerymen. They joined Qasim Khan about 12 miles from the Marathas' expected track, early in November. Santa, who had been roving at a distance, heard of his enemy's position and movements, came up with them by swift marches, and matured his plan for their distinction

with consummate skill, which the luxury and thoughtlessness of the Mughal generals crowned with the most complete success imaginable.

Khanazad Khan was a Persian of the highest descent, being the son of the late Paymaster-General, Ruhullah Khan I, and great-grandson of the Empress Mumtaz Mahal's sister. With him had come some officers of the greatest influence and favour in the Emperor's personal circle. Qasim Khan rose to the height of hospitality required by such guests. Discarding the simple and light kit of a general who wishes to wage war with the Marathas wisely, he brought out of his stores in Adoni fort, his 'showy articles, such as unused Karnataki tents; gold, silver and China vessels of all kinds, etc., and sent them six miles ahead of this halting place to be kept ready for himself and his guests when they would arrive there at the end of the next day's march. [ M. A. 375. ]

But on that day doom overtook him in the person of Santa Ghorpare, who showed the highest tactical power in making his dispositions and moving his three distinct and scattered divisions so as to ensure the perfect timing of their movements and exact co-operation among them. He divided his army into three bodies, of which one was sent to plunder the Mughal camp, another to oppose the soldiers, and the third was held in reserve ready for action wherever required. The zamindar of the Chittaldurg district sided with the Marathas in the hope of a share of the spoils and thus the Mughals were ringed round by enemies and cut off from all information. [ M. A. 375, *Dil.* 117b ]

## VIII

An hour and a half after sunrise, the first Maratha division fell upon Qasim Khan's advanced tents ( six miles to the front ), slew and wounded the guards and servants, carried off everything they could, and set fire to the heavy tents. On the news of it reaching Qasim Khan, he hurried towards the point of attack, without rousing Khanazad Khan from his sleep or maturing any plan of

concerted action. Before he had gone two miles, the second body of the enemy appeared in sight and the battle began. This awoke Khanazad Khan, who left his camp, baggage and everything else on the spot and quickly advanced to the aid of his friend. But the enemy's numbers were overwhelming and they had a very large body of *Kala-piada* musketeers,—the best marksmen and bravest infantry of the Deccan,—in addition to their numberless mobile light cavalry. "A great battle was fought and many were slain on both sides. In spite of the steadiness of the imperialists and the destruction done by them, the enemy did not yield one foot of ground or show the least wavering. Then the reserve division of Santa fell upon the camp and baggage left behind and looted everything. This news reached Qasim and Khanazad in the heat of the battle and shook their firmness. They took counsel together and decided to go to the small fort of Dodderi\* close to which the advanced-tents had been sent and where there was a tank. Fighting for two miles† they reached the tank in the evening and halted; the enemy retired from the attack but encamped close by." The fort of Dodderi was small and the food-store in it limited. So "its imperial garrison shut its gates upon their newly arrived comrades. The two Khans shared with the other officers the food they had brought with themselves, and the common soldiers found nothing to eat except the water of the tank; grass and gram for the elephants and horses were nowhere. As the night closed, the enemy completely encircled them. The imperialists stood to arms ready to meet any attack. But for three days the Marathas only appeared in sight without fighting, till some thousands of infantry sent by the zamindar of Chittaldurg—who had been reduced to

humility by Qasim Khan—seized the opportunity and made an attack. On the fourth day, before sunrise, ten times the former number of *Kala-piada* darkened the plain and began to fight. The imperial artillery munitions had been plundered in their camp and what little was carried with the soldiers was now exhausted; so after vain exertions for some hours, they sat down in despair. The enemy's hail of bullets destroyed many men in this situation."\* Fully one-third of the Mughal army had been slain at the two camps, during the retreat, and on the banks of the tank of Dodderi. Then the chiefs decided to save their own lives by sneaking into the fort, and a disgraceful scene ensued which is thus described by Khafi Khan (ii. 331):—

"In this extremity of distress, Qasim, Khanazad and Saf Shikan, who had dismounted close to one another, secretly planned to enter into the *garhi* without informing Muhammad Murad and other comrades who were at a distance. They began to send within such stores as were left after the enemy's plunder, pretending to lighten themselves for fighting. The first night Qasim Khan, on the pretext of patrolling, left his post and entered the fort by scaling the wall with ropes, as it

\* This is the contemporary record compiled from State papers like despatches and newsletters, (*M. A.* 375—377). But more than 30 years later, Khafi Khan (ii. 429), gave the following different and seemingly inaccurate account:—"A party of the enemy fell upon Qasim Khan's tents... and 10 to 12 thousand horsemen attacked the baggage of Khanazad... 7 or 8 thousand more appeared between the two Khans, so that neither could reinforce the other... The battle raged till sunset... All night the chiefs remained on their elephants and the soldiers holding the bridles of their horses, to repel night-attacks. At dawn the Marathas renewed their attack... in this way the imperialists were attacked for 3 days, at last [on the fourth day] they marched fighting all the way and took refuge under the *garhi* of Dodderi. For these three days they had had no food. In the same way 3 or 4 more days were passed, the imperialists entrenching and repelling charges under shelter of the walls of the *garhi* day and night, while their camels, horses and oxen were carried off by the Marathas. As the gates of the *garhi* had been closed upon them, the grocers of the *garhi* threw down to them grain from the top of the wall, charging one or two rupees per *seer*. On the 4th or 5th day [i.e., the 7th or 8th day after the first battle] the two Khans decided to enter the *garhi*.

\* *Dodderi*, 14°20' N., 75°46' E., in the Chittaldurg division of Mysore, 22 miles east of Chittaldurg, and 16 miles in a straight line south of Adoni. South of it stands a large reservoir.

† "The imperialists, giving up all plan of fighting, took the road to Dodderi in confusion, reached the place with extreme difficulty, and were invested." [*Di. I*, 118 a.]

was not advisable to enter by the gate owing to the crowd assembled there (outside). Then Khanazad and Saf Shikan entered by the gate by charging the crowd of common soldiers round it. Lastly Muhammad Murad and other officers, learning of it, came in with the greatest difficulty. Saf Shikan, turning to Muhammad Murad, cried out—'How gallantly we have brought ourselves here!' Murad's nephew retorted—'Shame on the type of valour you have shown in coming here, of which you are bragging!'

The Marathas besieged the fort\* on all sides, being confident that hunger would destroy its defenders. On the day of entering the fort, the soldiers, high and low, were all given bread of millet (*jawari* and *bajra*) from the local stores, while the transport cattle fed on the old and new straw-thatching pulled down from the roofs of houses. On the second day no food was left for either man or beast. Many of the cattle of the army had been carried away by the Marathas, many others had perished from hunger,—'They chewed each other's tails, mistaking them for straw,' as the graphic exaggeration of a Persian writer well describes it;—and the remaining oxen 'lean like the ass's tail,' were now eaten up by the Muslim soldiery. Then they faced utter starvation. Qasim Khan was a great eater of opium, his life depended on the drug and the lack of it caused his death on the third day. [ *M. A.*, 378; but many suspected that he committed suicide to escape disgrace by the enemy and the censure of the Emperor. ] Of the common soldiers, many in the agony of hunger leaped down from the fort walls and sought refuge in the enemy's camp, who took away the money they had concealed in their belts. The traders of Santa's camp-bazar used to come below the wall of the fort and sell fruits and sweets at fancy prices to the starving Mughals on the top, who threw down money tied in rags and

drew the food up by means of ropes. [ *K. K.* ].

When the food supply was absolutely exhausted and the water in the fort became scanty and unwholesome, Khanazad Khan, in despair of relief, sent his diwan and a Deccani captain of the imperial service to Santa to beg for terms of capitulation.

Santa at first demanded a lakh of *hun* besides the elephants, horses and property of the imperial army. But the treacherous Deccani captain whispered to him, 'What is this that you are asking for? Raise your terms. This amount will be paid by Khanazad Khan alone as his ransom.' At last the ransom was fixed at 20 lakhs of rupees; and all the cash articles, jewels, horses and elephants of the doomed army were to be given up, each general being allowed to go away on a single horse with the cloth he wore on his person. The generals individually signed bonds for their respective ransoms and each left a kinsman or chief servant as security for its payment. The terms were faithfully kept on the Maratha side\*, thanks to Santa's iron discipline, [ *K. K.* corrected by *M.A.* ]

Santaji sent word that the men might come out of the fort without any fear and live for two nights in front of its gate; those who had any money need fear no extortion but might buy their necessities from the Maratha camp. The lean woe-begone and bedraggled remnant of the imperial army filed out of the fort after the 13th day. The enemy gave them bread from one side and water from the other. Thus they were nursed back to life and strength in two days. On the third day Khanazad started for the Court with a Maratha escort. He had lost everything, but the imperial officers on the way supplied him and his men with horses, tents, dress, food and money to

\* They overthrew one tower of it and attacked all sides. [ *M. A.* 378 ].

\* But not on the Mughal side, according to Khafi Khan, who says, 'Not even half the ransom was paid as many of the hostages escaped from the wretch's army and he was [ soon afterwards ] killed. But the property seized by him was worth 50 or 60 lakhs.' [ ii. 433. ]

relieve their urgent distress. [ *M.A.* 378, K. K. 433. ]

Meantime, the Emperor then at Brahmapuri, 280 miles north of the scene of disaster, on hearing of the danger to Qasim Khan, had sent Hamid-ud-din Khan from his side and Rustam-dil Khan from Haidarabad to support him. They had united near Adoni, but in time only to receive and help Khanazad on his return. Here Khanazad's army was reclothed and newly furnished by the gifts and forced contributions from the officers and residents of Adoni. [ *M. A.* 379, but *Akhbarat*, year 39. sh. 72, differs. ] \*

## IX

In less than a month from this, Santa achieved another equally famous victory. Himmat Khan Bahadur, who had been deputed to co-operate with Qasim Khan, had taken refuge in Basavapatan (40 miles west of Dodderi) on account of the smallness of his force, not more than one thousand cavalry, though he had received the impossible order to go out and punish Santa. [ *M. A.* 379. ]

After the fall of Dodderi, Santa had established his own garrison there and told off two forces to watch and oppose Hamid-ud-din (in the north) and Himmat Khan (in the west). On 20th January he appeared before Himmat Khan's position at the head of ten thousand cavalry and nearly the same number of infantry. His Karnataki footmusketeers—the best marksmen in the Deccan, took post on a hill. Himmat Khan, with a very small force, advanced to the attack and dislodged them from it, slaying 500 of them.

\* *M. A.* 375 has made an astounding mistake of date by saying that Khanazad and Qasim Khan united their forces before fighting the enemy, on 23 *Famadi-us-sani* (= 19 Jan., 1696). But the absolutely trustworthy contemporary news-letter, *Akhbarat*, shows that on that date the mace-bearers sent by the Emperor returned to him at Brahmapuri after delivering his gifts to the vanquished officers, who had then reached Adoni. Qasim Khan had died more than a month before 19th Jan. The Madras Diary records on 15th Dec. 1695, the report of Qasim Khan having been already defeated, [say, about 25th Nov. ]

Then he drove his elephant towards the place where Santa was standing, when suddenly he was shot by a bullet in the forehead and fell down unconscious into the *hawda*. His driver wanted to turn the elephant back, but the Captain of his contingent (*jamadar*), Ali Baqi, told the driver—'The Khan is alive. Urge the elephant onward. I shall drive the enemy back.' But he, too, was wounded, thrown down to the ground and carried off by the enemy. Then his son fell fighting. Santa received two arrow-wounds. The leaderless imperialists fell back to their trenches. At midnight Himmat Khan breathed his last. Three hundred of his men were dispersed and fled to various places. The rest held their fortified enclosure successfully for some days, after which the Marathas withdrew from its siege and went away with the captured baggage of the Khan.\*

## X

Flushed with these far-resounding victories, Santaji went to Jinji to wait on Rajaram (March 1696). He seems to have claimed the office of Senapati, contrasting his own brilliant performances with Dhanaji's poor record of victories. Hitherto Prahlad Niraji (the *Pratinidhi* or regent) had, with great tact and diplomacy, kept peace between the two rival generals and taken great pains to show in all the acts of government that

\* This narrative is based upon the despatch received by the Emperor on 2nd February and included in the *Akhbarat* of the next day, with some additions from *M. A.* The rest of *M. A.* and the whole of Khafi Khan (gossipy fabrication) have been rejected by me. Khafi Khan writes (ii. 433-434): Santa, on hearing of the near approach of Himmat Khan, formed his army in two divisions and hastened by two routes to meet Himmat Khan. At a distance of 32 miles Himmat Khan encountered the first of these divisions (led by Santa). Severe battle; many slain on both sides, Marathas fleeing drew Himmat Khan's army near their second division. Santa had posted crack marksmen in dense jungles at various places across the path of Himmat Khan. The latter was shot through the forehead by a *Kalia musketeer* from a tree top. All his baggage elephants and stores were looted.

the king treated the two as absolutely equal. But he was now dead, and his successor in the king's council was less clever and could not keep the balance even. [Sardesai, i. 661.] Santa's vanity, imperious temper and spirit of insubordination, roused to an inordinate height by his recent triumphs, gave great offence to the court at Jinji and the result was an open rupture near Conjeveram (May 1696). [Z. C.] Rajaram sided with Dhanaji and placing Amrit Rao Nimbalkar in the van of his army, attacked his offending general. But Santa's genius again triumphed; Dhana was defeated and driven precipitately to his home in Western India; Amrit Rao fell on the field. [Z.C. But K. K. and Dil. wrongly give the victory to Dhana.]

This victory is thus graphically described in *Masir-i-Alamgiri*, which wrongly places it in October 1689:—"On the way to Jinji, this wretch had a fight with Dhana Yadav, who was escorting Rajaram there, on account of an old quarrel. Santa triumphed, and caused Amrit Rao, the brother [-in-law] of Nagoji, the comrade and assistant of Dhana, to be crushed to death by an elephant. He also captured Rajaram, but Dhana escaped. The next day Santa appeared before Rajaram with his wrists bound together, saying—"I am the same loyal servant [as before]. My rudeness was due to this that you wanted to make Dhana my equal and to reach Jinji with his help. I shall now do whatever you bid me." Then he released and conducted Rajaram to Jinji." (401.)\*

Of Santa's doings in the Eastern Karatak this year we have full information from the English factory-records of Madras and the Persian memoirs of Bhimsen. On his arrival at the head of 15,000 horse, Maratha bands spread into several parts of the country, the Mughal army with

its reduced numbers was powerless to defend its many outposts, and Zulfiqar Khan was forced to hold himself in the defensive in the fort of Arcot, after repelling one attack of Santa near Arni. Indeed, he made a secret understanding with the Marathas for mutual forbearance. In November it was reported that treasure for the Mughal army sent from the Court had reached Kadapa. Santaji immediately marched to that side to intercept it. Zulfiqar set out after him to defend the convoy; but, hearing that Santa had changed his plans, the Mughal general fell on Arcot after making three marches only. Santaji entered the uplands of Central Mysore and returned home, Zulfiqar marching to Penu Kunda (75 miles north of Bangalore) to join Prince Bidar Bakht.

## XI

In the Maratha homeland an intestine war now raged between Dhana and Santa, all other captains being ranged on the two sides. They fought together in the Satara district in March 1697. But fortune now deserted Santaji; his severity and insolence had disgusted his officers and most of them were secretly corrupted by the agents of Dhana. Hanumant Rao Nimbalkar, in concert with Dhana's troops, fell on Santa's baggage train, and most of the latter's officers deserted to Dhanaji, while the rest were killed or wounded. Santaji, despoiled of all and deserted by his army, fled from the field with only a few followers to Mhaswad, the home of Nagoji Mane whose wife's brother Amrit Rao he had killed. With Nagoji, however, the sacred rights of hospitality to a refugee rose higher than the claims of blood-feud; he gave Santa shelter and food for some days, and then dismissed him in safety. But his wife Radha Bai followed her brother's murderer with a woman's unquenchable vindictiveness. She had urged her husband to slay their guest, but in vain. And now when she saw him escaping unscathed, she sent her surviving brother after him. One of the many

\* Rajwade, XV. 45, is a letter styling Santa *enapati* in June 1695; but I cannot accept this date of defiance of the Zedhe Chronicle, which says (as I interpret it) that Dhana was given that title in May 1693. Santa's outbreak in May 1696 ended in his story and Rajaram could not have ventured to disgrace him then.

diverse accounts \* of his death (given by Khafi Khan) is that the pursuer (wrongly called Nagoji Mane by both Khafi Khan and Z. C. ) came upon Santaji when, exhausted by fast travel, he was bathing in a *nala* near the Shambhu Mahadev hill, in the Satara district. The party from Mhaswad surprised him in this helpless situation and cut off his head. "Mane [ i. e., Nimbalkar ] threw it into his saddlebag, fastened behind his horse... On the way the bag got loose and fell down. Firuz Jang's spies, who had spread in that hilly region, in pursuit of Santa, picked it up, recognised it as that general's head, and sent it to Firuz Jang, who ...sent it on to the Emperor. The severed head was paraded through the imperial encampment and some cities of the Deccan." [M.A. 401-402, Z. C., K.K. 447-448, *Dilkasha* 122a.] The date of his death is given in the *Zedhe Chronicle* as

\* Admittedly diverse and conflicting, according to M. A. 402, which omits all of them. The Mane family "old paper" printed in Parasnis's *Itihas Sangraha*, *Junya Aitihāsik Goshti*, ii. 45, is so palpably incorrect as to suggest an opium-eater's tale. Khafi Khan, after giving the account followed above, adds, "There is another story current [ about his end ]. God alone knows the truth"! [ ii. 448 ].

*Asharh 1619 Shaka*, or June, 1697. Bhimsen places it ( without date ) before the fall of Jinji in January, 1698. But the *Musir-i-Alamgiri* records it ( without stating the day or even month ) at the conclusion of the events of the 42nd year of Aurangzib's reign ( 3rd March 1698—20th February 1699, ) but I have not found all dates of this work unimpeachable. Khafi Khan places it in '39th year ( 5th April 1695—24th March 1696 ); but his chronology is palpably confused.

Thus died Santaji Ghorpare most ignominiously at the end of a most dazzling military career, like Charles X of Sweden. But his greatest monument is the abject fear he inspired in all ranks of the Mughal army\*, which is faithfully reflected in the curses and abuses invariably used as the epithet to his name in the Persian histories.

\* "When the news arrived that Santa had come within 16 or 18 miles of him, Firuz Jang [ Aurangzib's highest general ] lost colour in terror, and making a false announcement that he would ride out to oppose him, appointed officers to clear the path, sent his advanced tents onward, but then fled towards Bijapur by a roundabout path"! [ K. K. ii. 446 ].

## INDIA'S FIRST HIGH COMMISSIONER IN LONDON

By ST. Nihal Singh.

WE are at present in such a bitter frame of mind that it is well nigh impossible for us to take a just measure of services rendered to us by any Englishman. That is the only reason, so far as I can see, why so little has been said and written about the work done by Sir William Meyer, who died suddenly in London the other day. The lack of appreciation may, of course, be partly due to our ignorance of his services to us, for officials are wont to throw a veil of secrecy over their actions.

Sir William Meyer was a faithful servant of India. He was genuinely interested in

our people and problems, and sincerely tried to safeguard and to promote our interests. Often his attempts were countered by the bureaucrats here and the politicians in Britain. He did succeed, however, in a measure denied to most mortals, and some day when the papers which are held so secret that only sacred official eyes are permitted to scan them are made public, our people will realise how much they owe to his single-minded efforts.

Sir William was a shy man, as men of short stature often are. He was a man of humour and could not repress a joke, no

matter how cutting it might be. His wit kept many persons away from him or made it impossible for them to become friendly to him. His kindness of heart, his desire to do a kind turn whenever the opportunity offered, his generous recognition of any service rendered to him, and above all, his attitude of camaraderie towards his co-workers, made up, in a large measure, for his hyper-sensitiveness and biting wit, and he has left behind a large number of devoted friends and admirers.

I met Sir William Meyer for the first time soon after he returned to England after retiring from the Indian Civil Service. He immediately took to me and I to him, because, in spite of difference of views, exceedingly sharp on many questions, we both realised that we were working for the same end—the steady and rapid advancement of India. In my relations with him I found him remarkably frank, singularly unaffected and with a marvellous capacity for getting work done and for working himself.

As I sit at my typewriter, the last chat I had with him rushes back into my memory. It took place just a few days before my departure from London—towards the end of September, 1921. He sat at his table in the tastefully furnished room in the High Commissioner's office. As he puffed away at his cigar—he was an inveterate smoker—he declared that he wished he was accompanying me to India so that he could witness the changes which had taken place since he retired. "Perhaps I am of some use here," he said wistfully. Only a real lover of India could have spoken thus.

And now Sir William has passed beyond the mortal sphere of usefulness, and I am attempting to give a faint impression of the services which he rendered to our people.

## II

Ler me be clear, first of all, about the motive power of Sir William Meyer's life.

I have referred to him, at the beginning of this sketch, as an Englishman—not directly, but inferentially. Many Englishmen would deny that he was English. They used to do so when he was alive.

How well I remember a conversation which I once had with Sir William on this subject. The very day I saw him, there

had been a fierce attack upon the Jews in the columns of an English newspaper which was trying to make out that Jews had managed to instal themselves at the head of the India Office, the High Commissioner's Office, and the Palestine Government, with the set purpose of ruining British prestige and wrecking the British Empire.

"They call me a Jew," protested Sir William bitterly, "when my family has professed Christianity for goodness knows how many years, and we have married again and again among the gentiles. But, I suppose, once a Jew, always a Jew." And, with that remark, he dismissed the subject. At heart he was a philosopher.

Just because Sir William belonged to a despised race, he had great sympathy with the aspirations of our people struggling to secure equality of treatment in our own country—and abroad. He was not one of those "renegade" Jews, whom I have met in India and elsewhere, who feel that by behaving rudely towards Asiatics they raise themselves in the estimation of Europeans who otherwise would look down upon them, in spite of the fact that they belong to one or another of the exclusive services.

Change of religion and mixture of blood did not dilute in Sir William Meyer that high idealism which is the heritage of the Jewish race. It was that high idealism, innate in him, which, I feel, was the motive power of his life, and which made him so true a friend of India.

I pass over the earlier years of Sir William Meyer's Indian career because I am not competent to write of them, and also because I feel that the real service which he did for our country dates from the time he became the Finance Member of the Government of India. The great European conflict commenced shortly after he was placed in that position. Immediately a cry was raised by Britons in India who wished to be patriotic at our expense that India should contribute to the Empire's war chest in a manner commensurate with her importance. India is always important when it is a question of paying. The Finance Member knew how poor our country was, and resisted all demands beyond the obligation assumed by the Legislative Council to continue to bear the cost of the Indian

contingent on foreign service as if the troops were still in India.

The men whom Sir William Meyer thus thwarted became his implacable enemies and maligned him in season and out of season. The cry was taken up in Britain and echoed in the press and the clubs. "That Jew" who prevented India from assuming her share of the war-burden must be got rid of at any cost. That was the demand, made from every quarter. Only a courageous man, with the highest sense of duty to the country whose "salt he was eating" could have put up with the abuse which was heaped upon his devoted head from all sides. A less bold and a less conscientious man would have not embarked upon such a line of action in the first place, and if he had done so, would have found a way out of it as soon as he saw how unpopular he was becoming. Sir William, however, remained firm.

While that crusade was going on, the Government of India began to feel the financial pinch entailed by the war. The Finance Member had to provide more money, and proposed to do so by increasing the import duties. He was too good a servant of India, and knew the Indian temper too well, to suggest that the "excise" duty forced upon cotton manufactures at the behest of Lancashire should also be raised *pro tanto*.

The Conservative Minister who presided at the India Office would not hear of the proposals. He promptly voted them down.

Sir William, undaunted, set to work to evolve a scheme which would enable him to get over his difficulties the next year.

The plan which the Finance Minister finally adopted was nothing short of a stroke of genius. It enabled him to silence the Britishers who were howling at his policy of keeping India from being saddled with heavy financial burdens, and at the same time to deal a crushing blow to Lancashire—India's most determined foe—and thereby prepare the ground for India to acquire fiscal autonomy. He proposed to make Britain a "free gift" of £100,000,000, provided he was allowed to raise the import duties without raising the cotton "excise".

Few Indians were gifted with the far-sight to see the wisdom of Sir William's action. Most of us could only see that he had capitulated to the British demand, and that he was

going to bleed India to help Britain. Most of us blamed him for making a poor country *give* away so large a sum of money, while the other members of the Empire, far richer per capita of population than India, were hardly *lending* anything to speak of.

In Lancashire, however, they knew better. They had the shrewdness to realise that Sir William Meyer had hit upon an irresistible scheme to raise India from the humiliating position into which the English textile industry had thrown her a generation ago. Once she was allowed to raise her custom duties above the "excise" level, the machinery perfected by Lancashire to manipulate her tariffs would become so much junk. *In other words, Sir William paid £100,000,000 for India's fiscal freedom.*

The war was on. Money was wanted from India, in the nature of a war contribution. The Indian Budget could not be balanced, in any case, without fresh taxation, and about the only avenue which was open was the one suggested by the Finance Member. So reasoned the India Office.

That Office knew that Lancashire would howl: but what was to be done? If it considered the susceptibilities of Lancashire and repeated the action taken the year before, there would be no financial contribution from India to the war-chest, nor could the Government of India remain solvent. There was no way out of it except to let "that Jew" have his way. Lancashire must gulp it that time. That was the policy which the India Office finally was compelled to adopt.

And "that Jew" had his way. The proposals sanctioned by the India Office were incorporated in the Budget, and the Budget was introduced into the Council. A summary was telegraphed to London, and duly appeared in the press.

The fat was immediately in the fire. Lancashire declared that the Government of India had been permitted by the India Office to unsettle a question which had been "settled" for a generation. India was a part of the British Empire. That *Empire* was not a "free trade" Empire: but Britain was "free trade" and so long as India was *directly* administered by Britain, she must remain "free trade". That was only another way of saying that so long as Britain was in effective control of Indian policy, Lancashire trade



MUST BE FORCED UPON INDIA, whether she wished it or not.

If Mr. Chamberlain, who was at the time at the head of the India Office, had not anticipated howl, as I have supposed above he did, he found immediately upon the publication of the Indian Budget proposals that he had counted without Lancashire. The English textile industry lost no time in letting him know its views. The papers shrieked their protests, and so did the various capitalistic and labour organisations. They demanded his capitulation, and when they found he was not knuckling under, they insisted upon his receiving a deputation representative of Capital and Labour. They, however, failed to over-awe Mr. Chamberlain, who had taken the precaution of having, at his elbow, His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner and Sir Satyendra Prasanna (afterwards Lord) Sinha.

Filled with rage, the deputation insisted upon seeing Mr. Chamberlain's chief. The proceedings at No. 10 Downing Street have never been published in full for reason best known to Mr. Lloyd George. He began by assuring the irate cotton merchants and their employees that he was the "last man in the world to be indifferent to the interests of Lancashire," since he was himself a native of Lancashire, and nativity was "the first appeal in the elementary interests of" everybody. He said that he had read every word of what had been said at the deputation at the India Office the day before, and undoubtedly they had "presented a very powerful case, and had it not been for the overwhelming and imperative consideration based upon the war," he should have said that their case was "absolutely irrefutable". He had, he continued, taken part in the discussion at the time the government had decided that the decision upon the all-important question of the cotton duties was to be put off until the end of the war, and he had fully approved of that decision, which had been "conveyed to India in words which gave the impression to the Indian that we meant at the end of the war to consider the whole of this problem from what the Viceroy then called a different angle to the one which we had done before the war."

Describing the new circumstances which compelled the Government to come to that decision, Mr. Lloyd George reminded the Lancashire men that it was not "merely that India

was giving us (the British) 100 millions." That, in itself, was, of course, a very important factor: but they "were calling upon India to make a greater contribution" than she had "ever made to the winning of the war in men and material." That was a fact which, of course, "it would be very difficult to publish." And he continued:—

"This war is going to be settled by that consideration. The Germans are calling up their very last men out of their industries, and they are trying to counter the greater resources we have in men by utilising the prisoners of war, by deporting labour from Poland, Belgium and elsewhere, and putting the whole of their man-power in, with the result that they have a bigger Army than they ever had."

It was obvious, therefore, the Prime Minister explained, that the war was going to be settled very largely by the question of man-power. Britain could not put her last man in. It was incumbent upon her, therefore, to mobilise the whole of the resources of the Empire in man-power for the purpose of conducting the war. There were two contributions that India could make. She could relieve Britain very largely in labour in France, and she could create armies for Britain to use to deal with Turkey. There was also the consideration that India had made an offer of 100 millions. This was the one grievance that India was worrying constantly about "that undoubtedly affected the judgment of the Government in coming to the decision that if they were going to offer 100 millions to" the British, this was the only way in which the revenue could be raised for that purpose, and in addition to that it would "alter the whole temper of India towards the Empire. At the gravest turning moment in the war," that fact influenced the judgment of the Government "in spite of considerations which we were just as alive to as you are of the importance of the matter from the point of view of Lancashire."

In the burst of eloquence which followed, Mr. Lloyd George showed that he was fully aware of the solidarity of Indian public opinion upon the question of the cotton duties. "If you had a general election in India on this subject," he declared, "not one of my friends, at any rate, would be returned from India." It was not, he declared, "a question of the native millowners. The operative, the consumer, the educated classes, the official classes, the British people there, the people of native birth, the Mahomedans, all sections and

creeds, all classes and conditions of men, are solid against the excise duty."

Picking up the thread of his narrative, the Prime Minister went on :—

"We wanted the whole-hearted support of India in the winning of this war. We can see our way to making use of the resources of India for a victorious termination of this war that perhaps we had not fully realised even before. The first step was to get the Indian with us whole-heartedly, and I believe we are doing it."

Supposing the Government ought to have consulted Lancashire interests—what would be the effect if, to-morrow morning, the Indians were to be told, "we have decided to withdraw these duties"? They would lose any confidence they had in British rule.

The Prime Minister assured the deputation that the Government proposed to communicate with the Government of India as to "what arrangements could possibly be made to see that any advantage that would inure to the consumer or to the wage-earner.....should not go into the pockets of a very small section of mill-owners in Bombay." But he dared not wipe out the new duties. "It would create such a feeling in India," he insisted, "that no Minister would accept the responsibility of facing it." That fact did not, however, preclude the Government, at the end of the war, after Lancashire had seen by experience how the duties worked, from "considering the whole position at the great Imperial Conference where the fiscal arrangements of the Empire must necessarily be reviewed and revised." If it was found that the new duties had a disastrous effect upon the trade of Lancashire, they would be "entitled to come to the Government and present to the Government the actual state of facts," and they would be entitled to say to the Government that this was "a state of things which is not in the interests of the Empire, and not in the interests of India itself, and therefore we ask you once more to look into the matter, and in view of the altered condition of things, to come to a decision which will be beneficial not merely to ourselves but to the Empire as a whole."

When the transcript of the verbatim proceedings from which I have quoted reached Sir William Meyer, he must have had a hearty laugh. He must have known that either Mr. Lloyd George did not expect to be at No. 10 Downing Street when the time would come for

the fulfilment of his promises, or that, if he were there, Lancashire would have forgotten what he had said, or, more probably, he would have found some new pretext on which to delay Lancashire's request that he live up to his word.

Apparently Lancashire knew that it would be unsafe to rely upon a promise given behind the sealed doors of No. 10 Downing Street. It, therefore, insisted upon discussing the issue in open Parliament and compelled the Government to assent to the proposal, put forward by Mr. Asquith, that the Government should add to its resolution some such words as these :

*"This House at the same time declares its opinion that such changes as are proposed in the Indian Budget in the system of Indian Cotton Duties should be considered afresh when the fiscal relationships of the various parts of the Empire to one another and to the rest of the world come to be reviewed at the close of the war."*

The Prime Minister replied that the Government not only had "no objection to it but it was exactly what" had been put before the Lancashire deputation the day before. "If by putting these words at the end," he declared, "if by adding that proposal to the Motion which", Mr. Chamberlain "put before the House—if that will be acceptable, certainly we should not only have no objection, but should welcome the addition of those words," and he accepted the responsibility of moving the addition of these words.

I never had the opportunity of asking Sir William Meyer what he thought of this motion. I am sure, nevertheless, that he did not take it seriously. He must have known all along that such sentiments expressed in time of war would lose their warmth with the cessation of hostilities.

So, indeed, they did. As we all know, Sir William Meyer's successor proposed, the following year, a further increase in the cotton duties, and got his proposal sanctioned by Mr. Montagu, who had, in the meantime, succeeded Mr. Chamberlain at the India Office. Lancashire protested and asked Mr. Lloyd George, who was still at No. 10 Downing Street, to fulfil his promises. It, however, protested in vain. Mr. Montagu, evidently with the full consent of the Prime Minister and his other colleagues, told the Capitalists and Labourites who had journeyed to London from Lancashire and contiguous

counties, that Parliament had given India fiscal autonomy in 1919, and if she was imperialistically inclined she could concede Imperial Preference to Great Britain and her Dominions and Colonies, but she could not be forced by Whitehall to alter her fiscal arrangements to oblige Lancashire.

#### IV

While Mr. Montagu was thus talking to the delegates from Lancashire, Sir William Meyer was sitting comfortably in his office, not far away. Shortly after his appointment as India's High Commissioner in London, he began to look around for separate offices. I have always felt sorry that he did not ask the Secretary of State to leave the India Office, because, unlike the other Government departments in Whitehall, that Office had not been built at the expense of the British Exchequer, but had been paid for by India, and, therefore, was India's property and, as such, should have been turned over to India's High Commissioner as soon as he was appointed, while the Secretary of State should have sought quarters in some building set aside for his use by the British Government.

Sir William Meyer was not the man to try to indulge in Imperialistic fancies at the expense of so poor a country as India, as is the case with so many officials. He, therefore, selected two modest buildings in Grosvenor Gardens and had them refitted to serve as offices. While he refused to be extravagant, he did not stint money upon making the place business-like and at the same time furnishing it artistically.

The High Commissioner showed great wisdom in choosing for his right-hand man Mr. J. W. Bhore, I.C.S., who, in earlier years, had been associated with him in Madras. Mr. Bhore happened to be on leave at the time, and, therefore, was near at hand and could help his chief to organise the new department from the very beginning. The two, working together, formulated the plans for taking over the functions of an "agency" character, of which the Secretary of State divested himself, and such staff as he wished to transfer.

It was a pity that Sir William Meyer and Mr. Bhore could not have had an entirely free hand in the selection of the men who were to serve under them. It was a still greater pity when the retirement of the Controller of the

Stores Department gave the opportunity for installing an Indian in his place, that a non-Indian was appointed. I do not know, however, whether the official was selected by Sir William Meyer, and, if so, with Mr. Bhore's concurrence, or whether he was appointed by the India Office of its own motion.

If my choice had been limited to the selection of a non-Indian to fill that position I have no doubt that I should have selected the present incumbent, who is an Irishman with knowledge of Indian conditions, and exceedingly sympathetic with Indian aspirations. I feel, however, that no non-Indian can ever be so suitable as a capable Indian for such a position. There is no department in which more questions arise out of the clash of British with Indian interests than in the Stores Department, and I am "firmly convinced that only an Indian with a sound knowledge of Indian finance and gifted with strong determination can adequately safeguard them.

Apart from yielding in regard to this appointment, Sir William Meyer had a constant and not always a successful fight to prevent the Stores Department from being administered to India's detriment and to the advantage of British trade, industry, and finance. As he made it quite plain in his evidence before the Indian Railway Committee, the political pressure brought to bear upon him was so great that, with all his love for India, on occasions he could not prevent India's interests from being subordinated to those of Britain.

As I wrote an article in this *Review* dealing with Sir William's evidence before the Indian Railway Committee, it is unnecessary for me to refer to it again. His death, however, enables me to make certain revelations in connection with the statements which he made.

The Government of India, or at least Sir Thomas Holland, was furious with the High Commissioner for "giving the show away." Sir Thomas had reason to be irate, for when the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau addressed certain questions to him based upon a cablegram which I had sent to the *Hindu* (Madras), he found it impossible to deny that in making purchases for India the High Commissioner was patronising British trade and industry. No wonder that he sent

a telegram to Sir William Meyer telling him that it would be awkward for him to explain some of his (Sir William's) statements to the Central Legislature, and asking him to furnish, confidentially, materials which would enable him to make his reply.

When Sir William Meyer told me how he had got into trouble with the Government of India for telling the truth about the purchase of Indian stores, shortly before I left London in the autumn of 1921, I could not help but admire the man. He said that he had only done his duty. His position was most peculiar. While he was the agent of the Government of India, and, therefore, the servant of the Indian people, he was subjected to such pressure in London that he found it difficult to protect Indian interests on every occasion.

"To give you an illustration," said Sir William, "you no doubt read a question asked by an Honourable Member of Parliament about certain orders for stores which had been placed by the Stores Department with Continental firms instead of in Britain, and the answer given by the representative of the India Office in Parliament. That question came to me in the ordinary way, and I drafted the reply. The reply was not, however, made as I had drafted it. Mr. Montagu found it politic to leave out some of what I had written. I don't blame him for doing so, for while I was sitting comfortably in my office, he had to face the music in Parliament. But there it is. Some British people feel that they conquered India and that India must be kept for British trade. They are represented in Parliament, while India is not. The situation is neither of your making nor mine. We may not like it. But there it is. I have to face it each time I have to authorise any purchase on behalf of India."

To say that I was deeply touched by Sir William Meyer's sincerity is to describe my emotions very feebly.

## V

Sir William Meyer, as the nominee of the Government of India at the various assemblies of the League of Nations, tried to serve India as faithfully as he had served her as Finance Member of the Government of India, and as her High Commissioner in London. I remember how furious he was when he returned from the first of these missions, because, as he

put it, India was regarded as a first-class Power when it was a question of paying, and as less than the dust when it was a question of dividing the loaves and fishes. Tenth-rate countries, he declared, had been given seats on the Governing Body of the International Labour Bureau, while India, with her multi-millions of labourers, was left outside on the door-mat.

On more than one occasion, Sir William made a light to get the rights of India's labourers recognised. He failed each time. When the rights of Indians are not recognised within India, how could he succeed in having them recognised in the outside world? We should esteem him, nonetheless, for he fought bravely and persistently. In Sir William Meyer India has truly lost one of the most faithful servants she ever had.

## VI

And now that our friend is no more, what of his successor?

Britons in our employ are clamouring for the appointment of one of themselves to the post. That is natural, for in the past every post carrying a high salary has gone to them automatically. Indians who expected that a son of the soil would be appointed to succeed the Baron Singha of Raipur, or, at any rate, that an Indian would be appointed to one of the Governorships which recently fell vacant, saw how strong the "I. C. S." tradition is in the "reform" period.

Mr. Lloyd George's reply to our cry for the "Indianisation" of our services was merely an expression of the belief which nearly every Briton cherishes, and which every one of them who has any power over India has put into effect. For 150 years the British have found adventure, fortune, and authority waiting for them in our country, and the scions of their aristocratic—and other—families have made careers here. So to expect a mere sense of altruism to induce Britons to give up their opportunities is fatuous. Mr. Lloyd George has spoken to us in no uncertain voice. He has vacated No. 10, Downing Street, but there is not the least reason to suppose that the "steel frame" policy which he enunciated has gone to limbo with him.

By degrees Indians have come to realise that India's High Commissioner in London holds a "key" position, and that only an

Indian placed in it can protect their interests. That is a sufficient reason to make the British manufacturers and traders, who have succeeded in pushing their wares upon the Stores Department, whether India profited or suffered, mobilise all their resources—and they are great resources—to thwart us.

It is British practice to concede in principle and take away in detail, and, I fear, therefore, that we may have an Indian placed in the chair vacated by Sir William Meyer who may have the intelligence to understand the work, but who may not have will-power to protect India's interests no matter who suffers or who is offended. I have shown that Sir William, with all his experience and his truly strong character, had often to yield and to permit purchases of stores to be made in Britain when it would have paid India to place her orders abroad. It can, therefore, be easily imagined how difficult it is going to be for any Indian who

may be appointed as his successor to resist the pressure which is certain to be brought to bear upon him, from all sides, to make him patronise British industry and workers, especially at the present time, when the United States has raised her tariff wall, Europe is too poor to buy, and there is great industrial depression and unemployment in Britain.

There is no dearth of suitable Indians, even if Mr. Bhore were not to be confirmed as, being undoubtedly the most suitable man available, he should be. I could name at least half a dozen Indians, any one of whom would fill the position with distinction and protect Indian interests.

We are, however, a lethargic people. Having once made our demand that the High Commissionership should go to an Indian, we have gone to sleep. And the job is still vacant. Our agitation should cease only when an Indian whose abilities and character we can implicitly trust has been installed in it.

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

[Books in the following languages will be noticed: Assamese, Bengali, English, Gujarati, Hindi, Kanarese, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Punjabi, Sindhi, Tamil, Telugu, and Urdu. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text books and their annotations, pamphlets and leaflets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., will not be noticed. The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged, nor any queries relating thereto answered. The review of any book is not guaranteed. Books should be sent to our office, addressed to the Assamese Reviewer, the Hindi Reviewer, the Bengali Reviewer, etc., according to the language of the books. No criticism of book reviews and notices will be published. — Editor, M. R.]

### ENGLISH.

TOWARDS THE DAWN: By J. N. Mitra, M. A. (Anglo-Oriental Press. Price Rs. 2.)

The political novel has always been a luring temptation leading even novelists of eminence to failure. It is not surprising that Mr. J. N. Mitra should have failed to make a work of art of this novel of contemporary political life in India. Political sermonising, journalistic superficiality and the subordination of the artistic to other aims are some of the weaknesses of the literary attempt to portray the present political ferment in the country. There are excursions into the fields of romance but they are mild and ineffective, as they are cramped by the most conventional and rigid notions of morality. Sukhalata promises to be a fine centre of love and romance, but she is soon swept along into a "worldly" marriage and is lost to the artist. There are possibilities of an entrancing domestic idyll in the life of the beautiful Mahratta girl Ashrumati, but everything has got to be subordinated to the political purpose of the

novel and men and women are looked upon not as men and women, but as the revealers of the political conditions of India—a standpoint fraught with the greatest danger to artistic success. It would not be unfair to say of the book that it contains the weaknesses of novels like George Eliot's *Felix Holt* exaggerated beyond measure and the author has to be reminded that a novel must primarily be a novel and only secondarily a picture of contemporary or any other politics. The language also needs revision in many places. In spite of these defects, it must be conceded that the book is marked by fine aspiration and real patriotism and should prove of interest to students of Indian problems.

MY DAYS WITH UNCLE SAM: By Rosh Behari Day. (Alexandra Press, Dacca, Re. 1.)

This is an interesting autobiographical sketch of a Bengali youth who made his way to America as a sailor with five rupees in his pocket and rose to be an Engineer, working for his livelihood even during the period of his education. It is a vivid story

of enterprise and adventure extremely creditable to the young man. The book does not pretend to any literary merit, nor is the author so highly educated as to be able to offer any profound remarks on American life, and civilisation. The book is distinguished by a cheerfulness of spirit, and fairness of judgment that are appreciative. We have no hesitation in thinking that this story of industry and perseverance deserves the attention of our young men.

CONFESSIONS OF A LOVER : *Anonymous. (Business House, Karachi).*

It was probably not altogether an advantage for this anonymous author to have chosen such an alluring and ambitious title as the *Confessions of a Lover* for the translation of his own Urdu quatrains. It raises in the minds of students of literature memories of writers like Rousseau and Goethe whose intimate spiritual revelations of love are objects of admiration and is apt to create disappointment by the comparative absence of merit in the volume. It is also probably a misnomer to call the book *Confessions*, as there is practically nothing in the nature of *Confessions* in the volume, and as it contains only some reflections on love, touched with philosophy and spiritual aspiration. It is hardly possible to estimate the poetic accomplishments of the writer, as this is only a translation from his Urdu, and excellence in poetry in two different languages is a standard not easy to attain, though the author is content in this translation with a kind of "prose-poetry" which should not necessarily hide poetic genius. Here are two quatrains chosen from different parts of the book :—

We are evil ones but we wish good to all :

May those enjoy good, even those who contemplate evil,

Is there not enough of evil here,  
That we must needs add to the pile ?

O Love, in vain dost thou seek perpetuity.

O Beauty, in vain dost thou cherish lastingness.

Every cup, O drinkers, is the final cup.

Such is the injunction of the sorrow bedewing *saki*.

We grant that the sentiments are worthy of treatment in art, but where is the *art* and where are the *Confessions* of the lover ?

VISIONS FROM AFAR : *By Sanjib Kumar Chaudhuri, M. A, Lecturer in English, Dacca University. (Published by the Author. Price Re. 1).*

This is a pleasing volume of prose rhapsodies, eloquent and inspiring, brimming with fine sentiment and deep thought. The subjects embraced in the volume show considerable variety and range over such diverse things as *War, Music, Evolution and The Dawn*. The author has caught the secret of success in the style of prose rhapsody and steers clear of prosaic commonplace while avoiding, at the same time, the other extreme of turgid extravagance to which such writers are often prone. He knows the line beyond which it would be unwise to wax eloquent and he also understands the need for brevity in compositions of this kind, one of the best sketches in the volume is that on the inauguration of the Dacca University, and it is no ordinary compliment to him that he should have been able to make a 'vision' of the theme which might easily have deteriorated in treatment into the style of clever and popular

journalistic jargon. "Be thou not like 'stars in the deep of the sky', which arise only on the glass of the sage," he writes. "But be thou rather like daylight and sun, to be shared and rejoiced in by all. Let thy glorious form and thy far-beaming blaze of majesty shine on all, on the high as on the low, on the poor as well as on the rich..... We welcome thee to-day as the holy sages of old did the holy child at Bethlehem. We have no verse, no hymn, no solemn strain for thee. Our call is humble, almost a prayer. Do thou hear it. Come, revive and succour us. Give us new light and life."

BAJI PRABHOU :—*By Aurobindo Ghosh. (Arya Office, Pondicherry 12 as.)*

If Mr. Aurobindo Ghose has now unfortunately ceased to exercise his literary genius in the production of English verse, it is some consolation to students of poetry that at least some of his early writings are being published for their delectation. The other day we had the privilege of extending our cordial welcome to his beautiful narrative in blank verse, *Love and Death* and here we have another, on a heroic theme of Mahratta history written in the columns of the *Karma Yagin*, as many as thirteen years ago, when the poet was actively interested in politics and had not withdrawn himself to the secluded retirement of spiritual contemplation. Brought up on the fine traditions of the great epic-masters of ancient Greece and Rome as well as of modern Europe, Mr. Aurobindo Ghose has acquired a special gift for dignified and effective narrative verse in one of the most time-honoured metres of English. Dealing with the episode of a Mahratta warrior, Baji Prabhau, a lieutenant of Sivaji, heroically defending himself with a handful of warriors against an advancing Moghul horde at the entrance of a narrow mountain defile, Mr. Aurobindo Ghose has been singularly happy in his choice of theme, and he has done justice to it with a vividness of imagination and a dignified flow of expression worthy of the highest praise. At a spot

Narrowing where

The hills draw close and their forbidding cliffs  
Threaten the prone incline

Baji Prabhau takes his stand against the onrush of the Moghul army.

Thou seest this gorge

Narrow and fell and gleaming like the throat  
Of some huge tiger, with its rocky fangs

Agrin for food : and though the lower slope

Descends too gently, yet with roots and stones

It is hampered, and the higher prone descent

Impregnable forbids assault ; too steep

The sides for any to ascend and shoot

From vantage.

In that noonday sun of the Deccan, the battle was fought for hours :

But from the near,

The main tremendous onset of the north

Came in a dark and undulating surge

Regardless of the check,—a mingled mass,

Pathan and Moghul and the Rajput clans,

All clamorous with brazen throats of war

And spitting smoke and fire.

The tide had been stemmed—the Moghul warriors lay dead in their thousands and before

The sun in fire

Descending stooped, towards the vesper verge,

Baji himself lay dead on the rocks, sword in hand, having fought like "a lion hungry on the hills". But the day had been won for the Mahrattas and the great Sivaji himself came up with re-inforcements :

Baji lay dead in the unconquered gorge,  
But ere he fell upon the rock behind  
The horsehooves rang.

Baji had immortalised himself. Musing on him, the chief exclaimed :

Thirty and three the gates

By which thou enterest heaven, thou fortunate soul,  
Thou valiant heart.

Mr. Aurobindo Ghose has in him the spirit of "a brave soldier in the liberation war of humanity," to use the exquisite words of Henrick Heine and it would not be difficult to conceive of the author of these lines in other circumstances, as a soldier marching in grim determination to sacrifice himself for a great national cause.

The weight of modern learning has an unfortunate tendency to stiffen and complicate poetic expression, when it is not corrected by a scrupulous attention to verbal felicity and literary polish. It would be idle to deny that Mr. Aurobindo Ghose has occasionally succumbed to it, especially not being able to bestow upon his verse the loving and continued attention which may be expected from one who feels that his vocation is song. Otherwise he could not have written.

Still the velocity and lethal range  
Increased of the Mahratta bullets.

Or,

They with a rapid regal reckless pace  
Came striding to the intervening ground  
Nor answered uselessly the bullets thick.

Or again,

The daylight  
Was ordinary in a common world.

Such lapses apart, it is a fine poem which will gratify all students of English literature in India and provoke their curiosity, leading them to wonder if the weird magician has any other treasures of the same kind up his sleeves which he may some day reveal to the world by some lucky chance.

ENGLISH PROSE: Chosen and selected by W. Peacock. Vol. V (Mrs Gaskell to Henry James). (The Oxford University Press, 2s. net The World's Classics.

The last few days this writer has been reading the Hon. Stephen Acleridge's *Letter to My Grandson on the Glory of English Prose*, and the truth is being brought home once more to his mind that the achievements of English Prose will bear constant and repeated analysis and appreciation. The volumes of Sir Henry Craik's monumental *English Prose* enabled a student to range over this beautiful panorama of literary achievement with considerable advantage, though they never reached the highest level of the excellence of their companion volumes in Ward's *English Poets*. But the Oxford University Press is furnishing in these five volumes of English Prose chosen and edited by Mr. Peacock, a literary guide of considerable value enriched with an extensive

range of prose literature. The absence of introductory matter as well as of notes of any kind militates, it is true, against its effective usefulness for the student, but the selections are very well chosen and should form a reliable guide for literary study. Extending from Mrs. Gaskell to Henry James, it covers the entire period of the nineteenth century and it is no exaggeration to say that most of the important writers are there represented by some of their best passages, though it is possible to think of some writers who should have been there and who are not there and also of some passages which should not have been missed. It is however good to remember that no anthology can ever satisfy all tastes in the matter and one can only expect to find some of the standard passages in each writer. Examined by this test, Mr. Peacock's volumes will meet with wide appreciation. Looking into the pages of this part, for instance, under Dr. John Brown, we find his admirable paper on *Rab and His Friends*; much of Becky Sharp under Thackeray; a good slice of Mr. Poyser's humour in George Eliot; some of the fine things of *Sesame and Lilies* in Ruskin; the best of the *Egoist* in Meredith; and some of the great flights of eloquence in the essay on *Leonardo da Vinci* and the beautiful imaginative sketch of *Marius the Epicurean* under Walter Pater. We have great pleasure in recommending the volumes to all lovers of English Prose.

P. SESHADRI.

## BENGALI.

JANJAL: By Birendra Kumar Dutta, M. A., B. L. Messrs. Gurnadas Chatterjee & Sons, 203-1, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 3. Dedicated to Mr. P. Chowdhury, M. A., Bar-at-law. Pp. 407. 1339 B. S.

This is the author's third novel, and in a sense the most powerful of the three. The story deals with a Hindu and a Brahmo family, but the principal characters the two heroes and the heroine belong to the latter group. A beautiful and accomplished undergraduate girl, full of life, romance and love, is married to a learned professor who is immersed in his books, and the one aim of whose life is to write a monumental work on the History of Indian Civilisation. Their married life is sweet enough at first, but soon the woman feels that her husband has an object dearer to his heart than all that her love can give, and perceives her mistake. The dull monotony and uninterestingness of the days as they pass by is relieved by a friend of childhood, an atheist doctor, who is up in arms against society and all its conventional terms, and the inevitable downfall follows, as well as swift retribution. And yet as we close the book the author leaves on us the impression that had society been civilised enough, the lives of the erring pair need not have been marred for ever, and the author need not have been put to the necessity of removing them from the arena so that they might not, as the title of the book indicates, lag superfluously on the stage; on the contrary, the healing influences of nature, and the philanthropic work in which the couple had devoted themselves in an industrial centre among the labouring classes would, in the eyes of society, have redeemed their one *faux pas*, sanctified as it was by mutual love and esteem, and the utter devotion of the one for the other. The effect of

the total subversion of the conventional moralities upon the child begotten by her husband, as well as upon the future offspring of her illicit love had her life not been cut off by a convenient suicide, has not been touched upon. Perhaps the author is of opinion that the children of the future will be wise enough to understand the problem in all its bearings and thus find it easy to forgive, and that society will have sufficient sympathy for the age-long sufferings of woman at the hands of the Lords of creation not to visit the weaker vessel with the reprobation which more properly belongs to her tempter, and to the unjust laws which govern society with an iron hand; or science may discover, as it is already said to have done, means sure enough to prevent the problem of the future issue of such irregular unions from arising at all to add to their complexity. Hindu lawgivers, as we know, permitted reunion with an erring wife, but drew the line at conception (Vasistha-smṛiti, ch. 3; Atri, ch. 5; Yajñavalkya, ch. 1). But the Deval-smṛiti would even reclaim a fallen woman after the fetus had been forced out of the womb (verses 47-51).

As for the ill-fated *savant* whose virtues far outshone his foibles and whose ambitious career was cut short by this domestic catastrophe, George Eliot in *Middlemarch* has depicted for us how a life of brilliant promise is blasted by an uncongenial marriage and Froude's Life of Carlyle is a living illustration of the sad disillusionment which awaits a gifted woman who has married a genius. Honore de Balzac once described the tragedy of a genius, and cursed him by making his wife say: "In your life-time you will be unhappy, like every man that was great..... A great man can have neither wife nor children. Go alone along your paths of poverty! Your virtues are not those of the common herd, you belong to the world, you could not belong either to a wife or to a family, you dry the soil around you, like big trees."

Though the book deals primarily with the eternal feminine, sex-problem is not the only one with which it deals. All the grave issues of social inequality, the heartless oppressions practised, under the most innocent of guises, by the rich and the cultured classes upon the masses, the peculiar features of our hoary civilization which make it at once so loveable and so helpless, conventionalities which rule the world with pompous catchwords that signify so little—these, and many things besides, have been depicted with a masterly touch. The author's wide knowledge, his still wider sympathies, his masterly and impartial analysis of the feelings which surge in the human breast when it comes to grips with live realities before which all man-made conventions pale into utter insignificance—all command our admiration. He is one of the little band of Bengali writers to whom the future most assuredly belongs. Nothing, be it ever so shocking or unpleasant to ears hidebound by custom and tradition, is too bold for them to proclaim from the house-tops, for they owe allegiance to one God alone—the God of truth, as they perceive it. And the deep sympathy for all who are weary and heavy-laden pervading their writings exalts their messages to the rank of prophecies which are bound to receive their due fulfilment as man approximates his divine prototype and generations yet unborn inherit a new heaven and a new earth.

Like everything that has solid worth, the ideas, sentiments and active impulses awakened by the writer are

of the highest order, but one cannot help noticing the fact that there are a few easily avoidable blemishes in the book which grate on the sensitive ear. Certain turns of expression which may almost be called mannerisms, and provincialisms, solecisms, and misspellings which can hardly be laid at the printer's door, occur here and there to mar occasionally the effect of an otherwise charming and vigorous style.

The author has a new message to deliver, which will surely make a violent commotion in the placid waters of our social life; but the book is meant for the thoughtful reader, and he will find in it ample food for digestion. A fit audience, which will cease to be few in the spacious days of mental expansion already visible among us, is assured to the writer, and by interpreting to the young generation in their own language the great social movements which are agitating the world outside, and by enshrining them in a story full of pathos and interest which not a few will read for its own sake, the author has done a memorable service to Bengali literature.

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#### ENGLISH.

PRINCIPLES OF EDUCATION: By Chandra Chakraverty. Published by Ramchandra Chakraverty, 58 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Pp. 112. Price 1s. 4d.

In Part i of the book, the author deals with—'What is Education', 'Educative Process', 'Recapitulation Theory and Its Significance', 'Intelligence and Memory', 'Physical Education', 'Intellectual Fatigue', 'Sexual Education' and 'Female Education'. In Part ii, the following subjects are discussed:—Elementary Education, Preparatory School, University Education, National University, Girls' Schools, and Foreign Universities.

This little book is well-written. Our author's suggestions about 'Sexual Education' are worth considering. The subject should not be ignored.

FROM THE COUNCIL TO GOD: By Joseph Mazzini. Published by S. Ganesan, Triplicane, Madras, S. E. Pp. 62.

The subjects of discussion are—The Council Then and Now, The Miasma of Materialism, The Law of Life, Our Dogma—God and Progress, Humanity and Christian Humanity, Our Mission on Earth, The Evolution of Faith.

It is a reprint of the letter addressed to the members of the Ecumenical Council. Worth reading even now.

CHITTA RANJAN DAS: Published by G. A. Nateson & Co., Madras. Pp. 45. Price annas 4.

A sketch of the life and career of Mr. C. R. Das. The name of his father is Babu Bhuvan Mohan Das and not Babu Bhupen Mohan Das as has been written in more than one place.

CHRIST AND HIS MESSAGE FOR INDIA: By K. K. Kuruvilla, M. A., B. D., with an Introduction by C. F. Andrews, M. A. Pp. 40 (Printed at the N. M. S. Press, Vepery, Madras).

Written from the standpoint of orthodox Christianity.

TEACHINGS AND SAYINGS OF HARANATH: Published by the Haranath Society, Bombay, on the occasion of the 57th birthday of "Shree Thakur Shree Haranath Banerjee of Sonamukhi, Bankura." Pp. 52.



"BEYOND PHILOSOPHY ! AN EXPOSITION OF YOGA. A PEEP INTO THE TRANSCENDENT" : By Prof. Dharmendra Nath Shastri, with a foreword by the Rev. T. D. Sully, Professor of Philosophy, St. John's College, Agra. Pp. 47. Price annas 6.

THE IMMORTAL SPARK OR LIFE BEYOND LIFE : By Jamsetji Dadabhai Shroff. Published by D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co. Bombay. Pp. X+110. Price Rs. 2.

It contains five chapters, viz.—(i) Dreams, Premotions, etc., (ii) Hypnotism and Spiritualism, (iii) Spontaneous Generation, (iv) Psychic Evolution, and (v) Conclusion.

This booklet is a defence of Occultism and Spiritualism.

Our author has "come to believe in an Evolving God who still is not perfect."

KARLIMA RANI : By Sri Ananda Acharya. Published by the Brahmakul, Gaurisankar, Scandinavia. Pp. 243. Price annas 10. (Sole agents for India—The Punjab Sanskrit Book Depot, Lahore).

The book is "a series of eighteen lectures on the Reconstruction of the Humanity-Ideal together with a new Interpretation of the Laws of Real Living and their relation to a hitherto undiscovered Aspect of Nature, called Person-Nature and to God, delivered by Sister Karlima Rani, Abbes of the Kristo cloisters on the slopes of Mount Kailash above Lake Mansarowar in the Himalayas to Hallgerour Hallgrimsdottir, a truth-seeker from Isafjörður in Iceland, who, having suffered an earthquake of the soul during the Great War, set out for India in quest of Yoga, Peace and Truth, and landed at Cape Comorin on the Eve of Christmas in the year of Grace nineteen hundred and nineteen and travelling through the sacred land reached Mount Kailas on the twenty-fourth day of March in the year of Grace nineteen hundred and nineteen" (author's).

There are eighteen Chapters in the book under the following headings :—(i) In the Quest of the Holy Lotus, (ii) The Epic of Duty, (iii) The Bird of Unity, (iv) The Knight of Prayer, (v) The Blossom of Remembrance, (vi) the Dreaming Knight, (vii) Dewdrops of Imagination, (viii) Eternal Messengers, (ix) The Star of Sacrifice, (x) The Coming of Peace, (xi) The Herald of Power, (xii) The Spring Garden of Hope, (xiii) The Mountain Path of Conduct (xiv) The Dawn-light of Progress, (xv) The Hambooflat of Resignation, (xvi) Sun-faith, (xvii) Forest-Whispers of Immortality, and (xviii) God-ward.

Some of the Chapters are unscientific, unphilosophical and purely imaginary. But on the whole the book is helpful.

THE REPENTING GOD OF HOREB : (MAHABODHI PAMPHLET SERIES NO. 3) : By Anagarika Dharmapala. Pp. 61. Price annas 8.

An adverse criticism of non-Buddhistic religions and especially of the Jewish God.

MAHES CHANDRA GHOSH.

CHARKA—Satish Ch. Das Gupta, with an introduction by Sir P. C. Ray—Cloth cover.

THE DUTIES OF MAN—Joseph Massini, (Reprint) Cloth cover—As, 12.

DYARCHY AND AFTER—C. R. Reddy, M. A. Cloth cover, As 4.

The three books mentioned above are published by Messrs. Tagore & Co., Madras.

A VOICE FROM PRISON—C. S. Ranga Iyer, Madras. Cloth cover—As. 8.

GANDHI AND THE ANGLICAN BISHOPS—Cloth cover.

The above two books are published by Messrs. Ganesh & Co., Madras.

SYNOPSIS OF HOROSCOPY—H. N. Subba Rao, Printed at the G. T. A. Press, 1922. Cloth cover—Re. 1.

ELEMENTS OF INDIAN ASTROLOGY—Sinheswar Prasad. Bad Print—Bad get-up. The price is rather too much for this small book. Printed by The Utkal Sahitya Press, Cuttack. Price Rs. 2.

THE MODEL TOWN, PART I—Diwan Khem Chand, Punjab Central Press, Anarkali, Lahore. Cloth cover.

The following books are published from the Christian Literature Society for India, Madras, Calcutta, etc.—

(1) OUR DAILY LIFE AND RELIGION—Marie L. Christlieb. Cloth cover—As. 6.

(2) THE BIBLE IN ISLAM—The Rev. William Goldsack. Cloth cover—As. 8.

(3) THE JESUS' WAY—The Rev. R. A. Hume, M.A., D. D. Cloth cover. As. 2.

(4) RELIGION, IN ITS PURITY AND ITS POWER—T. W. Gairner. Cloth cover. As. 14.

(5) THE WAY OF PRAYER—The Rev. E. S. Oakley, M.A. Cloth cover.

## HINDI.

BRITISH BHARAT KA ARTHIC ITIHAS : By Sri Keshav Das Saharia and Published by the Gyan Mandal Office, Bhelupur, Benares. Crown 8 vo. Pp. 216. Price Re. 1-1-0.

This is a valuable addition to the economic literature in Hindi and is a well-written synopsis of the late Mr. R. C. Dutt's Economic History of British India. It is good that the latter's views on the subject are now available to Hindi students. The language is good—no criticism against it seems to be called for. An alphabetical index at the end of the book increases its value. The book no doubt removes a decided want and most of its theories and conclusions will be a good eye-opener to those writers in Hindi newspapers and periodicals who are not acquainted with English. The printing is not bad and the get-up is satisfactory.

SARNATH KA ITIHAS : By Sree Brindaban Bhattacharyya and published by the author himself. D. Crown 8 vo. Pp. 217 and 11. Price Re. 1-4.

To them who wish to visit Sarnath near Benares this will be a very instructive handbook and guide. The book will furnish valuable information to those who have a taste in archaeology. It has been written on

original lines and this makes the work interesting. The compilation must have cost considerable pains to the author and owing to his acquaintance with best sources of information on the subject, he has made the work sufficiently informative. The language is not quite up to the mark so far as symmetry and chasteness are concerned, but all the same it is better than that of many similar publications. The get-up is fair and the book can be had in bound cover too with a little additional cost. It is well worth being secured. The book is a translation from the Bengali and the author, who is a professor in the Benares Hindu University, wrote it originally in that language. We have no hesitation in saying that it will be of great help both to the ordinary traveller and the students. Buddhist culture is receiving special attention in these days and a treatise on Saranath where a Buddhist Vihar has been opened must be valuable.

**TARANAYE (JAFAS) :** *By Pandit Krishna Kanta Malaviya and to be had from him at the Abhyudaya Press, Allahabad. Crown 8vo. Pp. 123. Price as. 12.*

A collection of selected poems in Urdu composed by some non-co-operators imprisoned in the Agra jail and transcribed in Hindi character. Short accounts of the poets have also been given. A few of these began to compose poems seriously after they were in the jail for some time. Short accounts of poets have also been given and a critical survey of Urdu Poetry and its characteristics have been given at length in a separate chapter. This will help purely Hindi readers to appreciate the poems. Most of the poems show poetic skill of a high order.

**MODERATION KI POL :** *By Kunwar Chand-karan Shrivada and printed at the Vaidic Press, Ajmir. Foolscap 8vo. pp. 93. Price as. 4.*

The author has answered in his own way most of the questions which according to the extremists expose the hollowness of the moderates. Definite forms have been given to questions which cover a wide area, and answers to these have been prepared in considerable detail.

M. S.

**AKBAR AUR JAINADHARMA :** *Translated by Krishnalal Varma. Published by the Atmanand Jaina Tract Society, Ambala. Pp. 14 and V. 1922.*

Mr. M. S. Ramaswami Ayengar, M. A., L. T., published an article in English in the "Jaina Gazette" to show that the emperor Akbar had the three Jaina saints and savants, viz., Hiravijay Suri, Vijaysena Suri, and Bhanuchandrajai in his court. The pamphlet is a translation of that article into Hindi. Besides this article the translator deals with Dr. V. A. Smith's "Akbar," and Vidyavijayji's "Suriswar aur Samrat" in the preface.

**ASIA-NIBASITON KE PRATI EUROPEANON KA BARTAB :** *By Thakur Chhedilal, M. A. (Oxon), Bar-at-law. Published by the Pratab Pustakalaya, Cawnpur. Pp. 62. 1921 Price as. 6.*

The inhuman treatment of the white, civilized and Christian races of modern Europe towards the coloured and unmillitant races of Asia, viz., the Egyptians, the Persians, and the Chinese are delineated in this work in a most interesting manner. The cartoon pictures are very enjoyable. The opinions of sympathetic European writers have been laid under contribution. The mention of India has only been passingly made.

**PREM-PUSHPANJALI :** *Edited by Shimpujan Sahaya. Published by Ananta Kumar Jain, Vira-mandir, Arrah. Pp. 100. Price Re. 1-4.*

This is the third edition of the collection of poems on love from the various modern Hindi poets originally published by the late Kumar Devendra Prasad Jain.

**SEVA-DHARMA :** *Edited by Shimpujan Sahaya. Published by Ananta Kumar Jain, Vira-mandir, Arrah. Pp. 112. Price. Re. 1-8.*

This is the second edition of a work on all kinds of social service published by the late Kumar Devendra Prasad Jain. Maxims, stanzas and poems are collected from various authors besides some articles

**UDYOGIKI :** *Compiled by Pandit Mahavirprasad Dwivedi. Published by the Rastriya Hindi Mandir, Jubbulpur. Pp. 113. Re. 1. 1921.*

Pandit Dwivedi has compiled this popular treatise on various subjects of commercial and industrial interest at the time when the people are realising the need of such useful works. The topics of currency, credit, paper money, bank, brokerage and exchange are explained in a simple style. Painting, sculpture, embroidery, wood-carving, glass manufacture, agriculture, sugar industry, etc., are also dealt with in this work.

**SRI SAMADHI-SATAKA :** *Edited by Brahmachari Sitalprasad, editor of the "Jainamitra", Surat. Published by Pandit Fatahchand, Delhi. Pp. 175+ii. 1921. Price Re. 1-4.*

The original Sanskrit work is a collection of 100 verses by Pujyapada Swami, the 11th Jaina Acharyya, flourishing in the 3rd century of the Christian era. This work has been ably edited with prose order in Sanskrit, and elaborate explanatory notes. Parallel passages from various works, and the gatha slokas in Jaina Prakrit, have been very useful. Towards the end of the work, much information on Jainism has been gathered.

The printing should have been better.

RAMES CHANDRA BASU.

## INDIAN PERIODICALS

### Compulsory Education for Girls.

According to *Stri Dharma*, the Madras Publicity Bureau has announced :—

The government have accepted the Resolution of the Brode Municipal Council, Madras Presidency, that elementary education shall be compulsory within the whole of the local area under its jurisdiction, for all children of school age excepting Muhammadan girls. The act shall come into force within that area from the 1st November, 1922. This is the first instance where compulsory education for girls is proposed.

This stout-hearted little organ of the Women's Indian Association observes :—

The application of the principle of compulsion in the case of girls' education has been strongly opposed by the ultra-orthodox party among Hindus, and by the Mussalmans; in fact, school education has been much opposed, and the lamentable custom of child-marriage has taken many away from school long before they are able to bear the burden of household life. Happily the ancient Hindu ideal of girls' education is making its way against that of later Hinduism, and we may again hope for women philosophers and mystics as of old. Brode is the first place in Madras where the system will be put into operation, and we trust that the fathers and mothers will co-operate with the municipal and educational authorities in making the experiment a thorough success. That will be practical appreciation and thanks for the wise and far-sighted policy of their unique Council.

The same journal quotes from a Japanese paper the following statement made by an American lady who visited India and 27 other countries in less than two years.

"Of all the countries I visited," Miss Emerson said, "I found the best educated women in Japan. There they have compulsory elementary education. The Japanese are willing to sacrifice everything for education. They have women's papers and magazines and women reporters but the transition between the old and the new has brought many sad tragedies." "How about India?" she was asked. "It is a mistake to think that it is the men who retard the progress of women in India," she replied. "It is women who hold themselves back. A friend and I called on an Indian woman in 'purdah'

whose husband is an Oxford graduate. He had tried for years to make her mingle with people but she couldn't be persuaded to. She thought it wasn't proper. And when my friend asked what she had been doing since her last call, she answered, 'Just sitting!'"

### Women and Underground Work.

There can be no question that, as urged by the Women's Indian Association, underground work in mines by women should be prohibited by the Bill to amend the Indian Mines Act which has been referred to a Select Committee. In connection with this topic we read in *Stri Dharma* :

A European manager in charge of several of the largest collieries in the Jharia Coalfield has stated : "There is absolutely no necessity for the underground work of women. Their employment could easily be eliminated within the next five years without in any way decreasing the wages of the miners or increasing the cost of coal to the purchaser. In fact, with modern equipment installed in the collieries I am certain that the price to the purchaser could be decreased considerably." With such assurances from an experienced expert the Government should take its courage in its hands and put an end within a definite and reasonable period of time to a state of injurious employment of women not allowed in any civilised country in which the social conscience is awakened.

### Wise Philanthropy.

It is very encouraging to read in *Stri Dharma* that

A well-known Bombay merchant, Seth Mulrai Kahatan, and his nephews Messrs. Thricandass and Tulsidass, have donated two lakhs of rupees towards the Benares Hindu University for the construction and maintenance of a hostel for at least a hundred women students at the University. This splendid gift should give a great impetus to the higher education of Hindu women in Northern India. All women will in their hearts thank these wise merchants.

Mr. Iswar Saran, M. L. A., of Allahabad, has given notice of a resolution to be taken up at the next meeting of the Benares Hindu University Court that no new educational institution in connection with the University should be established unless adequate provision is made for the higher education of women.

### Child Mothers.

The reader is aware of the fate which has overtaken Bakhshi Sohan Lal's Bill which proposed to raise the age of consent in cases of girls from 12 to 14 years. As *Stri Dharma* is a woman's journal, its remarks on some passages of the press-report relating to the discussion of this Bill should be instructive :

Sir William Vincent said that the Government's greater objection was to the inclusion of married women in the Bill. (*These are girls of less than 14 !—Ed.*) He, therefore, informed the mover that Government could only support his Bill subject to two conditions—one of which was that it did not include married girls (*who, because of customs, most need protection before 14.—Ed.*).

Mr. Amjad Ali thought that if the Bill was passed all husbands would have to go to gaol. (*Laughter.*) (*What a confession of the self-indulgence of men !—Ed.*)

### Women the World Over.

The following items are taken from the same journal :—

#### THE PHILIPPINES

The women of the Philippines are women of keen intellect, and have the gift of organisation. There are women's clubs for the pursuit of literature, medicine, and sports in every little town in the islands. The women are also clever linguists and keen tennis players.

#### ENGLAND.

There are now over 600 women magistrates (J. P.'s) in England alone.

#### TURKEY.

Turkey has stolen a march over all other advanced countries in one particular respect. Her Excellency Madame Khalide Edib Khanum, who has been appointed the Minister of Education, in the Government of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, is the first woman to be so prominently associated with a Government.

Her great intellectual powers are responsible for a vast number of writings. Her appoint-



Madame Khalide Edib Khanum, Minister of Education, in the Government of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey.

ment as the Minister of Education in the National Government is one of the most remarkable events of human history. From amongst the whole mass of civilised peoples of the world the Muslim Turks could alone vote for a Muslim Woman Cabinet Minister. Since the outbreak of the Greco-Turkish conflict Khalide Edib Khanum once more came out in the open, and after relinquishing her duties in the Cabinet, organised an appeal campaign in the cause of national defence and national relief.

### A Notable British Industrial Decision.

*Industrial India* states that more than one great British Corporation has carefully considered the desirability of transferring to, or, at least, of establishing textile plant in India.

On this point, it is, therefore, worthy of notice that the British Calico Printers' Association, after receipt of a report from a special investigator who has visited India, and studied conditions on the spot, has definitely decided that any expansion of the C. P. A. activities shall take place in Lancashire. There were many good reasons to urge in favour of development in India—the saving of transport costs, which form an appreciable percentage of working costs, the attitude of India towards imported cotton goods and others, but despite these advantages the special commissioner who carried out an intensive investigation of the problem reported that the balance of advantage lay in favour of development along established lines. The undeveloped state of India in a manufacturing sense, the difficulty of obtaining a supply of reasonable coal within a convenient distance, the question of an adequate supply of running water, and the absence of trained personnel were factors taken into full consideration. There are other reasons as well, but these are so obvious as to need no elaboration.

But, unfortunately for the struggling indigenous industries of India the decision of the British manufacturers of certain other kinds of goods appears to have been different. It is stated in the August *Journal of Indian Industries and Labour* that among the more important industrial enterprises recently floated in Bengal is Lever Brothers (India) Ltd., with a capital of one crore and twenty lakhs, for carrying on business as manufacturers of soap, soap-powder and toilet requisites, etc.

### Smoke Abatement.

Wakefield is an important industrial centre in Great Britain. The efforts made there to abate smoke nuisance have produced striking results, as the following extracts from *Industrial India* will show:—

A purer atmosphere, more sunshine in our cities and towns, fogs with their inconveniences

minimised, happier and healthier people and a greatly reduced death-rate, surely such benefits are sufficient to make one 'proud of being a rate-payer in the city taking the first step towards such attainments.

We are all satisfied without medical knowledge that the two chief essentials for good health are water and air, consequently both should be free from pollution, but only the water seems to secure attention, and yet the senses of sight, smell and taste enable us to reject it when impure, but no matter how polluted the air is by which we are surrounded we are compelled to breathe it, and we who would not drink from another's glass, do not hesitate to inhale the products of combustion from the lungs of others which may be diseased. Knowing that pure air is necessary for health is there any reason in overcrowding houses, schools, music-halls, and trams and trains, and then to express surprise at the spread of even air-borne diseases, including tuberculosis, as we make the conditions we can only expect the natural results of our own work.

Coal and other fuels should be burned correctly, and perfect combustion should be secured and the formation of smoke prevented, therefore that of air pollution also.

### Georgian Poetry and Present Day Britain.

If you want to understand the present age in Britain, read its recent poetry: that is what N. Macnicol means to say in *The Young Men of India* in an article on some British poets of our day.

If it be the case, as Matthew Arnold said long ago, that poetry is "criticism of life," then there can be no better way of discovering the real tendency and temper of any period than to study its poets. If they are sincere—and the first essential of poetry is sincerity—they will disclose more certainly than any others of the time the prevailing motive, the dominant passion and ideal, by which the contemporary multitude are, perhaps quite unconsciously, controlled. Just as there is no person (to be honest) quite as interesting to one as oneself, so there is no age so interesting to us, or none that it is so important that we should understand, as our own age. We desire to pluck out the heart of its mystery, to see into its secret. "Art," it has been said, "is the thought of men with vision." If that be so then let us use the artist as our eyes and see what he sees. Then we shall understand, and, understanding, sympathise. We do not want to be wholly isolated from the stream of contemporary tendency, stranded on the bank

and shoal of time. An old fogey is one who has lost touch with his times, and who keeps company with his own idealized youth and an idealized past. The fear that visits us sometimes when the light burns low in us,

At night when doors are shut,  
And the wood-worm pricks,  
And the death-watch ticks,  
And a cat's in the water-butt,  
the fear that visits us in such melancholy hours, lest the world is going hopelessly to the dogs and is not minding our admonitions, may perhaps be exorcised if we get nearer to the hidden springs of the life of the new age, and see them bubbling up as fresh and clear as ever they have been. Each generation comes, bringing its own gifts, some more precious, some less, but no gift to be contemned, if only it be possessed of life and of sincerity. What these gifts are is most fully revealed to us in the poets. I propose, therefore, while not claiming any complete acquaintance with the works of the many contemporary writers of verse, to try, with the help of several volumes of selections from their works, to seize some of their characteristics and to reach thereby a better understanding of our time. I would dip a bucket here and there in these shimmering waters, and judge whether they are sweet or brackish.

## Indians and Germany.

*The Collegian* writes :

### INDIA'S CHANCES FOR APPRENTICESHIP IN GERMAN FACTORIES.

"As a general rule, it must be remembered," says *Commercial News* (Berlin) edited by Benoy Kumar Sarkar, "that facilities for industrial training in factories and workshops can be created, if at all, only through personal influence, friendship, or favour. No amount of correspondence from India is likely to be efficacious in the matter. Indians who are anxious to learn the technical processes in certain manufactures can avail themselves of the few opportunities only when they have lived for some time on the spot in Germany."

### GERMANY ATTRACTING INDIAN TRAVELLERS.

We learn from the same source that during the last few months Germany has attracted a number of visitors from different parts of India. The manufacturing centres of Germany have been visited by Mr. S. R. Bomanji (banker, Bombay), Mr. D. C. Majumdar (pottery works, Gwalior), Mr. Tekchand Advani (importer, Hyderabad, Sind), Dr. Sumant B. Mehta (medical and sanitary officer, Baroda), Professor Pramatha Nath Banerjee (economist, Calcutta), Mr. H. Mehra (textile and general importer, Amrit-

sar), Dr. Bhalla (surgeon, Lahore), Mr. Gulam Ali (merchant, Bombay), Dr. Meghnad Saha (physicist, Calcutta), Mr. Govind Rao Jadhav (Bombay), Mr. Jeewanjee (merchant, South Africa), Professor Nadgir (anatomist, Bombay), Mr. Brojendro Doss (jute merchant, Calcutta), Mr. Inamdar (minister of education, Aundh), Professor Phanindra Nath Ghosh (applied optics), Mr. Banerjee Dass (industrial chemist, representing an American firm), Dr. Hemendra Nath Ghose (bacteriologist), Mr. S. Bose (importer), the last four from Calcutta.

## Cost of Agricultural Production.

Mr. Tara Nath Roy writes in the *Bengal Agricultural Journal* that in making an estimate of the cost of production and of the profit of some crop,

The average outturn multiplied by average price should be taken as the probable cost of producing a crop. In proportion as one's cost of production is kept below average and the outturn raised above average one's profit will increase. One will lose if one allows the cost of production to exceed the average unless the excess is covered by the above average produce.

He illustrates the application of the rule in the case of some of the important crops, as, for example, jute :

*Jute*.—The average outturn of jute is usually taken at 15 maunds per acre. The price of jute fluctuates so much that it is difficult to strike an average. It has however been proved that a price below Rs. 5 per maund offers no inducement for growing it and the acreage falls when no better prices prevail. If Rs. 5 is taken as the average price, the probable cost of production would be  $15 \times 5 = 75$  rupees per acre. With prices ruling at about Rs. 10 per maund, jute becomes a paying crop and comes under the exception.

## Education and Employment of the Blind.

*The Light of the Blind* informs its readers that the Bill presented by Mr. Ben Tillett, M. P., contains the following provisions for the education and employment of the blind :—

Every local authority will make adequate and suitable provision for the technical training, employment and maintenance of every blind person over 16 years of age resident within the area of such local authority. Schools shall there-

fore be established and maintained by the local authorities who, however, have permission to make arrangements at their cost in other schools for the proper care and education of their blind, if this method is more feasible.

Blind persons between 16 and 50 years of age are entitled to this benefit, and the training period is for five years.

With a view to provide employment for the trained blind man, it is the duty of every local authority to own a workshop or make suitable arrangements in any other workshop for their blind youths. During their employment after training, the blind are given the benefit of the advice and supervision by a specially appointed inspector.

The Bill provides for monthly grants to every blind person who through infirmity or incapacity is unable to learn or to support himself by means of any trade, industry or employment.

### Constructive Work of Trade Unions.

Mr. Khagendranath Banerjee gives expression in *Labour* to the opinion, that,

However we may hate Western Industrialism, it is staring us in the face and our labour will be crushed under it if they are not provided with western weapon in the form of Trade Unions to protect them. In the beginning of the Labour upheaval in Bengal there were many strike organisations which may be revived and along with those in existence developed into full-fledged Trade Unions in the true sense of the word. In our work of organisation we must always remember that strike is not the sole aim of Trade Unions. In the western countries Trade unions have great constructive programmes. They try to raise the standard of diligence, regularity, and good workmanship among the members and thus increase their efficiency and power of production. They also help as many as possible of the rising generation to acquire industrial skill and join the higher paid ranks of labour. Besides, they insure the members against accident or death, maintain them when they are ill or out of employment and also confer other benefits. They arrange for recreation, hold meetings and lectures and exert themselves seriously to diffuse education and culture among the members. These are real substantial work which are bound to improve the conditions of the working classes in all respects and we must so organise the Trade Unions among them as to be able to discharge these fraternal functions. But these works are evidently much more difficult than simple organisation of strikes and requires the services of a large number of trained workers. In the western countries there are

schools and colleges in the industrial centres to train students in social work which is not at all an easy task. A welfare worker must have an aptitude for social work and should be so trained as to be able to bring to bear a fresh and wide outlook on the relations between the employers and the employed. So it is first necessary to have an institution that can supply welfare workers well-grounded in principles and trained in their work. The Social League, Bombay, is fulfilling the functions of such an organisation at present so far as some of the Bombay Mills are concerned. In Calcutta there are also some organisations for the welfare of the Labouring classes such as 'Social Service League,' 'Sanatan Vidyalay,' 'Workmen's Association,' 'Employees' Association' etc., but they are at present greatly handicapped for want of workers. If our countrymen take active interest in the advancement of the working classes, these associations can be developed or separate institutions can be started with branches composed of mainly local men throughout the industrial field which will not only train workers but will conduct them and organise welfare work on a sound basis.

### The Vedantic Ideal and the Future of Nations.

A Vedantist contributes to the November *Prabuddha Bharata* an article on "The Vedanta and Peace of Europe" which concludes thus :-

Rightly or wrongly Europe to-day enjoys a privileged position in the world. Upon her depends to a great extent the peace and happiness of the world. The realisation of the Advaita Ideal can alone make her happy and enable her to promote the happiness of others. Otherwise she will be buried in the very pit she is digging for others. People hugged various means to end war. They have made various experiments to achieve this purpose. Extension of commerce, growth of democracy, Court of Arbitration, Concert of Europe, progress of science—these are a few among the many experiments that were fondly hoped to bring peace on earth. But one by one all of these experiments have failed and failed lamentably and egregiously. And lastly we are witnessing to-day the big failures of that effete institution known as the League of Nations to stop the orgy of war from overwhelming the hapless and helpless people of the Middle East. No better result can conceivably be the outcome of an organisation which is mainly guided, managed and wirepulled by diplomats and statesmen who promise only to betray, flatter only to ruin; and however they may occasionally bind

themselves by oaths and treaties, their conscience, obsequious to their interest, always releases them from the inconvenient obligations.

Even the more philosophical conception of the formation of fraternal societies to promote brotherly feelings among men does not bring the prospect of peace nearer to human mind. Even the relation of brotherhood is a fragile bond which breaks up at any stress of circumstances. For brother stabs behind the back of brother. War can pass out of the arena of this world only when man looks upon man as his own self, considers the universe as part of his existence, and forgetting his little and limited ego, learns to live in the consciousness of the Universal Self. No one can say if there will ever come the day when the world as a whole will realise this ideal. Possibly not. However we may try to extend our vision through the dim vista of the future, we do not discern the possibility of an everlasting peace reigning in the world. The ideal shall ever remain an ideal for humanity as a whole, and may only be realised by the individual soul by his individual effort. But the more does humanity learn to proceed consciously towards this ideal the greater is the possibility of strifes and wars to come to an end and of peace and good-will to adorn the fair bosom of God's creation.

### Commercialised Vice

Rev. R. M. Gray, writing in *The Social Service Quarterly* on the report on prostitution in Bombay, observes :—

It is important that the issue should be made perfectly plain. The Report does not propose a direct attack upon vice as such. It presses for an attack upon commercialised vice. The Committee are quite aware that if their proposals are adopted, the evil of prostitution in Bombay will not be ended. That evil is far-spreading and hydra-headed. But they believe that the worst and ugliest feature of it, the traffic in women for immoral purposes with the urge of covetousness behind it, might be limited down to the point of abolition. They do not propose to make prostitution criminal, but to make the procuring of women and the keeping of brothels punishable offences. The policy which they recommend, therefore, is the policy, not of segregation or regulation, but of abolition. They believe that a system which condemns thousands of women to life-long degradation from which men make pecuniary gain is indefensible. They believe that if the citizens of Bombay realised the conditions under which this revolting trade is at present carried on, they would, with no uncertain voice, declare it to be intolerable.

The proof that State regulation does not,

among the civil population, have any effect in reducing disease or in lessening clandestine prostitution, is overwhelming. And, on the other hand, no proof is forthcoming that any of the evils, which opponents of abolition believe will result from it, do, as a matter of fact, ensue. The Committee believe that by far the greater volume of expert opinion, and the general teaching of experience, will be found to lend force to the proposals which they have made.

The signatories to the Minute of Dissent are no less conscious of the magnitude of the evil, and no less anxious to find ways of dealing with it. Their objection to the main proposal of the Report is twofold. First, they are possessed, not to say obsessed, by the conviction that public opinion is totally unprepared for so radical a change. They believe that there is no strong general condemnation of prostitution, and that in the absence of it, it would be foolish to legislate. We believe that this is an entire misapprehension. There may be lacking any very widespread sense of the wrongness of irregular sex-indulgence. There may be a common disbelief in the possibility or even in the obligation of chastity.

We do not think that there is a common disbelief in the possibility or even in the obligation of chastity.

That common opinion has any sympathy with the trade in vice, most of us find no ground to believe. As the "*Servant of India*" writes: "What public opinion has tolerated for centuries is hereditary prostitution by individuals or members of certain castes living in separate houses. The brothel system, in which a person keeps a number of prostitutes as debt-slaves for his or her gain, forcing customers on the wretched inmates up to the limit of endurance, irrespective of their physical condition, is the creation of the modern capitalistic regime, and is quite foreign to Indian traditions." There must be very few who do not feel, when the matter is put to them, that the compelling of women to live in degradation and practical slavery to bring gold to their masters, is an inhuman and disgusting business. The Minority, it is clear, quite under-estimate the good sense and humanity of the average man.

The second objection of those who have signed the Minute of Dissent is that closing of brothels would increase the number of clandestine prostitutes, and that many of the present inmates would set up in their sordid business for themselves. Here, again, it may be pointed out that there is no experience which supports this contention. In no country has it been proved that abolition increases the general disorderliness of a city. It has not done so in Europe. It did not do so in Ceylon. There is no reason to suppose that it will do so to any extent in Bombay. No one who knows the helpless condition and the feeble character of most of the brothel women in this city can



readily believe that they could establish themselves in independence even if they wished to. Moreover, even if it is granted that a number do join the ranks of the clandestines, it is not possible to accept the contention that that is a worse evil. Sad as it is that so many women should choose or be driven to supplement their earnings in that way, there is at least less of the brutishness and cruelty which are inseparable from the brothel system. Let it be remembered also that if a law making it criminal either to procure women or to keep them in brothels is properly enforced, the supply will be cut off, and the number to be dealt with and, if necessary, provided for will rapidly diminish.

All the members of the Committee and all the witnesses agreed in holding that strong measures should be taken with the procurer and the male pimp. But it is more than doubtful whether so long as the brothel remains a recognised and not illegal institution it will be possible to treat as criminals those who provide the inmates of them. Experience, again, affords little reason to hope that efforts to secure any efficient medical examination of the women will be successful. In short, there is no middle course possible to adopt, and the proposals of the Minority, made as they honestly are in the interests of decency and humanity, are not likely either to prove workable or to have any appreciable result.

### Co-operative Irrigation.

*The Bengal, Bihar and Orissa Co-operative Journal* writes that in foreign countries co-operative irrigation has been an eminent success.

In other countries co-operative irrigation has been an eminent success. In Belgium, Germany as well as in England and America it has been demonstrated by long experience that "in obtaining a water-supply for Irrigation co-operation has great advantages." Bengal already possesses many irrigation societies and an officer has been appointed to promote their development. The societies execute irrigation schemes of local utility, such as the building of dams across the rivers, the construction of channels and of minor irrigation works which are of supreme importance to a famine district like Bankura in which most of the societies are found. The demand for such societies has become stronger than ever in Bengal on account of a series of local failures of crops. There are various reasons why a co-operative agency for irrigation is superior to other instrumentalities. It has been felt by many that the provisions of Agricultural and Sanitary Improvements Act are too complex for being adopted and utilised generally. Again in the case of co-operative

societies there is the less likelihood of civil suits arising since the by-laws of co-operative societies bind their members to accept the decision of the General Meeting on any point in dispute without resort to courts of law. Moreover there is another argument for preferring irrigation societies which are co-operative in their nature; while co-operative irrigation societies can be and are easily controlled by the Registrar, the local bodies cannot in any similar fashion control societies composed of non-descript individuals.

### State Management of Railways.

Mr. B. M. Dadachanji writes a strongly worded and reasonable article in *The Hindustan Review* on "State Management of Railways". He thinks that company management in India has proved so harmful and such a flagrant injustice that even Sir William Acworth, the life-long advocate of company management, was forced to favour state-management. He summarises the brilliant records of state management in actual practice in foreign countries. In his opinion,

Company management of railways in India is the most colossal and impudent swindle that has ever been recorded in human history. Company management of railways in India is nominal and has no risk or responsibility for financial results. It has extensive powers and little or no control or competition. The Government of India either finds the capital or guarantees the interest, defrays the costs of working and highly paid establishments, *all out of the public treasury*. Traffic is overflowing and the companies hardly take steps to foster or canvass for it. They manage the railways indifferently and spend money like water, because those who pay have no control over the railways. The masters of the railways, namely, the Indian Nation, have become the servants. The servants of the Indian nation, namely, the Companies entrusted with their management, have become the masters. The history of Company management of railways in India is a history of studied outrages on Indian public sentiment and supercilious contempt for Indian public opinion. Only the Indian nation with its meekness, want of self-assertiveness, and resignation to insults, affronts and outrages could put up so long with such treatment from its servants. No other nation on the face of the earth would have put up with it even for a moment. The Government of India is *impotent* to exercise any effective control over the companies, which by fair means and foul have acquired an extraordinary influence over politicians and Government officials, big and

small. Company management of railways in India is nothing but industrial buccaneering on a scale which has had no parallel in the history of the world. It is an example of capitalistic rapacity which has never been surpassed in any other age or country. The railway companies are so many highwaymen infesting the high-roads of the Indian nation and plundering her people.

He quotes Pandit Chandrika Prasada's indictment of company management.

"The system of leasing Indian State railways to private companies" says Pandit Chandrika Prasad, our great and truly patriotic writer on railway questions, "amounts to this that the people of India defrayed the costs and expenses of building up the property while the profits and other advantages of ownership are shared and reaped by others. In the early days of these railways, when the traffic returns were low and did not pay the expenses and interest and other charges, the people of India defrayed all the deficits. When the time came for profits, the companies stepped in and got hold of the railways, practically becoming masters of the same, sharing in the surplus profits, and exercising powers over large expenditure and lucrative appointments, keeping Indians down in the lowest grades of the service."

Mr. S. C. Ghose holds a similar opinion.

Company management of railways enables British merchants and purely British interests to maintain their deadly commercial grip of India. We have it on the high authority of Mr. S. C. Ghose, who has sacrificed much for the sake of vindicating India's claim for State management of railways, that if we want to recover India from the clutches of British merchants and purely British interests we must have State management of railways.

Some of the writer's "tips to Indian legislators fighting against company management of railways, the greatest and most wicked injustice to India", are worth quoting.

Remember that whoever manages the railways of a country virtually owns and manages both the country and its government. This has been the underlying philosophy of State management of railways in Germany and many other countries.

Remember further that the problem of State management of railways lies at the very heart of Democracy,

Remember that one of the most important lessons taught by the railway history of the world is that wherever Company management exists, the Companies by the use of both fair means and foul, acquire an extraordinary influence over politicians and Government officials, big and little, that the influence thus acquired

makes any real Government control over the companies impossible

Remember that long, long before many of the other countries of the world, India had adopted the policy of State management of railways and had made a complete success of it: that this policy was reversed by Lord Ripon at the bidding of the British exploiters; and that the reversal was effected in the face of strongly-worded protests from the highly-placed English officials of the Government of India.

Remember also that the record of company management of the Indian railways has been a dark and dirty record from the very beginning to this day. Destruction of India's indigenous industries, and erection of foreign industries, on the ruins; crushing of Indian talent; diabolical *zulum* on helpless, voiceless Indian third-class passengers (who) contribute almost all the net profits of the railway companies from the entire passenger traffic; brutal sweating and mean, heartless underpayment of Indian subordinates, lavish expenditure of Indian money for pushing on railways for the benefit of foreign trade and commerce and for providing comforts, conveniences and luxuries for European and Anglo-Indian passengers; systematic debauching of the Legislature, Judiciary, and Executive of India; annual wastes of several crores of rupees in consequence of the altogether unnecessary multiplicity of managements; ever increasing, annual Drain of several crores of rupees from India; studied outrage on Indian sentiment; supercilious contempt for Indian public opinion—these are but a few of the innumerable inglorious and infamous achievements of company management of railways in India.

Remember that if you do not free India from the curse of company management of railways NOW you will never be able to do so later on, because by transferring their Boards of Directors to India, and giving some of the well-paid posts on the Directorates to influential Indians, the companies will increase their political influence to such an extent that a fairly good number of Indians will then be found both inside and outside the Legislatures, who would sacrifice the interests of the country for their selfish gains. It must have been with this very object of seducing Indians from the path of Duty, Righteousness and Patriotism that one of the European Chambers of Commerce first suggested to the Government of India the transfer of the Boards of Directors to India on the ground that it will stop the Indian demand for State management. As it is, the political corruption practised by the railway companies has already proved disastrous to India. How much more so it will be when the new system of increasing the corruption is in full working order can better be imagined than described. Remember, therefore, that you must abolish company management NOW.

## Clerks, "Be Organised and Strong."

Is the advice of *The Indian Clerk*.

Common sense demands that every clerk should help in the operation which the Stock Exchange terms "supporting the market"—the market of clerical labour. We want to sell our wares at the best price, not for a purely selfish purpose, but to enable us to keep up the clerk's standard of living. Any lowering of wages weakens the Nation, and most clerks, being patriots, should prevent this at the earliest possible date. Clerks unorganised are merely a mob which any disciplined force can buffet hither and thither. Clerking in olden days was considered slavery. To-day we will not have it said that clerks are slaves. Individually we are helpless. United we can become the strongest force in this Country, and no single interest could then compel us to put up with any sort of wrong. For your honour as clerks, join the forces—for Life, and for Health, for your fellow-clerks if not for yourself.

## The Message that Europe Needs.

Mr. C. F. Andrews believes—to quote from an article contributed by him to *The Indian Review* :

The message from the East that Europe needs in living form is the message of the Buddha and the Christ,—the truth, that evil can never be overcome by evil but only by good; that the secret of the higher life of man lies in forgiveness, not in taking vengeance; that higher justice consists in love, and not in retribution. The message that Europe needs is the truth of unity instead of intensive strife,—the message runs through all the upanishads which tell of the Advaitam whose nature is joy, the Universal One in whom all things subsist, the One without a second in whom all beings are united. It is the same message, which Christ himself declared in personal ways to man, when he said,—“I and my Father are one.”

This message of unity and love is at the very centre of all Indian life and thought. It has been lived in India for countless generations and has made India humane.

It is true that Europe has plundered Asia and often shamefully despoiled her. Yet in the hour of Europe's need, all this will be forgotten. For, in India, there is the heart to forgive the past. The question remains,—Has India still the power to sound the universal note which once was truly hers? Has she, in her political subjection, the spiritual strength to move the world? I, for one, believe that she has; and when that note is sounded, out of her own supreme

experience and with her supreme conviction, then Europe at last will understand the true mission of India among the peoples of the earth.

May the writer prove a true prophet.

## The Task before Oudh Taluqdars.

Here are some words of advice to Oudh Taluqdars by one of them—Raja Sir Kam-pal Singh, as published in *The Feudatory and Zemindari India* :

The times are changed and we shall have to adapt ourselves to the changed conditions of the country. The irresistible current of democracy is gradually sweeping over these lands. No barriers can withstand its force and aristocracy and bureaucracy will have to bow their heads before this mighty stream. All that we can do and may do is to do our utmost to guide and turn the current into proper channels so that the landed aristocracy may not be lost for ever. The affection and attachment that existed between these two classes is fast disappearing. The interdependence of self-interest between them that was a source of strength to both in pre-British times has gradually vanished away and has given place to a system which allows a regular tug of war between them to the extreme detriment of both. We are no longer all in all to them and they, in turn, are not what they used to be. It is a matter of great self-satisfaction to us that we still command some affection and attachment from the people whose destinies have been placed in our charge, but even these relations will not long be allowed to continue. It is of vital importance for the preservation of our class to introduce a change in our dealings with our tenantry where such change may be needed and to do them service by ministering to their real wants. I would appeal to my brother landed proprietors of all classes that the little powers that have been left to us under law, should be exercised only to adjust cultivation of land for the development of agriculture and for the protection of the poor from the oppression of the strong and to keep the discipline and peace and order of the villages.

The struggle is hard and odds are against us and howsoever considerate we might be there shall always remain great apprehensions and causes of friction between these two classes which at one time were considered to be of one and the same family—the landlord acting as the head and his tenants as his dependants. From economic, political, and social points of view, the best solution of the agrarian problem is to extend permanent settlement to these provinces as well as greater rights to tenants. But at present such demand, such cry, is only

a cry in the wilderness and no one is prepared or inclined to give even a thought to it.

### Ancient Indian Wisdom as regards Wood Work.

The series of articles on "Indian Engineering Philosophy" contributed to *The Vedic Magazine* by Mr. K. V. Vaze, I. C. E., continue to be instructive and interesting. He cites the original Sanskrit texts with references and gives translations.

We make a few extracts from the English portions.

The first consideration in wood work is the quality of the wood to be used. The following trees are not to be used for building purposes.

(1) All trees that grow in the compounds of temples.

(2) All trees struck by lightning.

(3) All trees scorched by forest fires.

(4) All trees growing in the compounds of buildings.

(5) All trees along high roads or in village sites.

(6) All trees grown by watering with pots.

(7) All trees that afford shelter to birds and animals.

(8) All trees broken by elephants or winds.

(9) All trees that have died a natural death.

(10) All trees affording shelter to travellers.

(11) All trees that have grown entwined with each other and broken or grown through ant-hills.

(12) All trees on which thick creepers have grown or which are full of cavities.

(13) All trees having sprouts all over the body or which are too much spoilt by insects.

(14) All trees that give fruit at abnormal times.

(15) All trees growing in burial grounds or crematories.

(16) All trees that grow near courts or hermitages.

(17) All trees dedicated to God.

(18) All trees that grow close by a wall or tank.

The reasons for rejecting some of these trees are obvious, (1) A man for instance should not wish to shelter himself by depriving others of their shelter, (2) Trees that have been struck, scorched or broken by force have their tissues spoiled and weakened, (3) Trees that have grown in bad surroundings have insects living on these insanitary things about them; (4) Trees that give fruits at abnormal times must have their body abnormally built and hence their quality is abnormal and should not be accepted (5) trees which have been injured by caves, insects, white ants etc., are not good and (6)

trees growing on scanty water-supply or too much water have no strong tissues. In short a tree which is abnormal in growth, weak in constitution or likely to be infected by insanitary microbes is to be rejected.

Western authors follow most of these rules but they make no sexual distinction in trees nor do they care to see that the bottom of a tree is the bottom of the frame. The bottom of a tree is accustomed to bear the weight of the upper portion and the veins run from it to the top and carry juice upwards. If the top is put at the bottom it cannot bear the superincumbent weight and as all fluid flows from the bottom to the top this collects at this end when it is low and causes the wood to rot. Wood is therefore to be used in the position it grew on the tree. When used horizontally the bottom of the tree should be towards the South or West as the rain and wind come from these directions and the strongest part of the tree is required to bear their force.

### Rural Credit.

Mr. L. N. Govindarajan discourses thus on rural credit in *The Wealth of India* :

During the past fifty years agricultural indebtedness in India has grown markedly through the operation of various causes. Among them are the unfavourable date of the land-revenue collection which compels the ryot to borrow before he can realise his harvest at the best market-rate, the use made of the money-lender as dealer by the agents of the great foreign firms, the decay of the village crafts and the consequent pressure on the soil and lastly the new laws altering the relation between the debtor and the creditor to the disadvantage of the former.

Attempts have been made to supply the agriculturist with easy and cheap credit, at the same time eliminating the danger of reckless borrowing. The problem is twofold. Firstly provision must be made for long-time credit to enable the farmer to pay off his old debts and to undertake costly improvements. Equally essential is it to supply the cultivator with working capital to carry on his normal agricultural operations.

Beyond question, the initial step towards dealing with the vast problem of the indebtedness of ryots is the wide extension of co-operative credit. With this end in view was passed the Co-operative Societies Act, later expanded into the Act of 1912. This Act encourages the cultivators to combine with a view to obtain credit on joint securities and to carry on the operations of their own Banks and Societies on the principle of mutual help and co-operation.

Their features are limitation of area so as to secure mutual personal knowledge on the part of the members, low shares, unlimited liability of members, loans being issued only for members for productive and provident purposes, absence of profiteering, and lastly promotion of moral as well as material advancement of the members.

The fact that these societies have done immense good cannot be gainsaid. It has been calculated that in interest alone the agriculturist by taking loans from them instead of from the village money-lenders are saving thirty lakhs of rupees per annum. Again, with the progress of co-operation, hordes of money have been converted into active Banking Capital. It has enabled the cultivators to use cheap manures and implements, has led to improvement in the breed of cattle and has provided means for the dissemination of useful knowledge.

### Plant for Road-sweeping.

In Bernier's Travels there is an anecdote that the Emperor Shah Jahan once asked the Persian ambassador at his court whether there was anything to compare in the capital of Persia with that of India, whereupon the Persian replied with scarcely concealed irony that there was nothing to compare in the Persian capital with even the dust of the Indian capital. This delightful and health-promoting feature of all cities in Upper India continues to maintain its ground. Calcutta, though not so dusty, may be in the running for the championship some day. But for towns and cities which have no ambition to beat the record, we cull the following lines from *Indian Motor News* :—

**PLANT FOR ROAD-SWEEPING.**—The necessity for keeping the roads free from dust, moistening them periodically, and clearing them of

refuse is common to all municipalities and it is, therefore, a matter of interest to those responsible for local government throughout the world to know what plant is favoured for such purposes in other progressive centres of population. Among municipalities that have recently placed orders for the Karrier motor road sweeper, sprinkler and collector are Bergen, Birmingham, Blackpool, Burnley, Carlisle, Colne, Huddersfield, Leeds, Manchester (Repeat), Nelson, Rotterdam, Sydney and Westminster.

### The Need for Schools of Journalism.

Mr. E. V. Subramania Iyer makes the following suggestion in *Everyman's Review* :

Our first suggestion is to incorporate the subject of journalism with University education. There is no reason why schools of journalism should not be made a feature of specialised higher education like schools of law, medicine or engineering. Journalism is slowly but surely finding its own place in the National life and it is time we recognised it and gave it its due share of attention in the University curriculum. Or if such a step is impossible to be taken all on a sudden under the present circumstances, a beginning might usefully be made by accepting it as a subject of special study, like those of Science, Literature, Philosophy, etc. The proposal advocated has been tried and found quite feasible in America, where the Universities of Illinois, Columbia and a host of others turn out every year thousands of finished young men capable of discharging the duties of the profession. We respectfully offer this suggestion to the University authorities in India and devoutly hope they will give to the matter the attention it deserves. And incidentally, if this innovation is given effect to, it will go a long way in mitigating and ultimately removing the stigma that now attaches to University gentlemen, viz., that their education does not give them any particular advantage in fighting the Great Battle of Life successfully.

## FOREIGN PERIODICALS

### What China Requires.

In a paper contributed to the November *Century* Mr. Bertrand Russell takes the point of view of a progressive and

public-spirited Chinese, and considers what reforms, in what order, he should advocate in that case. We give below a somewhat full summary of the article in the

hope that progressive and public-spirited Indians, would reflect on the writer's views and draw correct and needful lessons from them.

Says Mr. Russell :—

To begin with, it is clear that China must be saved by her own efforts and cannot rely upon outside help. All the great powers, without exception, have interests which are incompatible, in the long run, with China's welfare and with the best development of Chinese civilization. Therefore the Chinese must seek salvation in their own energy, not in the benevolence of any outside power.

The problem is not merely one of political independence ; a certain cultural independence is at least as important. The Chinese are, I think, in certain ways superior to us, and it would not be good either for them or for us if in these ways they had to descend to our level in order to preserve their existence as a nation. In this matter, however, a compromise is necessary. Unless they adopt some of our vices to some extent, we shall not respect them, and they will be increasingly oppressed by foreign nations. The object must be to keep this process within the narrowest limits compatible with safety.

He proceeds to lay down :

First of all, a patriotic spirit is necessary ; not, of course, the bigoted anti-foreign spirit of the Boxers but the enlightened attitude which is willing to learn from other nations while not willing to allow them to dominate. This attitude has been generated among educated Chinese, and to a great extent in the merchant class, by the brutal tuition of Japan. The danger of patriotism is that, as soon as it has proved strong enough for successful defense, it is apt to turn to foreign aggression. China, by her resources and her population, is capable of being the greatest power in the world after the United States. It is much to be feared that, in the process of becoming strong enough to preserve their independence, the Chinese may become strong enough to embark upon a career of imperialism. It cannot be too strongly urged that patriotism should be only defensive, not aggressive. But, with this proviso, I think a spirit of patriotism is absolutely necessary to the regeneration of China. Independence is to be sought not as an end in itself, but as a means toward a new blend of Western skill with the traditional Chinese virtues.

After laying down that both political and cultural independence are required, Mr. Russell briefly outlines his programme.

The three chief requisites, I should say, are : first, the establishment of an orderly government ; second, industrial development under Chinese control ; and, third, the spread of education. All these aims will have to be pursued concurrently, but, on the whole, their urgency seems to me to come in the above order.

The state will have to take a large part in building up industry, but this is impossible while the political anarchy continues. Funds for education on a large scale are also unobtainable until there is good government. Therefore good government is the prerequisite of all other reforms. Industrialism and education are closely connected, and it would be difficult to

decide the priority between them ; but I have put industrialism first, because, unless it is developed very soon by the Chinese, foreigners will have acquired such a strong hold that it will be very difficult indeed to oust them.

The patriotic Indian must needs doubly underline the sentence that, if he succeeds in having a National State and Government, "The State will have to take a large part in building up industry."

After the establishment of an orderly Government,

Sooner or later, the encroachments of foreign powers upon the sovereign rights of China must be swept away. The Chinese must recover the treaty ports, control of the tariff, and so on ; they must also free themselves from extraterritoriality.

As regards industrial development, the very first thing that Mr. Russell says is :

I hold that all railways ought to be in the hands of the state, and that all successful mines ought to be purchased by the state at a fair valuation, even if they are not state-owned from the first. Contracts with foreigners for loans ought to be carefully drawn in order to leave the control to China.

Will our industrialists and legislators take note of the above dicta of one of the foremost thinkers of the West ?

Mr. Russell explains why "given good government, a large amount of state-enterprise would be desirable in Chinese industry."

In the first place, it is easier for the state to borrow than for a private person ; in the second place, it is easier for the state to engage and employ the foreign experts who are likely to be needed for some time to come ; in the third place, it is easier for the state to make sure that vital industries do not come under the control of foreign powers. What is perhaps more important than any of these considerations is that, by undertaking industrial enterprise from the first, the state can prevent the growth of many of the evils of private capitalism. If China can acquire a vigorous and honest state, it will be possible to develop Chinese industry without at the same time developing the overweening power of private capitalists by which the Western Nations are now both oppressed and misled.

But if this is to be done successfully, it will require a great change in Chinese morals, a development of public spirit in place of the family ethic, a transference to the public service of that honesty which already exists in private business, and a degree of energy which is at present rare. I believe that Young China is capable of fulfilling these requisites, spurred on by patriotism ; but it is important to realize that they are requisites, and that without them any system of state socialism must fail.

Indian industrialists should also take note of the following :—

For Industrial Development it is important that the Chinese should learn to become technical experts

and also to become skilled workers. I think more has been done toward the former of these needs than toward the latter. For the latter purpose it would probably be wise to import skilled workmen, say from Germany, and cause them to give instruction to Chinese workmen.

Our Non-co-operators, including their leader Mahatma Gandhi, want a democracy, but at the same time they appear not to value elementary education, reading, literacy. They appear to think that there can be a real democracy in an illiterate country. We have from the beginning opposed the educational opinions of the Non-co-operators ; and to them we commend the following observations of Mr. Russell :—

If China is to become a democracy, as most progressive Chinese hope, Universal Education is imperative. Where the bulk of the population cannot read, true democracy is impossible. Education is a good in itself, but is also essential for developing political consciousness, of which at present there is almost none in rural China. The Chinese themselves are well aware of this, but in the present state of the finances it is impossible to establish Universal Elementary Education. Until it has been established for some time, China must be, in fact, if not in form, an oligarchy, because the uneducated masses cannot have any effective political opinion. Even given good government, it is doubtful whether the immense expense of educating such a vast population could be borne by the nation without a considerable industrial development. Such industrial development as already exists is mainly in the hands of foreigners, and its profits provide warships for the Japanese or mansions and dinners for British and American millionaires. If its profits are to provide the funds for Chinese education, industry must be in Chinese hands. This is another reason why industrial development must probably precede any complete scheme of education.

The last observation has to be taken with a previous one, *viz.*, 'all these aims will have to be pursued concurrently.'

As regards the provision of teachers, we read :—

For the present, even if the funds existed, there would not be sufficient teachers to provide a schoolmaster in every village. There is, however, such an enthusiasm for education in China that teachers are being trained as fast as is possible with limited resources ; indeed, a great deal of devotion and public spirit is being shown by Chinese educators, whose salaries are usually months in arrears.

The obstreperous Calcutta University will please read the last few words quoted above. Those who profess to be patriots must sometimes suffer in silence.

Mr. Russell's remarks on foreign control and foreign instructions are quite apposite.

Chinese control is, to my mind, as important in the

matter of education as in the matter of industry. For the present it is still necessary to have foreign instructors in some subjects, though this necessity will soon cease. Foreign instructors, however, provided they are not too numerous, do no harm, any more than foreign experts in railways and mines. What does harm is foreign management. Chinese educated in mission schools, or in lay establishments controlled by foreigners, tend to become denationalized and to have a slavish attitude toward Western civilization. This unfits them for taking a useful part in the national life and tends to undermine their morals. Also, oddly enough it makes them more conservative in purely Chinese matters than the young men and women who have had a modern education under Chinese auspices. Europeans in general are more conservative about China than the modern Chinese are, and they tend to convey their conservatism to their pupils. And of course their whole influence, unavoidably, if involuntarily, militates against national self-respect in those whom they teach.

As regards education in China or in foreign lands, Mr. Russell's opinion is :

Those who desire to do research in some academic subject will for some time to come need a period of residence in some European or American university ; but for the great majority of university students it is far better, if possible, to acquire their education in China. Returned students have to a remarkable extent the stamp of the country from which they have returned, particularly when that country is America. A society such as was foreshadowed earlier in this paper in which all really progressive Chinese should combine, would encounter difficulties, as things stand, from the divergencies in national bias between students returned from, say, Japan, America, and Germany. Given time, this difficulty can be overcome by the increase in purely Chinese university education, but at present the difficulty would be serious.

The article concludes thus :

Out of the renaissance spirit now existing in China it is possible, if foreign nations can be prevented from working havoc, to develop a new civilization better than any that the world has yet known. This is the aim which Young China should set before itself : the preservation of the urbanity and courtesy, the candor and the pacific temper, which are characteristic of the Chinese nation, together with a knowledge of Western science and an application of it to the practical problems of China. Of such practical problems there are two kinds, one due to the internal condition of China, and the other to its international situation. In the former class come education, democracy, the diminution of poverty, hygiene and sanitation, and the prevention of famines. In the latter class come the establishment of a strong government, the development of industrialism, the revision of treaties, and the recovery of the treaty ports (as to which Japan may serve as a model), and, finally, the creation of an army sufficiently strong to defend the country against Japan. Both classes of problems demand Western science, but they do not demand the adoption of the Western philosophy of life.

If the Chinese were to adopt the Western philosophy of life, they would, as soon as they had made themselves safe against foreign aggression, embark upon aggression on their own account. They would repeat the campaigns of the Han and Tang dynasties in central Asia, and perhaps emulate Kublic by the invasion of Japan. They would exploit their material resources with a view to producing a few bloated plutocrats at home and millions dying of hunger abroad. Such are the results which the West achieves by the application of science. If China were led astray by the lure of brutal power, she might repel her enemies outwardly, but would have yielded to them inwardly. It is not unlikely that the great military nations of the modern world will bring about their own destruction by their inability to abstain from war, which will become, with every year that passes, more scientific and more devastating. If China joins in this madness, China will perish like the rest. But if Chinese reformers can have the moderation to stop when they have made China capable of self-defense and to abstain from the further step of foreign conquest, if, when they have become safe at home, they can turn aside from the materialistic activities imposed by the powers, and devote their freedom to science and art and the institution of a better economic system, then China will have played the part in the world for which she is fitted, and will have given to mankind as a whole new hope in the moment of greatest need. It is this hope that I wish to see inspiring Young China. This hope is realizable, and because it is realizable, China deserves a foremost place in the esteem of every lover of mankind.

### "England's Vanished Dream of Empire."

England's efforts to establish a vast Asiatic empire are thus outlined in the French paper *Journal des Debats*:—

Immediately after the Armistice the British Government spread the news throughout Eastern Asia that the victory of the Allies was due mainly to its efforts and, imagining that no effective obstacle remained in the way of its ambition, rapidly pushed its troops forward toward the Caspian Sea, the Caucasus, and Turkestan.

Mesopotamia was wholly occupied. A British garrison was stationed in Mosul. A British military expedition settled down in Persia. A line of communication maintained by British engineers and traversed by British military automobiles connected Bagdad with Baku at the north and with India at the east. Southern Persia was garrisoned by the 'South Persia Rifles,' a native constabulary organized and commanded by British officers. General Dunsterville was stationed at Baku. Tiflis, Batum, the Transcaucasian republics of Azerbaijan, Armenia, and Georgia, and the railway from the Caspian to the Black Sea were under British military occupation, and the English held complete possession of the principal petroleum districts of Russia. General Mallison advanced his headquarters to Ashkabad on the north Persian frontier, established his control throughout the former Russian provinces beyond the

Caspian from Merv to Krasnovodsk, and seized the railway line connecting the Caspian Sea with Tashkent in Turkestan. In Arabia, England made the modest Shereef of Mecca the King of Hejaz, with Colonel Lawrence as his guide and counselor. Thrones were also promised to the sons of this kinglest: Damascus to Emir Feisal, and Mesopotamia to Emir Abdulla.

In accordance with the Balfour declaration of 1917, Palestine was to become a Jewish state. England thus planned to keep her promise to resurrect the kingdom of Israel, and thereby to establish herself unshakably in the favor of international Jewish financiers.

At Constantinople Admiral Calthorpe took upon himself to conclude an armistice with the Turks on board the British warship *Agamemnon*, whereupon his fleet made its permanent headquarters in the Bosphorus. The Sultan became virtually a British ward, and a pro-English Cabinet displaced a Cabinet that sympathized with France. On March 19, 1920, the English took over by a coup d'etat the policing of the city, and placed under arrest their principal opponents, whereupon General Franchet d'Esperey, the real Conqueror of the Levant, packed up and left.

The British Government steadfastly asserted its determination to break up the Ottoman Empire. It promised the Greeks Thrace, Asia Minor, and the coast of the Black Sea. It encouraged their Smyrna expedition, and offered them Constantinople as a naval base. It also tolerated the restoration of King Constantine, who had betrayed the Allies throughout the war. To the Italians the English proposed to give Adalia, and valuable commercial privileges in the Black Sea and the Caucasus. They promised the Armenians an independent kingdom embracing Van, Bitlis, Erzerum, and Cilicia. The Kurds were to have upper Mesopotamia. The Syrians and Chaldeans were to be granted an autonomous government. The Caucasian republics were to receive the benevolent political and financial support of Great Britain.

In the opinion of the French journalist,

These fine plans were cleverly devised. They did not let an inch of Western Asia escape the direct or indirect control of England. France was granted the precarious occupation of Beirut, Lebanon, and Aleppo, from which she might easily be evicted whenever it seemed desirable.

Persia signed an agreement with Great Britain on the first of August, 1919, that made the country a protectorate of England, who was to control her revenues, command her armies, and practically administer her government. In Afghanistan, the pro-British Emir had been assassinated in 1917. The British Government, as soon as its hands were free, massed five army divisions on the south Afghan frontier, and made no secret of its purpose to dethrone the new Emir and crush the independence movement in that country.

England's ambitions even extended to Turkestan, which she hoped to alienate from Russia. Colonel Bayley established himself at Tashkent, where he busied himself promoting a Mussulman insurrection. The Emir of Bokhara and the Khan of Khiva were



invited to make common cause with the British-made Menshevik Government at Ashkabad against the Bolsheviks.

The French journal thinks that if the ambitious project to reap all the fruits of the military entente in Asia succeeded, England would have gained the following objects :—

1. She would have possession of all the holy places of Islam—Mecca, the pilgrimage centre of the Mohammedans of the world ; the great Shiitic shrines : Kerbela and Nejef, in Mesopotamia ; Stamboul, Jerusalem, and Konia. Possession of these holy places would give Great Britain a telling influence over the leaders of the Islamic faith, and over the thousands of pilgrims who flock to these points from French Algiers, Morocco, and Tunis.

2. She would also control the political capitals of Islam—Constantinople, Damascus, Bagdad, Teheran, Stamboul, Samarkand, Bokhara, and Tashkent. Her preponderant influence in these famous centres of Islamic culture and opinion would make her virtually mistress of the Mohammedan world. She could play off one Asiatic nation against another if she so desired, or she could gather them within the confines of a vast Pan-Arabian empire, extending from the Sudan to the Pamir, and set up a puppet caliph at Bagdad.

3. She would thus bring under her sway an empire of great potential wealth—Mesopotamia, the valley of the Jordan, and the valley of the Amu, where modern irrigation promises to work wonders.

4. She would acquire vast markets and fields of investment to be monopolized by her merchants and manufacturers.

5. She would control the petroleum fields in the Caucasus, the Transcasian district, Persia, Mesopotamia, and Palestine.

We are told that "Colonel Lawrence made no secret of these ambitious plans." "But those fond hopes have already been dissipated."

In April 1919 General Mallison withdrew his forces from the Transcasian district, leaving in charge at Ashkabad a feeble Menshevik Government that was brushed aside by the Soviet troops a few weeks later. The local railway simultaneously fell into the hands of the Bolsheviks. The Emir of Bokhara took refuge with the Emir of Afghanistan. Tashkent became a Bolshevik propaganda centre among the Mohammedans, and the site of a seminary from which Communist missionaries set forth to proselyte all parts of the Islamic world. By October 1919 the British troops were forced to withdraw from the Transcasian republics, and to evacuate Baku, Tiflis, and Batum, which were occupied, without resistance, by Soviet troops the following spring. Thereby Moscow recovered possession of Russia's great petroleum fields. Late in May 1920, a detachment of the Red Army disembarked at Anzali, captured its garrison of two thousand English soldiers and its commander, General Champlain, together with large quantities of stores and munitions, and the fleet of General Denikin which had sought safety under the British flag. With

the aid of local insurgents, the Bolshevik troops soon overran the whole Caspian littoral, and even threatened Teheran, Persian capital. They thus forced the English troops to retire completely from Persia. In May 1921 the last of the South Persia Rifles were demobilized, their officers were shipped back to England, and the British military and financial advisers of the Persian Government were dismissed. Since that day the Bolsheviks have definitely kept the upper hand in that country.

Meanwhile the campaign against Afghanistan proved a failure, and the British authorities were forced to treat with the Afghan Government as an independent Power. This was a serious setback ; for we must remember that for fifty years the foreign relations of the Afghans have been handled by the Government of India.

In May 1920 a violent revolt occurred among the Arabs in Mesopotamia. Many English officers were killed. The British forces speedily withdrew to Bagdad and would have been compelled to retreat to the coast had not the Assyrians and Chaldeans saved the situation for them.

The policy of arming the Kurds against the Turks likewise proved a failure. The Kurdish chiefs have refused obedience to King Feisal, and British political officers sent to treat with them have been assassinated. In Palestine the pressure of a self-assertive minority of Jews—recently arrived in a country five-sixths of whose people are Mohammedans or Christians—has proved a fertile source of trouble. In Arabia the authority of the Sherief of Mecca has been challenged and diminished by the growing power of the desert tribes.

We might add to this record of disasters the Egyptian revolt in 1921, the seething discontent in India, and last of all the recent disaster to the Greeks in Asia Minor. To-day the world is threatened with a general rising of Islam against the nation it has come to consider the mortal enemy of the Koran, the Caliphate, and the Ottoman Empire.

Recent British tolerant attitude toward the Bolsheviks is thus explained :—

The Lawrence policy met its first defeat at the hands of the Bolsheviks. Soviet imperialism is as shrewd as that of the Tsars, and the men who rule at Moscow realize at a glance that they can deliver in Asia their most telling blows against England. Great Britain's tolerant attitude toward the Bolshevik Government, of late, and her efforts to reach a political understanding with that Government, are ultimately to be explained by the situation in Asia.

The revival of Asiatic nationalism is said to be due to England's vanished dream of empire.

The total result has been a tremendous revival of Asiatic nationalism. It is commonly reported, especially in the British press, that Moscow is instigating this agitation for independence, and against the whites, throughout the Asiatic world. We should not lay too much stress upon that point. It is quite true that the leaders of the native races, seeing themselves threatened with absorption by Great Britain, have established diplomatic relations and made treaties with

the men who now sit in the Kremlin. Angora, Teheran and Kabul have received aid and comfort from the Soviets. Pan-Islamic Congresses have been held at Tashkent and Bakou.

But Moscow's influence is more superficial than real. The native statesmen of Western Asia are well informed as to the respective strength of the European Powers. They accept Moscow's aid against London, knowing full well that the Soviet power itself is fragile and that Russia has been weakened by war, famine, and anarchy.

Bolshevism is the enemy of all religions. Soviet troops have plundered mosques and taught the doctrines of emancipation and free thought. The Mohammedan priesthood has rallied to defend itself against this sacrilege. The social hatreds preached by the Communists make no appeal to these theocratic nations, to these nomadic herdsmen and mountain tribes, blood-loyal to their chiefs, nor to the plodding Persian or Anatolian peasant, attached by law and custom to his little irrigated farm, and taught from infancy to regard the will of his manor-lord as law.

In a word: the nations of the Near East have simply used the first opportunity to shake off a foreign yoke. They have only pretended to rally to the banners of Bolshevism. Western Europe, which knows little of these complex regions and is prone to confuse Russians with Asiatics, misunderstands the situation. We dream of Huns and Mongols again knocking at the gates of European capitals. The truth is less dramatic. It is true, however, that a dazzling dream of empire, half-heartedly supported by the London Cabinet and by England itself, has been dissipated by the combined resistance of Bolshevism and of Islamic nationalism. The grandiose plan of Lawrence and Curzon required for its success the united and hearty support of the people of Great Britain, and great expenditure of money.

England's industrial crisis and unemployment, and the protests of her Labor Party against imperialist adventures, are the real reefs upon which the ambitious schemes of British colonial strategists were wrecked.

### Angora and Its Government.

We have been reading of Angora and its Government for months together continually without caring to know much about them. Angora is a city in Turkey in Asia, situated upon a steep, rocky hill, which rises 500 feet above the plain. Its ancient name was Ancyra. The Moscow *Isvestiya* has given an account of the place and its government from which we make some extracts.

• Angora is an ancient and slow-moving place. Even the Bagdad railroad has not affected it. Here Turkish traditions work on, uninterrupted. The coasts of Asia Minor have become Europeanized. Trebizond and Samsun differ very little from Batum. But Angora is original.

The first thing that strikes you as you enter Angora is not the city itself, but its cemetery. It is enormous, and is scattered all through the city, extend-

ing in a semicircle beyond the town and up the slopes of a mountain, finally becoming lost somewhere near the summit. Its low hedges and railings fail to segregate this domain of the dead. The city seems like a tiny village lost in the gigantic cemetery; and it reclines against the side of a hill, which is crowned by an ancient fortress. Only the white minarets break the gray and bleak monotony of the place.

The city is a thousand or more years old. It occupies the site of Roman and Greek towns, whose ruins are met on all sides. The fortress is built mostly of fragments of ancient structures. Millstones, statues, tablets with Greek and Latin inscriptions, cornices, columns—all these went into the construction of the fortress wall. In one quarter of the city, recently swept by fires, the only thing that remains is an old Roman temple. Its walls are so immense that in their niches and under their porticoes hundreds of people now find refuge. The municipal bath, which is still in use, was built by the ancient Romans.

European dress is rare here, though one finds it often enough in the coast cities.

All the city's 'intelligentsia' may be found in the streets and the two cafes near the government buildings. Deputies of the National Assembly walk about, staid and dignified, alone or in small groups. Numerous officers crowd around, reading the newspapers, drinking coffee or selling and buying horses. Pedlars hurry hither and thither, offering viands and cakes.

At rare intervals a woman may be met on a shopping tour. Sometimes Mustafa Kemal himself visits a local merchant's establishment. His appearance in the street always draws a curious crowd and causes every officer and soldier in sight to stand at rigid attention.

As regards government institutions, the information given is—

Most of the government institutions are located in small houses which form a single group. The Post Office is always crowded with soldiers and peasants. Scribes sit on the ground near the entrance, writing letters for those who can afford to pay them. Not far away, before the building occupied by the Police Department, stands a group of women with unveiled faces. They are the city's prostitutes, ordered to appear for registration. They are noisy and impatient. The gendarmes treat them roughly, pushing or dragging them along the street.

All the government bureaux are ridiculously small. They seldom have more than a dozen officials. From noon to 2 P. M. is lunch hour, during which the public offices are entirely deserted, and the restaurants and cafes are crowded with customers discussing politics, business, personal affairs, and current gossip.

The bazaar quarter is then described.

The bazaar quarter is even more crowded and animated. The confusion in the streets is increased by the number of donkeys, since there is scarcely a Turk who is not accompanied by one of these faithful servitors. Merchants, mechanics, bakers, barbers, restaurant-keepers—all try to get as close as possible to the passers-by. Blacksmiths fill the air with their jingle and pounding, as they forge the oval iron plates

with which donkeys are shod. In a small, stuffy building, three strong fellows are rolling on the floor a long pole on which wool is wound. In another place an elderly Turk is mixing a white mass, out of which he prepares *khaleva*, a strange Oriental delicacy.

In the tiny market-place an improvised auction is going on. A powerfully built Turk, sparing neither his throat nor his feet, runs from group to group, shouting at the top of his voice, and offering an old carpet, which he waves in the air.

Groups of soldiers wander through the streets and the market-place. They are poorly dressed in uniforms of all kinds—Russian, British, German, Italian, French. Their shoes and boots are also of every variety. On their heads are caps or capes. Some wear cartridge-belt upon cartridge-belt, almost up to their armpits. They love to boast of their exploits against the Greeks.

Trade is very simple and is not extensive. Some booths sell cheap European goods, but most stocks consist of foodstuffs, local footwear, harness, brassware, and cheap ornaments, for which soldiers are the principal customers.

Things generally associated with Western civilization are mostly non-existent.

There are no clubs, libraries, book-stores, or theatres. Public opinion is formulated in the cafes and on the street corners, and its principal exponent among the masses is the priest, who in Turkey still retains his influence and power. Toward evening, when the bustle and noise of the working day die down, and singsong prayers from the minarets descend like a spell upon the ancient city, the streets become empty as I still, except for countless dogs who prowl the streets and the cemetery till dawn.

The home of the National Assembly is not a large building. It is a one-story brick structure, with large windows and a substantial balcony.

During the last lull in the fighting at the front, the Assembly passed an important law providing a new method of choosing the Cabinet. Up to that time, the President of the Assembly, Mustafa Kemal himself, had the exclusive right to nominate candidates for cabinet posts, and the Assembly merely selected one of the candidates thus proposed. This procedure invited much criticism, which Mustafa Kemal and his followers took into account. As a result, a special commission of the Assembly drafted the new law providing that cabinet ministers should be chosen from among the members of the Assembly. A novel kind of republic was thus created, without any president, in which both the legislative and the executive power is vested in parliament.

After the political victory won by Mustapha Kemal Pasha's party,

True to his tactics of allaying the suspicion that he desires to usurp undue authority, Mustafa Kemal delivered a speech immediately after this electoral victory in which he said:—

"We shall all be happy on the day when Smyrna

and Thrace are restored to us. But I shall be doubly happy for then I shall be able to resume the status of an ordinary delegate of this Assembly, such as I was three years ago. There is no greater happiness on earth than to be simply a citizen of a free nation."

## Parental Heredity and Social Heredity.

In *The Ladies' Home Journal* Dr. Henry Dwight Chapin writes thus on the above subject:—

In approaching the subject of inheritance and child culture there are two aspects to consider: namely, parenatal organic heredity, and social heredity that begins at birth. A child may have a wonderful organic structure, and a very poor social inheritance.

Almost all the benefits of civilization come from social heredity. In language the infant of the wisest scholar is just as helpless when born, as the infant of the defective parent, but their respective developments soon reveal the social inheritance unfolding after birth.

The very construction and existence of society depend upon numerous and diverse social inheritances. The functioning of government, accumulation of wealth, protection of property, the marriage system, standards for art, literature, music and the sciences, all proceed from social ideals that are handed on from generation to generation.

Hence we must make a marked distinction between social inheritance and individual inheritance, as they are controlled by different laws. For the individual we have an organic heredity. For society we have what may be called a social heredity that passes along accumulations gained by parents from the surrounding civilization. Conscience, which is the best trait of later life, does not exist at the beginning. Moral sense is not born with the individual, but is a perfect example of an acquired characteristic of the individual. While the possibilities of moral development doubtless vary, according to innate social inheritances which are influenced by organic inheritances the superstructure must be acquired from the teaching example of others.

Many things, which are attributed to heredity, are really due to environment and that is why home-life is so important, being the great molding force of mind and character. Why is environment so much more important in the human animal than in the lower animal? Because with the child we have a long period of helpless infancy, followed by a plastic period lasting up to twenty years of age.

The chick can pick itself out of the egg and be instantly independent of its mother. Evolution has stopped for the chicken with birth. As you go up in the scale of life, the longer is the period of dependence and plasticity, and hence the necessity for stressing the importance of environment. The lower animal is pretty fully formed at birth and can soon look after itself—the kitten in a matter of a few weeks, the puppy possibly a

few months, and the monkey even a little longer. But in the human animal there are twenty years of receptive state, in which the developing nature can be worked upon by surroundings. That is why the early years of life are, biologically speaking, the most important we live. The growing organism has at this early period stamped on it the possibilities of future vigorous, useful life or of early degeneration and decay.

### Physical Education for Girls and Women.

Lydia Clark, Director of Physical Education for Women, Illinois State Normal University, writes in *Child-Welfare Magazine* :

Physical activity is an absolute necessity for the proper growth and development of girls as well as of boys. We have long recognized its value and importance for boys, but our ideal of womanhood has been decidedly hampered in its development by the notion that a short of attractiveness is attached to physical weakness and the consequent need of protection. Gradually we are emerging from this medieval conception of womanhood, and are realizing that vigorous health and a reasonable amount of strength and independence are not incompatible with womanliness, beauty and attractiveness.

A few years ago the athletic girl with her mannish attire and stride was in our midst, very likely because of a mistaken notion that girls' athletics should be fashioned after those of boys. This is not the idea of thoughtful physical educators today. They realize that women are different from men in interests, desires, and co-ordinations. This is, however, not merely a matter of degree; it is an inherent difference. Therefore the sports should be organized and arranged on a different basis, with the aim in mind, not of specialization in one sport, but rather of the development of vigorous, all-round good health.

Today women are taking a part in the organization of the activities of the community and of the nation, which necessitates training for citizenship. Boys receive this on the playground and through their sports in a much more vital fashion than can be taught in the classroom. Play is the subject nearest the hearts of children, and through participation in this activity they learn to be loyal, to play fair, to be honest, to sacrifice themselves to the group, to co-operate, and to take hard knocks with a smile. Tremendously greater opportunities are afforded the boy to acquire these characteristics of good citizenship through play activities than are offered to the girl.

Work in athletic associations offers a fertile field for the growth of executive powers. Here the girls find opportunity for organization and a chance to shoulder responsibility. We need leaders among our citizens, but we also need intelligent followers, and, here again, the association affords opportunity for valuable training.

Physical activity is conducive to health and vigor, but, in addition to the participation in systematic, regular exercises, the health of the body depends upon regular habits of living, the wearing of hygienic

clothing, and the correction of any remediable physical defects.

An important detail which is often lost sight of in the education of high school girls is the need for interest and joy in some wholesome cause. The work and activities of an athletic association will help to fill this decided need in the lives of girls, and will supplant many of the artificial and vitiating influences which are rampant today.

*The Playground* also holds the opinion that girls should have plenty of physical activity.

The school medical officer of London, Dr. W. H. Hamer, has recently urged more play for all girls—even if the boys must help do the housework to set the girls free for a part of the time. Dr. Hamer thinks girls have too much to do, especially sewing and other indoor tasks, and therefore suffer more than boys from defective vision, heart disease, anemia and spinal curvature.

### Prohibition Referendum in Sweden.

The proposal at the recent prohibition referendum in Sweden was according to *The Woman Citizen*, that

The manufacture and sale of beverages containing more than 2½ per cent alcohol should be prohibited. This proposal was turned down by 51 per cent of the voters, so that the result was in favor of the continuance of the present system.

A unique feature of the referendum was that men's and women's votes were counted separately. The count showed that 57 per cent of the women were for prohibition, while only 40 per cent of the men favoured it. The total number of voters was 800,000 women and 938,000 men.

Though the prohibitionists have been defeated they scored a larger percentage of votes than at the previous referendum. Women are the preservers of the home, and they, therefore, vote more largely against drink, the destroyer of homes, than men.

### World News about Women.

The following items are taken from *The Woman Citizen* :—

#### *A Blind Leader.*

A noted blind Polish physician, Dr. Melanie Lipinska, has just arrived in this country to make a study of American methods for lightening the burdens of the blind. Madame Lipinska's work in re-educating blind people has earned her an international reputation. Primarily, her visit to this country is for the purpose of making a report on her observations to the Polish Oculists Association, but she will give a full account also to the French Association, for Improp-

ving the Condition of the Blind. While here she will lecture on her own theories and experiments.

#### *India's Women.*

According to the *International Women Suffrage Alliance News*, the newly-acquired spirit of independence among Indian woman is being strikingly displayed.

In Calcutta recently the 300 women employees of the Wellington Jute Mill struck work while demanding an increase in wages and the dismissal of an unpopular headman. This strike created a great impression, as it was the first time for women workers. Their proceedings were carried on with determination but no outward disturbance.

In the presidency of Madras the women of Salem are the sponsors of Women's Co-operative Banking in India. Eleven women clubbed together about two years ago and started a co-operative bank. Today there are forty-one members. Amounts may be borrowed at nine per cent interest, and loans are repayable in ten monthly instalments.

#### *Feminism in Japan.*

Japanese women are taking full advantage of the repeal by the Imperial Diet on May 10, of the law forbidding women to take part in political meetings. An organized women's suffrage movement is growing steadily and public meetings are held under the auspices of the new Women's Association of Tokyo. One of the age-old customs which is causing discontent among the modern Japanese women is that which gives to the husband's mother the ordering of the household. This ruling is particularly hard on the "foreign" bride who goes to Japan for the first time, on marriage, since a Japanese man invariably reverts to the customs of his country when he returns there.

### Difficulties of Idealism.

In *Liberator* Upton Sinclair describes the hard task of idealists as follows :—

All living creatures are part of a process of evolution, and they have at all times a double task, to secure their survival in their environment as it exists, and to keep ready to adjust themselves to changes in the environment which may occur. If the changes are rapid, this makes life very hard for the creatures: imagine, for example, the difficulties of a mouse which is struggling to pick up food and dodge its enemies, and at the same time is growing wings and becoming a bat.

In the case of us human creatures the task is harder yet, because we ourselves are to some extent the makers of our environment, and we have to secure our survival as we are, and at the same time to make ourselves something better. We find ourselves in a world of brutal force, and if we refuse to use our share of this force, we are exterminated like Jesus. On the other hand, we have in us a craving for a higher and unselfish kind of life, the impulse to make a better environment and adjust ourselves to that. We call that our "ideal," and it is the most important thing in us. No lover of social justice can afford to lose sight of this ideal, even for a moment: and yet it is a

fact that as we take part in the brute struggle for existence, we do lose sight of our ideal, we find ourselves drifting farther and farther from it, and we have to call ourselves back to it, or some prophet has to call us back. And that is why we have heroes of the class struggle like Gene Debs, appealing to the Soviet government not to execute some political prisoners, however guilty. It seems to me that we shall always have this kind of strife in our movement, for we all agree that government is a dirty business, and yet the working class has got to govern the world and we shall always find it fighting its enemies with fire, and at the same time wishing it did not have to do so—and also, perhaps, wishing that the few prophets and idealists only Jesus-Thinkers would not be so obstreperous, but would consent to lose sight of their vision of human brotherhood and justice for just a short while, until we get these blankety-blank social traitors exterminated or subdued.

For my own part, I am in the unfortunate position where I can understand both points of view, and always have an unhappy time trying to make up my mind what is right in any given emergency.

### The Goose and the Gander.

Nobody can say for how many centuries yet history will continue to illustrate the adage that what is sauce for the goose is *not* sauce for the gander; but here is a fresh example culled from *The New Republic* :—

The difficulty of administering the old rule concerning sauce for the goose and sauce for the gander is aptly illustrated in the question of the freedom of the Straits. Mr. Lloyd George is very plaintive about the action of the Turks in closing the Straits by entering the war—"an act of perfidy which cost us dearly." A little later, however, Mr. Lloyd George took the lead in closing the Straits to Russia during the great blockade of that country—an act of perfidy to humanity. Kemal Pasha complains that during the present war the Straits were closed to him while open to the Greeks. The Greeks complain that they were not allowed to interrupt the shipment of contraband of war by the Allies to Kemal. The question of freedom of the Straits cannot be separated from that of freedom of the seas, and although that was one of the most obvious points in making the world safe for democracy for which we went to war, it was the first to be excluded from the peace.

### Christianity and World Peace.

The same journal thus delivers itself on the question whether Christianity will convert the world to pacifism:—

Christian reformers who have hoped to convert the Christian religion into an influence making for peace on earth and goodwill to men have not

received very much encouragement recently from Bishop Cannon of the Methodist Episcopal Church. At a moment when there was no demand for war on the part of the politicians, the munition makers, the soldiers and the one hundred percent Americans, it remained for some of the Christian clergy and bishops to advocate the despatch of American battleships and soldiers to the Near East. If Bishop Cannon and the Rev. Mr. Barton could have dictated the policy of the country, the American government and army would have taken over the task of driving the Turks back into Anatolia, of protecting the Christian populations of the Near East from massacre, and of setting up a political regime in that region which would keep order and satisfy the conflicting ambitions and interests of its inhabitants and neighbors. Let us be thankful that they did not. When Christians come to apply Christianity to questions of peace or war, they seem irresistibly tempted either to glorify war as the very weapon of God or else utterly to condemn participation in war whatever the circumstances. If these are the only alternatives to which the effort to apply Christianity to politics reduces a democratic state, it will be indispensable to exclude Christianity from politics.

### U. S. A. and the Opium Evil.

There seem to be too many peaksniffs in America, as its attitude towards the opium evil seems to show. For *The New Republic* records:—

An exasperating result of the refusal of the United States to cooperate with the League of Nations is the failure of all efforts to check the traffic in opium products. Next to the British Empire the United States is the largest trader in this stuff. It imports immense quantities of raw material much of which is smuggled. Of the finished product in drugs, this country is the largest consumer per capita, and one of the largest exporters. The regulation of the traffic is one of the objects of the League, but the United States does not recognize this agency, and falls back on the ineffectual plan of control devised by the Hague Convention in 1912. It will approach the matter only through a special international conference. This is a case in which a stupid obsession plays into the hands of a powerful and unscrupulous commercial interest.

### Japanese Toys.

According to the *Japan Magazine*,

Of the various kinds of toys manufactured in Japan for export, the major part is made of celluloid, clay, rubber paper, harmonica, tin, or wood, while the value of the annual production which was less than ¥10,000,000 before the great war, became in 1920, over ¥20,000,000. As to the localities producing these, celluloid toys are manufactured chiefly in Tokyo and Osaka, and most of them are dolls of various sizes and sorts, while the destination of the exported goods is America.

That the Japanese export toys to America, shows their industrial efficiency and enter-

prise. For America is industrially very efficient.

### Democracy in Japan.

S. Sheba contributes an article to the *Japan Magazine* to show that "pure democracy" is incompatible with Japanese national traditions and character. He asserts:—

Foreigners in Japan frequently give too much credence to the demagogic advocacy of radical political changes which are reported, with the result that they incline to the belief that Japan eventually will become a democracy. In this conclusion they betray a decided lack of knowledge of the history of the Japanese and a woeful misapprehension of the national psychology.

Japanese are neither hide-bound, nor moss-covered. Progressiveness is, with us, almost a fetish, so that suggestions for the improvement of political administration are sure of a sympathetic reception, but that the fundamental system of government should be changed is unthinkable to Japanese of all classes.

The general belief is, that a constitutional monarchy, impregnated with democratic ideals, as is that of the Japanese, is in truth more nearly an ideal government than a pure, unadulterated democracy, with its irresponsibilities, responsiveness to mob psychology and highly emotional character. The Emperor is regarded as the personification of honesty, justice and righteousness. He stands as an inspiration to progress and a safeguard against national corruption and degradation. He is at once a spiritual and a very material political balance-wheel.

With political privileges being granted the populace in wise proportion to their advancement in modern thought and methods, the Japanese are but little impressed with the *ignis fatuus* of pure democracy. Indeed, the fact that Japan for twenty-six centuries has been under the rule of a single line of Emperors, without a break or serious revolution, is so significant as to excite the interest of students of world-history especially under present conditions of general political strife and turmoil.

It is true that in times past military cliques have had their ephemeral ascendancy when the hereditary rulers were temporarily obscured, but no conqueror has been able to rule Japan, as has been the case in other countries.

### Japanese Religions.

*The Japan Magazine* contains an article by S. Kondo in which it is stated that

Liberty of religion is allowed to the Japanese people by the constitution. Three religions exist in Japan, namely, Buddhism, Shintoism and Christianity.

Buddhism is divided into 14 sects according to the interpretation of Shakyamuni's teachings and to the

tenets of their belief. These sects are subdivided into 56 sections according to slight differences in the interpretation of the Sutras and in the tenets of belief as well as owing to disputes regarding lineage of the religious sects.

Japan has 71,750 Buddhist temples, 181,100 Buddhist priests and 51,511,100 Buddhist believers. This fact suggests that the bulk of the Japanese people are Buddhist believers.

In introducing Christianity in Japan, it was attempted by some foreign missionaries to make Japan a territorial acquisition of their country by means of that religion as they did in South Sea countries. Toyotomi Hideyoshi quickly discerned it and prohibited Christianity in Japan. Tokugawa Iyeyasu who followed, absolutely forbade the propagation of Christianity. This led to the Amakusa Rebellion by Japanese Christians.

Coming to Shintoism the writer says :

Shintoism, originated in the combined spirit of Japanese ancestor worship and Imperial veneration, and its observance centers in shrines. It is represented by the spirits of the Imperial Ancestors and the Gods of Heaven and Earth in the Imperial shrine and the spirit of Amaterasu-Omikami in the Ise Shrines. Shrines are comparable to Buddhistic temples in some respects.

There are 171,725 shrines in Japan, their gods and goddesses being, first, the Imperial ancestors ; second, men of renowned exploits ; third, gods or goddesses of marvellous power, and fourth, other gods or goddesses. The total number of Shinto priests in Japan for these shrines is 14,000, a small number compared with the number of shrines. This is owing to the fact that there are not a few shrines which have no priests in ordinary times, but on the occasion of festivals they come from other shrines to conduct the rites,

Finally as to Christianity,

There are about 12 sects in Japan, their churches and oratories numbering 1,355. The Greek Church has 131 churches and oratories, its believers numbering 65,615. The Roman Catholic religion has 189 churches and oratories and 14,200 believers.

The Japan Christian Mission has 230 churches and 21,000 believers. The Anglican and American Episcopal Mission has at present 213 churches and oratories and has 16,215 believers.

The Japan Methodist Mission has at present 181 churches and 13,356 believers. The Japan Congregational Mission has 151 churches and 15,847 believers.

Besides those mentioned above there are in Japan 164,000 Christian believers. The total number of foreign and Japanese missionaries here is put at 2,458.

### Cost of Government in Different Countries.

It is sated in *Current Opinion* for October that

The United States Government collected \$38 in revenue for each resident of the country during the

fiscal year just ended, according to an official statement of the Treasury Department. Business men and consumers supplied the money in taxes and tariffs. This figure represents the cost of government per capita in this country.

The cost of government in other principal countries follows :

England, \$95 per capita.

France, \$42.

Japan, \$13.

Italy, \$11.

The United States revenues totaled \$4,109,104,000 in the fiscal year just ended. In England the total was \$4,330,480,000, and in France \$1,744,725,000.

Japan collected \$764,392,000 and Italy \$456,384,000.

The population of the United States is nearly twice as great as that of Japan and well over double the population of the British Isles, of France and of Italy.

Business is heavily taxed in France, Italy and England. The British normal income tax is more than 25 per cent, the American 4 per cent.

Five items suffice to describe all sources of revenue of the United States Government in the Treasury daily balance sheet. More than twenty items are required to enumerate the sources of revenue of the governments of France, England, Japan and Italy.

Business men of these countries are required to contribute to the support of their governments in much larger proportion than in this country. Operating costs are smaller in the United States as far as taxes are concerned than in any of the principal countries of the world. Taxes on business make high living costs for the consumer. The excess profits tax, adopted by many countries to furnish war funds, has now been abolished in this country, altho it is still retained generally throughout Europe.

American revenue collections are falling, those of other nations rising. The Government of the United States is spending less, other governments more. This Government in the last fiscal year collected approximately \$700,000,000 more than it spent, according to the ordinary balance sheet of the Treasury.

Per capita revenue collections is regarded as a more trustworthy measure of the cost of government to the individual than disbursements. Revenue per capita measures the amount of money actually paid into the government by citizens. Expenditures per capita includes borrowing to be paid by future citizens.

### The Open Mind,

In the *World Tomorrow* magazine R. M. Lovett tells the reader—

The mind of the modern world has been open chiefly on the side of natural science, and in its opening the moral duty of scepticism has played an important part. No one has set forth the claims of this duty upon the scientist, and the difference which its fulfilment makes in the world of his conduct with more eloquence than Professor Huxley, in his essay which bears the modest title "On the Advisableness of Improving Natural Knowledge."

"As regards . . . the extent to which the improvement of natural knowledge has remodelled and altered what may be termed the intellectual ethics of men—

what are among the moral convictions most fondly held by barbarous and semibarbarous people? They are the convictions that authority is the soundest basis of belief; merit attaches to a readiness to believe; that the doubting disposition is a bad one and scepticism a sin; that when good authority has pronounced what is to be believed, and faith has accepted it, reason has no further duty...The improver of natural knowledge absolutely refuses to acknowledge authority as such. For him scepticism is the highest of duties; blind faith the unpardonable sin. And it cannot be thought otherwise for every great advance in natural knowledge has involved the absolute rejection of authority, the cherishing of the keenest scepticism, the annihilation of the spirit of blind faith."

It is a matter of concern to us to-day, and will be a cause of wonder to our children, that in all that pertains to social, political science, human conduct, the open mind is far less evident than in the field of natural science.

The test of the open mind in the modern world is its willingness to prove all things, including and especially emphasizing the ideas of nationality, and to hold only by that which is good in the noble sense of commonwealth.

### "Civilizing" the Eskimos.

Dr. J. H. Kellogg, editor of *Good Health*, writes:

"Tea, coffee and tobacco are insidiously weakening the Eskimo physique. By contact with foreigners the Eskimo is losing his native honesty, independence and sterling character. He is changing so fast that in another decade or two he will be quite another person. His direct relationship to his homeland will be lost and his dependence upon the exterior world finally established. The demoralization of the Polar Eskimo as a distinct social unit is imminent and inevitable."

In Dr. Kellogg's belief, if "our highly intelligent American citizens" continue to use tea, coffee, and tobacco, we shall "suffer ultimately the same degenerating effects that our remote cousins of the Arctic are undergoing".

—*Literary Digest*.

### "Why Chemists Leave College".

Under the above caption *Chemical and Metallurgical Engineering* (New York) narrates an incident "throwing light on the movement of scientific men from University work to the industries," from which we make an extract.

"A young professor of analytical chemistry was doing unique and recognized research. His apparatus, such as he had, was begged and borrowed from friends and foundations. His

department supplied him with almost nothing. In addition, for his analytical course he had sixty platinum crucibles for over a hundred men. These crucibles were loaned to students by the day and had to be returned to him personally each night to be locked in the safe (by order of the department head). Not only did his department give him no funds for research, but it filled his time with meaningless routine that was irksome and useless."

"This same man subsequently accepted an industrial offer which, incidentally, paid him more than double the salary; but more pertinent to the immediate question, it gave him unlimited funds for equipment, almost unlimited assistance and complete freedom from the mechanical routine of even ordering apparatus. The moral back of the tale is this: Industry has a much better appreciation of the intrinsic value of the research man's time and energy than is found in the university. It relieves him of elementary routine, pays him for the quality of his service and gets value received."

So even in rich America, researchers in universities do not in all cases find their jobs very comfortable. But do they rend the skies with their lamentations?

### Medical Advice by Radio.

*Popular Radio* (New York) describes at length how by wireless telegraphy medical advice is now-a-days given to ships at sea by doctors on land.

"Sailors now can have the best of medical advice, even tho the doctor may be thousands of miles away. Many and many are the ships that have no doctor: freighters, cargo ships, tramp steamers, tankers, fruit-boats, fishing vessels, schooners. In fact, only 25 per cent of the ships that sail the seas carry doctors."

### Uses of Castor Oil.

You don't like castor oil—who does?

Castor-oil is best known to most readers as a drug—the repugnance of children to it, owing to its unpleasant taste and smell, being familiar to every mother. Various attempts have been made to eradicate these obnoxious qualities, and an American physician, a Dr. King, claims to have so far solved the problem that castor-oil may be made to simulate a custard. He says: I find it a very pleasant mode of administering to boil the dose of oil with about a gill of good sweet milk for a few minutes, sweeten with loaf-sugar, and flavour with essence of cinnamon or other pleasant aromatic. It then somewhat resembles custard in its taste and appearance, and is readily taken by even the most delicate stomach,



After this exordium Chambers's Journal tells us :—

Although castor-oil is one of the minor oils, it possesses properties which distinguish it from all other vegetable oils, and its industrial use is increasing in a marked degree. For lubrication purposes the most valuable asset of this oil is its viscosity, and it is generally admitted that under changes of temperature and climatic conditions this oil retains its viscosity better than any other vegetable oil and most mineral oils. For this reason, notwithstanding the increasing production of high-class mineral cylinder oils, castor-oil is still used in the tropics for lubricating heavy machinery ; whilst it is found to be absolutely necessary in gas-engines, and has been used almost exclusively in all kinds of aviation motors. Castor-oil in association with cellulose nitrate dissolved in volatile solvents, is employed in the production of artificial leather ; the oil imparts softness and elasticity to the product, thus enabling it to be coated readily on the cloth or other backing material. This artificial leather is an important article of trade, being largely used in upholstery, the manufacture of carriage-tops, motor-car fittings, trunks, suit-cases, boots and shoes, book-binding, and various side-lines of novelty goods favoured by ladies.

Castor-oil is used even more extensively in what may be termed the legitimate leather trade, both as a solvent and a lubricant. It is usually directly applied to belting as a sulphurated product, but is also frequently incorporated in a commercially valuable composite grease containing, in addition to the oil, such ingredients as paraffin, vaseline, tallow, and wax. Machinery-belts coated with the composition are rendered more flexible and do not crack readily ; hence their durability is increased. It is claimed that leather treated with pure castor-oil is never attacked by rats—leather goods, including firemen's

buckets, are a delicacy eagerly devoured by those predacious rodents. If castor-oil is regularly applied to boots and shoes, these will last more than twice as long, and are rendered absolutely waterproof ; another advantage resulting is that such boots and shoes are immune from the playful but destructive attacks of the ravaging puppy.

Castor-oil is equally important in numerous other industries. It is employed in the manufacture of the linoleum with which floors are covered, being found to impart flexibility and toughness to the material used. Sulphurated castor-oil, made under carefully controlled conditions of temperature, and with proportions of the requisite ingredients as determined according to a chemical formula, is sometimes used in the production of 'Turkey-red' dyes. In the manufacture of tire cement for the motor industry, it forms an ingredient of good thick shellac varnish. The oil is also employed in the textile industries as a 'wood-oil,' and as a castor soap oil, both of which are indispensable in degreasing special woollen fabrics. It is even used in the manufacture of fly-papers.

The oil known as 'lamp oil' is also obtained from the castor-oil seed, and as an illuminant has the advantage of being very economical, as it burns slowly, gives a clear light with very little smoke, and as its flash and fire point is high, does not generate sufficient heat to be dangerous. At one time lamp-oil was in general use for lighting railway-carriages, and is even up to the present day still used extensively for that purpose. Pomades and cosmetics are also made from castor-oil ; in short, its uses are varied, various, and valuable.

The green leaves of the plant are a good cattle food ; it increases the flow of milk in cows, and they eat it with relish.

The cost of cultivating this plant is little and the yield large.

## CORRESPONDENCE

To  
The Editor  
Sir,

I am compiling a book on the Ancient History of the Kambojas and shall feel obliged for any information supplied to me in connection with the same, while they were governing in Kambodia or

any other part of the world including India.  
The information may be addressed to me to the following address :—Ganga Singh, I. M. S. M. G. P. V. C. Dharampore R. S.

GANGA SINGH, I. M. S. M. & Co.,  
Editor,—*The Kamboj Gazette*.

## NOTES

### Controversial Methods of the Calcutta University.

If two persons quarrel, and if one of them retorts charging his adversary with being or doing the same as one's self, or, briefly, if he says, *tu quo que*, "thou also", it is popularly considered an effective reply. But from the point of view of the neutral or impartial onlooker, both parties may be in the wrong.

The Calcutta University has been charged with having brought bankruptcy upon itself by "thoughtless" financial mismanagement. As this accusation has proceeded from official sources, the advocates of the University have replied that the Bengal Government, too, has not been solvent, and it, too, has incurred expenditure which could have been avoided or curtailed. But the people of Bengal cannot be satisfied with such a reply. Waste, or extravagance, or thoughtless financial mismanagement, if it can be shown to exist, is to be condemned wherever it is found. And, therefore, along with many other journalists, we have repeatedly urged that the Ministers need not have been paid the high salaries which they receive. And for the same reason, the Indian Association, of which two Ministers are members and office-bearers, has pointed out that certain Government Departments and high posts may be abolished. It will not do, therefore, for the University to take shelter under the *tu quoque* argument. Posts which are sinecures or almost sinecures must be abolished. In a previous issue we specifically mentioned some such. Some of the things we said have been tried to be explained away. But we have not yet been told, for instance, what work Lieutenant-Colonel George Raking did for which he was paid Rs. 500 a month in the year 1920-

21. Of course, we may be told some day in future when some work may be found for him in order to contradict us. For it is a favourite, though transparent, device of disingenuous controversialists to lie low and say nothing when for the time being there is no reply to a charge and to come forward with a reply when the necessary rectification has been made. But if no rectification is possible, then there is no reply; as, for instance, in the matter of depriving Birajasankar Guha of even the chance of getting the Premchand Roychand Studentship.

It appears that the Bengal Government has refused to sanction the increase of the registration fee of students from Rs. 2 to Rs. 5 on the ground that the increased income which may be secured thereby will not be spent for the benefit of the majority of the matriculates. The University has retorted that the Government made a profit of five lakhs of rupees from the pleaders' and mukhtearship examinations which was not spent for the benefit of the pleaders and mukhtears, and that the increased income from the enhanced court fees will not be spent for the benefit of the litigants. It is a clever retort. But the impartial public may well cry out, "A plague o' both your houses." Government ought not to make money by selling justice or legal practitioners' certificates, nor should the University make education dearer by raising its cost little by little. Each added item may be considered very small in itself; but many a mickle makes a muckle, and the classes of the population who seek education are growing gradually poorer instead of growing richer.

Besides, though the profiteering spirit of the Government must be condemned, the legal practitioners and the litigants

get something in return for their money, though at too high a price. But what do the matriculates who are registered get from the University for the fee paid by them which their predecessors did not get when there was neither registration nor a fee for it? Moreover, Rs. 2 per head is quite enough for keeping a register.

There was a time when the present Vice-Chancellor used to call the critics of the University flitting spectres of humanity, inventors of lies, &c. But of late, a different method has been adopted. At Senate meetings the Fellows are solemnly requested not to follow the methods and imitate the manners of the Bengal Council. But at the same time personalities and venomous and vulgar abuse abound in the pages of the "Calcutta Review" and even lampoons in a certain Bengali family's magazine.

The latest charge against the Bengal Government is that it has been trying to do propaganda work. But has not the University printed and distributed broadcast by post thousands of copies of certain "Calcutta Review" articles and other matter? We drew attention to this matter in our last June number, pp., 786-7, in the note entitled "Authorized or Unauthorised Waste?" without as yet eliciting any contradiction. Sir P. C. Ray in a recent letter to the Press complains that there is not money even to buy such trifles as bottles for the Science College, the object being to induce the public to bring pressure on the Government to make an unconditional grant to the University. We suppose the thousands of Rupees spent by the University in this kind of propaganda would have sufficed to purchase bottles, test tubes and similar things. But of this more anon.

### A Tempest in a Tea-pot.

Recently in a fit of pseudo-hysteria the Calcutta University has employed some big guns to kill what after all may or may not turn out to be the proverbial mosquito.

It appears that the publicity officer sent

a demiofficial letter to *The Bengalee*, marked "private," requesting it to reproduce an article from *Times Educational Supplement*, entitled "A Bankrupt University", containing adverse comments on University matters. *The Bengalee* published it, calling it an inspired article, which fact it should be able to prove.

It is to be hoped that *The Bengalee's* informant is more reliable than the person who has told some members of the Syndicate that the conditions by observing which the University may avail itself of the Government grant of Rs. 2½ lakhs were settled at a private conference of Mr. P. C. Mitter, Education Minister, Mr. C. C. Biswas and the editor of this REVIEW, held at the residence of Mr. Mitter. The story shows the imaginative power of its inventor and the credulity and gullibility of those who have swallowed it. No such conference was ever held. The editor of this REVIEW does not know even the name of the street or the number of the house where Mr. Mitter lives; and he has never met or spoken to Mr. Biswas face to face and does not even know him by sight. We did not know that there would be any conditions attached to the grant, nor what they would be like, nor did we discuss them with anybody, before we saw them in the papers. The publication of *The Times* article in *The Bengalee* was followed by a requisition signed by some Fellows, which again were followed by a Senate meeting, speeches, and a resolution drawing the Chancellor's attention to this sort of hostile official propagandism. Lord Lytton is the Governor of Bengal as well as the Chancellor of the Calcutta University. It will be interesting to observe how he settles this quarrel between his two capacities, as it were. We do not think the matter is of sufficient public importance to deserve detailed consideration. But matters arising out of it are of more importance, as in some industries by-products sometimes turn out to be more valuable than the goods directly intended to be produced.

What the publicity officer has done has enabled the cunning Vice-Chancellor to

turn away, if only for a time, the attention of journalists and the public from the state of affairs of the University to the real or alleged improper action of the publicity officer; for some people think any stick is good enough to beat officials or the Government with. To that extent that officer has done a real disservice to the public.

It has been insinuated that *The Times* is hostile to the Calcutta University and its Vice-Chancellor, and that the article in question is an inspired article, and that therefore what it has written deserves no attention.

Not being in the secrets of either *The Times* or the Government of Bengal, and having no desire to dogmatise, we have tried to form our own conclusion as to the theory of the inspired origin of the article and state the facts we have gathered, leaving the readers to judge for themselves.

It is a matter of common knowledge that Mr. Lloyd George was for a number of years practically the Dictator in Great Britain. But even he could not get *The Times* "within his clutches." If any Government or any officer or any private person or persons in India have succeeded in getting that journal to do their bidding from here, it or he or they must be more powerful than Mr. Lloyd George.

"The Literary Year Book" is a well-known British annual publication. Among other things, it informs the reader as to how particular papers or journals procure their articles. Regarding *The Times* Educational Supplement it says, on p. 180 of the 1922 issue: "Articles arranged mostly with experts by Editor." Therefore, its articles relating to India are most probably written by experts of some standing, whether they reside in India or in England.

An impression has been produced on the mind of journalists and the public as if the article in question were a stray contribution by some occasional contributor or correspondent. That is not so. Every issue of *The Times* Educational Supplement contains an article on some Indian educational topic. To verify our impression, we have turned over the pages of

each number of the current year. All the articles are unsigned and without any initials or superscriptions about authorship. In fact, they form a regular feature of the paper, which is, so far as we know, one of the best-conducted educational newspapers in the world.

Now as to the tone of the articles so far as the Calcutta University is concerned. In the very first article of this year's series, viz., that appearing on January 7, we find the following passage:—

"It is much to be regretted that at all the universities visited [by the Prince of Wales] the political miasma of non-co-operation kept away substantial sections of the student community. In Calcutta the investment with the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws could not be held at the Senate House, on account of the uncertain attitude of the students. The ceremony took place at Government House, where the distinguished Vice-Chancellor, Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee, delivered a noble panegyric on the British connection with India, and recalled the fact that nearly half-a-century ago he was present as a boy when King Edward received a degree from the University. Very substantial progress has been made in the decade toward the educational expansion and improvement for which his Majesty asked. Unfortunately, however, notwithstanding the thorough investigation the Sadler Commission began in 1917 and the practical proposals they made, the unwieldy and inefficient constitution of the Calcutta University has not been modified."

In the January 28 article we have the following:—

"Dr. Thomas showed that the lead given by the Calcutta University in providing facilities for research is being followed at some of the other universities....."

Some passages are extracted below from the April 22 number.

Since the reconstitution of the University on lines proposed by the Sadler Commission still lies in the uncertain future, largely through financial obstacles, Lord Ronaldshay was justified in describing the creation of the council of post-graduate studies as the greatest landmark in the history of the University in recent years. The scheme was taking shape when he became ex-officio Rector, and he gave it his whole-hearted support because it was calculated to establish in Calcutta, under the auspices of the University, "a real centre of learning and research, and to do much by resuscitating interest in the ancient culture of the country to stimulate thought on lines congenial to the particular genius of the Indo-Aryan race." He

had the vision of a modern Nalanda growing up in the premier city of the Indian Empire.

Lord Ronaldshay rightly challenged the theory that the department is carried on for the exclusive benefit of the limited number of persons who are on its rolls. The results of post-graduate work, as he said, react upon the country as a whole. Part at least of the duty of a University is to add to the sum total of human knowledge. Moreover, any nation aspiring to a leading place among the foremost peoples of the world must make its contribution to the progress of human thought. These truths, we are sure, are not denied by men of position and influence who severely criticize the working of the post-graduate department. Nor are they wanting in due appreciation of the devoted services to the University for so many years past of Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee, the Vice-Chancellor. But their complaint is that under his dominating influence the senate has allowed an *imperium in imperio* to be built up, and to be an excessive drain upon the University resources, so that it cripples the ordinary work. They also hold that the aggrandisement of the department has become an obsession with its distinguished head, and that a Geddes-axe should be applied to its administration.

The farewell speech of Lord Ronaldshay while studiously judicial in tone, shows that these criticisms are not altogether baseless. He admitted that in a poor country there are obvious limits to the extent to which post-graduate studies can reasonably be financed by public funds. He expressed the hope that the Legislature would be prepared to make some additional contribution toward the University in its present difficulties, but pointed out that the Legislature itself, with limited resources, is faced with many urgent demands. He suggested for the consideration of the Senate the question whether it is bound to provide post-graduate teaching in every subject in which it is prepared to examine and confer awards, or whether, following the precedent set by such Universities as Oxford in this country, it should not expect students of very special subjects to make their own arrangements for the greater part of their studies. Lord Ronaldshay spoke with the greater authority on this subject because he has occupied the dual capacity of Chancellor of the University, and Governor of the Province. On the one hand, he asks the Legislature not to lose sight of the importance of post-graduate work in shaping the future of Bengal. On the other hand, he asks the University to consider whether, in view of the straitened financial circumstances of the times, it may not prove possible without impairing the work of the post-graduate department to prosecute it at a somewhat smaller expenditure from University funds.

A pleasing feature of the Convocation was

the first presentation of the gold medal endowed by the Vice-Chancellor to be bestowed biennially upon the individual deemed by the syndicate to be the most eminent for original contribution to letters or science written in the Bengali Language. The medal was awarded to Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, the most brilliant Bengali writer of our day. It is an interesting coincidence that the distinguished poet has accepted within the last few weeks the chairmanship of an organization for improving the economic outlook of the educated middle classes in Bengal.

To Captain Pctavel's scheme and the University's Poverty Problem Study Fund the journal has devoted three entire appreciative articles, namely, "The New Poor" (May 6), "The Landless People" (May 13) and "Earning Whilst Learning" (August 26). There is also a reference to the subject in the April 22 number which we have already quoted.

Regarding the vernacular medium the July 22 article says :—

"This decision has been severely criticised by the *Englishman*, the *Pioneer* and other English-owned papers, but there is high educational authority for modification of the practice of the Calcutta University since its establishment sixty-five years ago of requiring all candidates for matriculation to be instructed and examined through the medium of English."

The whole discussion is too long to quote. The above is a sample.

In the July 29 number we are told that "at some of the universities, notably Calcutta,.....the course in geology is very thorough."

In the August 12 article we read :—

"Nothing in the recent history of the administration of the University of Calcutta has been less worthy than the bitter personal attacks made upon the Secretary of the Education Department—the mouthpiece of the policy of successive Indian Education Members—in the letter from the Registrar which reached the Government of India the day after its special relations with the University had been closed by transfer to the Bengal Government.

Lastly we come to the article in the October 14 number entitled "A Bankrupt University," which is reproduced in full below.

The unhappy financial position of the University of Calcutta investigated by the Accountant-General of Bengal, and his report discloses, in the words of a strongly Nationalist

Calcutta Daily, "a *prima facie* case of serious mismanagement." The Sadler Commission, it will be remembered, after an exhaustive investigation of the University's problems, outlined at great length a scheme of reform, little of which, however, has been carried out. Last March Mr. P. C. Mitter, the Education Minister, in a debate in the Bengal Legislature, passed some severe strictures on the administration of the University, especially in regard to its financial management. Thereupon the indignant Senate appointed a committee to draw up a statement in reply. The report, published early in August, began on wrong lines—by questioning the right of the Government of Bengal to intervene, except in regard to certain specified matters, such as questions of change of regulations and the affiliation and dis-affiliation of colleges. It declared that with such exceptions the Senate "is constituted a self-contained corporation and is vested with the entire management of and superintendence over the affairs, concerns, and property of the University, and no interference on the part of the Government, much less any member thereof, is permissible." This haughty tone was at variance with the fact that the discussion had been originated by applications for large and supplementary grants to assist the University in its financial difficulties. This year it is faced with a deficit of about Rs. 5½ lakhs (₹36,666) and the proposal was made that a grant of Rs. 2½ lakhs should be sanctioned by Government to help to cover the gap. Indeed, in some quarters there was an impression that the Bengal Government might meet the entire deficit without any investigation.

When the demand for the grant was made in the Legislature last July there was a strong feeling that it should be rejected. But on an assurance being given by the Education Minister that the financial position of the University would be placed before Government, and that the audit officers were about to make certain suggestions with regard to their finances, the sum of Rs. 2½ lakhs was voted. Meanwhile, the report of the Accountant General, to quote the words of a letter from Government to the Registrar, "reveals the fact that the financial administration of the University has hitherto been anything but satisfactory."

The letter gives the assurance that it is not the intention of Government that the University should be left in a state of bankruptcy and expresses the desire that the University authorities themselves should place their finances on a sound basis. It is intimated that, subject to certain contingencies, the Government may be prepared to ask the Legislative Council before long to vote additional grants to achieve that object. They feel, however, that as custodians of public funds they will not be justified in handing over any grant until an assurance is received that effect will be given to the recom-

mendations of the Accountant-General contained in the Report, and that certain other conditions are being carried out.

When the grant of Rs. 2½ lakhs has been received there will still remain the question of making provision for the liquidation of the balance of the deficit. The suggestion is made in the Government letter that the University should divert a lakh of rupees out of the aggregate balance of nearly Rs. 3 lakhs from a number of funds, chiefly relating to post-graduate research, listed from the accounts. The question is asked whether certain properties or funds at the disposal of the University cannot be pledged to enable it to open a cash credit account with a bank for monthly overdrafts until toward the end of November, a period during which it has practically no income, although it has to incur heavy expenditure. Government are prepared to sanction these steps, provided that a suitable undertaking is given that the overdrafts will be paid up as soon as the examination fees are realised.

These measures may meet the immediate difficulties, but it is obvious that the causes of insolvency in so far as they arise not from the passing cult of non-cooperation but from bad management or unsuitable policy, must be frankly faced. One outstanding cause is the disproportionate expansion of the post-graduate department, the glorification of which has long been an obsession with the Vice-Chancellor, Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee. Not less than one-third of the fee fund is allocated to post-graduate teaching under the rules, and the Senate has exercised its right to increase the proportion. Chairs have been founded for subjects for which there is little or no demand in Bengal, and which, as in the case of Marhatta language and literature, could be far more effectively pursued by research workers in other Indian provinces. There are costly professorships and readerships which, with few, if any, students are almost sinecures. At present little heed has been taken of the advice of Lord Ronaldshay in his farewell speech at Convocation that the Senate should consider whether it is bound to provide post-graduate teaching in every subject in which it is prepared to examine and confer awards. He suggested that without impairing the work of the post-graduate department it might be prosecuted at smaller expenditure from University funds.

Another cardinal error is made at the other end of the scale in setting quantity before quality by lowering the standard of matriculation. The distinguished Indian historian Professor Jadunath Sarkar, in a recent issue of the *Modern Review*, declares that the inadequacy of the standard has made the Calcutta matriculation the laughing-stock of the rest of India and fills the adjoining Universities of Dacca and Patna with bewilderment, and Bengal teachers and employers with despair. The fact, brought out with such wealth of detail in the report of the

Sadler Commission, is that the whole system of teaching and examination requires remodelling on sound and efficient lines. Professor Sarkar holds that given the reforms Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee is so unwilling to face, despite his association with the report of the Sadler Commission, the resources of the University should suffice for its legitimate and reasonable ends and there would be no need "for the present policy of alternately whining in the streets and snarling at the custodians of the public purse."

With the last paragraph but one of this article the reader will mark a certain identity of phrase and opinion with some sentences in the April 22 article which has been quoted previously. But the April article did not cause any outburst in academic circles here. The publicity officer's action cannot have made all the difference, as it was a mere request which no editor was bound to comply with. The article favours the Government view ; that is one cause of offence, and that may have inclined many journalists, too, to the side of the University, for we journalists often think any stick is good enough to beat the government with. What most probably aggravated the offence was the mention of and quotation from an article in this REVIEW by Professor Jadunath Sarkar, on whose devoted head the hirelings of the University have poured the vials of their choicest and most venomous vulgarities, because he is not the sort of notability who says in private damaging things against the University and its Boss while praising it and flattering him publicly, but has dared to publish what he thinks and feels.

It has been alleged that the publicity officer wanted the views of *The Times* to obtain publicity without his hand being known to be pulling the strings from behind. If that was really the motive underlying the method adopted, it was certainly blameworthy as being wanting in manliness and straightforwardness. That must be the opinion of all impartial observers. But the men connected with the Calcutta University who may insinuate that that was the motive underlying the Publicity Officer's method surely know or ought to know that many things, including university committee's reports,

articles in the "Calcutta Review" and some dailies, and some letters to the Press are produced by hands besides or other than those whose signatures they bear. Private and confidential letters of a non-official person have been published by persons connected with the university in order to lower a critic of the university in public estimation. Do these things betoken manliness and straightforwardness? "Why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye, but considerest not the beam that is in thine own eye?"

### Contributions to the University College of Science.

We have been told repeatedly that the University has contributed out of its own funds many lakhs to the College of Science, whereas the Government has, in comparison, contributed very little; and in a recent letter to the Press Sir P. C. Ray has reiterated this charge against Government, adding that the College was in such pecuniary straits that even such things as bottles, &c., could not be purchased. There is not the least doubt that Government ought to have given very much more for education—primary, secondary, technical and technological and university ; but we are not convinced that the funds belonging by right to the College of Science have always been used for the purposes for which they are meant, or that the University has always contributed to it what it ought to have contributed. In order to make our meaning quite clear, we quote below some passages from an editorial note which appeared in this REVIEW in September 1921 ( pp. 371-3 ), which we have not seen refuted anywhere. Perhaps the pecuniary difficulties of the Science College are partly due to what we wrote more than a year ago :

In the Budget Estimates for 1920-21, we find that the total expenditure from Post-graduate Teaching in Arts and Science for University Funds has been put down at Rs. 5,67,258. Of this amount Rs. 4,59,668 is for Arts and only Rs. 1,07,592 for Science. It should be asked why so little was provided for science. It is true that from the Palit and Ghose Endowments provision for a total expenditure of Rs. 1,52,000

was made for the University Science College. But even this additional sum brings up the total expenditure for Science to only Rs. 2,59,592, which is a few thousands more than half the total expenditure for Arts. It is well-known that scientific education is much more expensive everywhere than education in Arts.

It is to be noted that from its Fee Fund the University contributed to the Science College Rs. 91000 in 1917-18, Rs. 86105 in 1918-19 and Rs. 48946 in 1919-20. But in the Budget Estimates for 1920-21 we find *no contribution from the Fee Fund to the Science College*. The work of the latter has been expanding, but the contribution from the Fee Fund has gradually dwindled down to zero. It may be asked whether the next step in this "algebraical" progress would be or has been *minus* something, that is to say, something *taken from* the Science College Endowments income for expenditure in the Arts Department. In the Budget, the total receipts of the Fee Fund are shown as Rs. 9,17,654 for 1911-19, Rs. 10,25,645 for 1919-20, and Rs. 14,19,945 for 1920-21. This shows that the receipts have been progressively larger and larger, and the contributions to the Science College have been "retrogressively" smaller and smaller, until in 1920-21, when the receipts were about 4 lakhs more than in 1919-20, the contribution has become *nil*.

In reply, we presume, to our criticism in the *Prabasi*, which was in the main the same as above, the University has prepared an account sheet showing that the Science College has received *on an average* from the Fee Fund more than Rs. 1,03,666 per annum. We will take its accuracy for granted, and ask the following questions:—(1) What was the expenditure per annum *on an average* on the Post-graduate Arts side? Was it or was it not much higher? (2) If there be utter absence of rainfall in any country (which depends on rainfall for agriculture) in any particular year but if the *average rainfall* for the preceding decade be found sufficient, does that average, worked out on paper, help the farmers to raise crops? Does a piece of paper with the average rainfall printed on it satisfy the hunger of the famine-stricken people of the country? (3) It is said that a mathematician ignorant of swimming, coming to the bank of a river, calculated that the average depth of the water of the river was 3 feet and on the strength of that calculation proceeded to ford the river at a place where he did not know that it was very deep, and was consequently drowned. Could his calculated average depth save his life?

The yearly contribution to the Science College is meant to enable it to carry on its work. How can an average worked out on paper help the college to do its work as usual in any year when there is no contribution?

So far as we are aware, the Palit and Ghose endowments do not provide for the tea-

ching of Zoology, Experimental Psychology and Bio-chemistry. But we find in the Budget Rs. 18548 provided for the laboratories, equipment, &c., for these subjects. The sum of Rs. 152200, from which this amount is to be spent, comes entirely from the Palit and Ghose Funds, with the exception of Rs. 12000 given by Government. If the sum of Rs. 18548 has been spent out of the Government grant (for it cannot be taken from the Palit and Ghose Funds), there is still a deficit of Rs. 6548. Whence has this amount been 'conveyed'? It should also be enquired from what fund the salaries of the Professors of Zoology, Experimental Psychology and Bio-chemistry, totalling Rs. 33900 per annum, are paid. We have not been able to find out the answer.

From the Ghose Fund the Science College got Rs. 37,336 in 1919-20, and Rs. 81,700 (estimated) in 1920-21. This increased income of Rs. 44,364 in the latter year is due, we believe, to Sir Rash Behari Ghose's second endowment, for Chemical Technology, &c. But though the increased income works out to Rs. 44,364, the increased expenditure has been only Rs. 12,000 for the salaries of the two professors of Applied Chemistry and Applied Physics. There may have been other slight additional expenditures; but it is not clear whether they are from the second Ghose Endowment or any other source. But one thing is clear, that there has not been any workshop provided for these professors to enable them to do their work. *Applied Chemistry* and *Physics* cannot be taught by mere lectures. Yet it cannot be said that there was no money. There was at least a sum of nearly Rs. 30,000. An enquiry should be made as to how this amount has been spent. All this was pointed out in the *Prabasi* for Sraban (17th July, 1921). The foundation-stone of a technological workshop was laid on the 10th August. We do not insist that the former led to the latter; but let us wait and see when the building is constructed and fully equipped.

We take some passages from one of the Palit Trust Deeds:—

"...in the event of the said entire income being found insufficient for the purpose the said University should make such a *recurring* grant or contribution as will supplement such deficiency."

This appears to show that the University contribution, whenever it might be made, was to be made to supply a deficiency, it was not optional charity, and that it should be *recurring* and cannot be entirely stopped in any year, as it has been in 1920-21.

Another passage is:—

"That in connection with the said two chairs, the said University shall, from its own funds, provide suitable Lecture Rooms, Libraries, Museums, Laboratories, Workshops and other facilities for teaching and research."



It was pointed out in the *Prabasi* for Sraban last (17th July) that there was no Library, Museum or Common Room for Science College students. We do not know whether these have since been provided.

Another extract from the Trust Deed runs as follows :—

"That the said University shall from its own funds make such recurring and periodical grants or contributions as may be required for the following purposes, namely : .....(c) for the maintenance and repairs of the buildings and structures to be erected at No. 92, Upper Circular Road."

It was pointed out in the *Prabasi* for Sraban last that the Science College Building stood urgently in need of repairs. Since then, some slight repairs have been made in a perfunctory manner, but on the whole the work of thorough repair remains yet to be done.

All this shows that the terms of this Trust Deed have not been properly fulfilled.

### ✓ "A Bankrupt University."

So long as the personnel of Government was entirely British, some Anglo-Indian paper or other was sure to come to its rescue whenever it was attacked. But since the date of its becoming partly Indian in personnel such defence could not be said to be assured when the Indian fraction was attacked. Therefore as a matter of ordinary worldly prudence the Indian Ministers ought to have provided themselves with an organ of their own. As long as Sir Surendranath Banerji was part proprietor of *The Bengalee*, it served to some extent as a ministerial organ. When, however, he disposed of his shares, that paper, to make itself and the public conscious that the fetters were off its legs, began to kick with all its might. That was quite natural. And, therefore, it was surprising that the publicity officer chose to take *The Bengalee* into its confidence as if it still continued to be a semi-ministerial organ! If it be true that the Ministers are going to have an organ of their own, it is plain that they have been roused from their foolish dreams.

But in the meantime the clever University boss has so taken advantage of the unpreparedness of the Ministers and the tactlessness of the publicity officer as almost to produce the impression that the bankruptcy of the University is due solely

or mainly to the BENGAL Government not helping it with grants and that the bankruptcy is entirely pecuniary, not partly moral and administrative also.

But the fact has been that there is also moral bankruptcy and want of sufficient administrative ability and absence of adequate administrative machinery. The patronage of plagiarism, "the shuffling of examiners for the benefit of particular candidates" (to quote Professor Jadunath Sarkar's words), the boosting up of particular candidates, jobbery in the bestowal of patronage, the votes of most members of university bodies being "within the clutches" of a particular person, the lowering of the standard of examinations for financial reasons—these and similar charges have been repeated many times. *The Amrita Bazar Patrika*, which is not hostile to the University authorities, writes in its leader of the 23rd November.

"There are other causes also that have contributed to create a certain amount of public feeling in the community against the present administration of the University. It has been openly accused of jobbery and nepotism. And these charges have not been adequately met by the responsible authorities of the University."

For the rest, the auditors' Reports and the Accountant-General's Report will furnish some proofs, of what we have said, though owing to causes which may be conjectured the auditing has not been always as thorough as was necessary. We prefer to place greater reliance on the Accountant-General's Report than that of any packed University Committee. For he is not a servant of the Bengal Government, and he has nothing to fear nor any favor to expect from either the university or the Bengal Government.

### The Calcutta University Bill.

It is well known that the Bengal Government wants to change the constitution of the Calcutta University to some extent, and make other changes also. The Bill has not yet been published. *The Bengalee* has given a forecast. We do not know how far it is reliable. If it be reliable, a larger number and proportion of Senators would be elected than

now. That, no doubt, would be an improvement on present conditions. But we want a much larger number and proportion than provided for in the Bill, to be elected. We should like very much that qualified persons, of both sexes, belonging to all the different religious sects, and to different classes of the community, should become Senators. But we do not want that sort of result to be brought about by communal representation. That is an outworn method which, so far as we are aware, does not prevail in any of the advanced universities. The financial control should not be vested in the Government or any Government official. The University should retain its present amount of independence in the matter. At the same time, the University bodies should be so constituted, the rules for the framing of and securing conformity to the budget so made, and an office manual so prepared, as would suffice ordinarily to prevent financial mismanagement. Of course, Government would and should have the right to lay down conditions and rules for the expenditure of its grants, in addition to its present power of audit. It may be mentioned incidentally that the State grants recommended to be made to the Oxford and Cambridge Universities by the Royal Commission were "not to be an unconditional subsidy."

A cry has been raised that the independence of the Calcutta University is in dire peril. As if it has in practice any autonomy now! It is under an autocrat. That is not autonomy, any more than if the Minister of Education or the Director of Public Instruction were to become the University dictator.

#### The Mukhtearship Examination.

It is said that the Mukhtearship examination is not going to be held this year. If so, why were Rs. 5000 provided in the current year's Bengal Budget as its charges? It may be considered a small item; but why waste even a small sum? Why was not this amount given to Sir P. C. Ray to buy bottles, test tubes, lubricants, etc.?

On March 21 last, at a meeting of the

Bengal Legislative Council Maulvi Hamid-ud-din Khan moved "that the demand for Rs. 14,400 under head '24 1.—Pleadership Examination charges' be reduced to Rs. 5,000." The reason which he gave for the motion was that as the Pleadership Examination consisted of two examinations, the pleadership proper and the mukhtearship, and as the pleadership proper, occupying two days, had been abolished and only the mukhtearship, occupying one day, remained, the sum of Rs. 5,000 should quite suffice. "I think there is no use keeping a Secretary on a salary of Rs. 500 a month." Mr. Graham of *The Indian Daily News* has hitherto been the Secretary.

Babu Surendranath Mallik said :

"What I want to say is that I do not understand why, after the pleadership examination had been abolished, ["two years ago"] there should still be a Secretary of the Examination Board on Rs. 500 a month, unless it is for this reason that he happens to be the editor of the *Indian Daily News* [not editor but director or governor.—Ed., M. K.] and that his services are required for other purposes [University propaganda?—Ed., M. K.] by the President of the Examination Board [Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee]. For any purpose like this, the country must not be bled."

After some other members had spoken, the Hon'ble Sir Abdur-Kahim accepted the motion on behalf of Government and the grant was reduced to Rs. 5,000. But if the mukhtearship examination, too, was not to be held, we do not see what necessity there was even for this grant. Moreover, even when both the pleadership and the mukhtearship examinations were held, there was no need for a secretary drawing Rs. 500 a month for conducting them. Surely the Registrar of the High Court and his office, particularly after their work had been so greatly lightened by the creation of a separate high court for Bihar, could have done the work, as is done in Allahabad, we are told.

#### Retrenchment in the Calcutta High Court.

Some say that the creation of the Patna High Court has reduced the work of the Calcutta High Court by

two-thirds, others say that its work has been reduced by half. Whatever the exact proportion may be, there is no doubt that there has been a great reduction in the amount of work which has to be done by and in the Calcutta High Court. There should, therefore, be a corresponding reduction in the number of judges and in the office establishments.

### **Retrenchment in General.**

The largest amount of reduction of expenditure which is practicable is in the army, the military departments and army services generally. This is possible to the greatest extent by the Indianisation of the army. But apart from that method there are many superfluous and unnecessary posts and offices which ought to be abolished. Our people are not generally acquainted so well with the names and cadres of the military services as with the civil departments. The number of superfluous attached and unattached military officers in Simla is considerable. The total house-rent paid for them, not to speak of other charges, comes up to a not insignificant figure.

In the Indian civil secretariats there is a superabundance of secretaries, under-secretaries, assistant secretaries, superintendents, etc. The superintendents are very capable and useful men. Still it is doubtful if it is not too much of a good thing to have 19 superintendents for about 160 clerks.

The Simla-Delhi exodus should be stopped. It costs about Rs. 75,000 per annum for each department.

Great economies can be effected in the Railways. Kai Sahib Pandit Chandrika Prasada thinks that a reduction of about 20 crores of rupees per annum in their expenditure is possible without affecting the efficiency of the services rendered by them.

Expenditure incurred in connection with education, sanitation, development of industries, promotion of scientific research, irrigation, agriculture, and the like should be greatly increased. In any case, there should not be the least retrenchment effect-

ed in these directions, though within these departments themselves there may be reductions in some directions and corresponding increases in others. For instance, in the education department, the inspecting staff in some provinces may be reduced and more money spent on schools and teachers, and in Universities less should be spent on splendid buildings and more on the direct encouragement of learning and research, &c.

### **More Help Needed For Flood Relief.**

The closing of the Ramakrishna Mission's relief operations in North Bengal produced the wrong impression that relief was nowhere necessary throughout the flooded areas, whereas what the Mission's workers wanted to say was that it was no longer required in the villages where they had been at work. Reports received from different sources, official and non-official, European and Indian, go to show, what is obvious, that help is still greatly needed. Otherwise the Bengal Government, which has given neither prompt nor adequate relief yet, would not have asked Rs. 30,000 to be voted for the purpose in the November sessions of the Bengal Legislative Council.

As philanthropy is not a profession, there should not be even the semblance of professional jealousy in any kind of philanthropic work. Our impression is that all relief organisations have given help according to the measure of public support received by them, and we should be happy if our impression be correct.

Official estimates of the damage done are not likely to err on the side of exaggeration; but even the official estimates give one the idea that the havoc has been of a colossal character. In reply to a question asked in the Bengal Council by Syed Erfan Ali regarding the area and the number of people and houses affected by the North Bengal flood, the Maharajadhiraj Bahadur of Burdwan replied on behalf of the Government that the areas affected were: Rajshahi 1200 square miles, Bogra 405 square miles and Pabna 200 square miles; total 1805 square

miles. The numbers of people affected were : Rajshahi 741,437; Bogra 219,560 ; Pabna 70,000 ; total 1,060,997. The houses and huts destroyed numbered in Rajshahi 79,440 ; Bogra 83,686 ; Pabna 700 ; total 163,826.

India counts for so little in the world that a disaster of such great magnitude has not caused even a ripple in the world outside India. Nay, it counts for so little even in the British Empire, which minus India would not be an empire at all, that far from His Majesty the King-Emperor referring to it in his speech opening the British Parliament, even the Viceroy of India has taken no notice of it, and the Governor of Bengal set foot on a tiny spot of the vast flooded area long after the flood, only when he came down from the hills in the course of ordinary routine !

If we want to be considered human beings and if we want to be remembered by others in our joys and sorrows, we must make our existence felt by our achievements. We must take increasing part in world-movements—in religion and the arts and science, in industries and commerce, and in all else that make for true civilization. And we must also practically show that we on our part participate in the joys and sorrows of the people of other countries. Mere grumbings and lamentations will not do.

Without doing injustice to the workers of the other organisations, it may be truly said that it was a godsend to the sufferers that owing to the prompt appeals and great reputation of Sir P. C. Ray and to the self-sacrifice and enthusiasm of its workers, the Bengal Relief Committee has been able to secure a large measure of public sympathy and support and thus to render great help to persons in distress. Otherwise the "businesslike" methods of the Bengal Government with the "businesslike" Maharajadhiraj of Burdwan as one of its members, might have left the sufferings of the people quite unrelieved.

More help is needed and it is hoped that it will continue to flow in an abundant measure.

### **"A Shabby Factory of Indifferent Degrees"**

Sir Henry Wheeler, Chancellor of the Patna University, said in the course of his convocation address :—

"They wanted a first class University typical of all that was meant thereby. They did not want a cheap imitation, a shabby factory of indifferent degrees."

Perhaps the fling was meant for Calcutta. But Sir Henry should remember that, though we do not claim intellectual superiority over others, owing to the cultural atmosphere of Bengal and to the intelligence and love of learning of its people, in spite of the defects of our university and the moral inadequacy of its principal workers, it has produced and continues to produce some graduates who have not been on the whole outshone by the graduates of other Indian Universities—not certainly by the graduates of the new Universities. A certain amount of modesty and hesitancy to attack others do not unbecome fledglings. At the same time we are constrained to observe that the authorities of the Calcutta University must be prepared to shoulder the responsibility for the discredit which their policy and methods have naturally brought on it.

### **↳ The All-India Congress Committee's Meetings.**

If the question whether non-co-operators should try to become members of legislative councils had been left by the All-India Congress Committee for the consideration of the Congress at Gaya without several days' discussion, nothing would have been lost. For even if the Committee had passed any resolution on it, that could not have been final ; the matter would still have been open to discussion at Gaya.

It would be convenient for the public if the Committee published in the papers an authoritative report containing the resolutions it has either passed, negatived or passed on to the Congress at Gaya for consideration. We understand that [the following resolution has been passed,

This Committee accepts the report of the Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee on the question of Civil Disobedience and resolves (a) that the country is not prepared at present to embark upon general Mass Civil Disobedience, but in view of the fact that a situation may arise in any part of the country demanding an immediate resort to Mass Civil Disobedience of a limited character, e. g., the breaking of a particular law or the non-payment of a particular tax for which the people are ready, this Committee authorizes provincial Committees to sanction such limited Mass Civil Disobedience on their own responsibility if the conditions laid down for Mass Civil Disobedience by this Committee in its resolution No. 2 dated the 4th November 1921 are fulfilled. (b) That resolution No. 2 passed by this Committee at Delhi on the 4th November which gives Provincial Committees all the powers necessary to determine upon a resort to Civil Disobedience of any kind whatever be restored and resolution I, clause I, passed on the 24th February to the extent it conflicts with that resolution be cancelled, provided that general Mass Civil Disobedience is not permissible.

Speaking generally we may say that the Committee's decision in this matter has been right.

As regards the question of entering the Councils, we do not think we can add anything new to what has been said on both sides. Personally we have always been of the opinion that though some little good work may be done in and through the Councils, it is not commensurate with the expenditure of time and energy that it involves. We also think that non-co-operators as non-co-operators should not enter the Councils. Because, they can go there only as obstructionists and wreckers. As we have already said, a little good work can be done in the Councils, we are unable to perceive any moral justification for consistent and indiscriminate opposition to all Bills, resolutions, &c., which may come up for consideration before those bodies. If the non-co-operation party could do all that Government professes or means to do for the country through the Councils, there would be moral justification for wholesale obstruction. The idea of spending most of one's time and energy for a certain period for the mere purpose of wrecking the Councils does not appeal to us. There is better and much more

urgent work for every one of us to do. Moreover, we believe that though most probably if at the first elections the extremist party had tried to enter the Councils without declaring their real object, they could have captured most of the seats, now that the Government, the landholders and the moderate party in general are not off their guard, the non-co-operators would not be able to capture the necessary number of seats to be able to offer effective obstruction or to wreck the Councils. But supposing effective obstruction and wrecking were possible, is it quite certain or very probable that Swaraj and not greater autocracy and despotism would follow in consequence? Besides, if even an appreciable number of non-co-operating candidates were rejected by some constituencies, the moral effect on the country and the world would be bad, the opponents of the party would make full use of the fact to produce the impression that the non-co-operators did not represent the people, at least to the extent that they professed to do, and that instead of that party spurning at memberships of Councils, they had themselves been kicked out, as it were, in their attempt to enter those bodies.

In discussing the constructive programme of the party, we have expressed our opinion, particularly in the Bengali monthly *Prabasi*, that it would not and could not directly lead to political swaraj but it would increase the people's fitness to engage in and carry on a direct non-violent struggle for swaraj. But in our opinion, so far as we understand the principles of the party of non-co-operation, the councils are not the field where that party can fight that fight. The struggle lies outside the councils.

The constructive programme of the party includes some fundamental work connected with nation-building, and it is very difficult work, too. The removal of untouchability is such a work. Mahatma Gandhi has given it the first place in the programme. Its successful accomplishment requires a change of heart which only spiritual renewal can produce. So long

as caste-feeling remains, this spiritual renewal and change of heart cannot take place. The problem is not peculiar to India. It is somewhat similar to the touch-me-notism of America with respect to the Negroes, though it is harder of solution in India, because here it is mixed up with religious belief. But non-co-operators must either tackle it manfully or, frankly say that it is not a part of their programme. It will not do to dismiss it with a few words of pious hope.

The constructive programme of the party requires the leadership of sincere believers in it who can work incessantly with single-minded enthusiasm. The wine of election-contests and wordy warfare within the Councils are likely to engross the attention of the workers and distract the party outside to such an extent as certainly to interfere with work connected with the constructive programme. Mere sound and fury and sensation may produce the delusion that great work is being done, without any real and solid foundation for that belief.

No dishonourable motives should be imputed to men who have suffered for the country's cause. Those who feel that they can advance the cause of the country by entering the Councils should certainly be free to do so.

#### **The Elected Khalifa.**

By hailing and acknowledging Sultan Abdul Majid Khan as their Khalifa, the Musalmans have proved not only the possession of good sense and sound statesmanship but also that they are not an effete community. Election of the Khalifa is, no doubt, in consonance with their scripture and religious tradition. But it is not every community which can shake off conservatism and readily welcome and adapt themselves to a change required by present-day circumstances even though it be in harmony with ancient teachings or ancient practice.

An elected Khalifa owing his position to the suffrage of a new-born democracy should certainly feel conscious of more power and influence, though that may not be of a political character.

#### **The Italian Revolution.**

The bloodless non-violent revolution brought about by the Fascisti in Italy was possible, because the party which brought it about possessed sufficient power to make other parties powerless by violent means and because though it could be violent it curbed itself by self-discipline. The methods and means used by these Italians may not be fit to be adopted as our way in present-day India, but there is no harm in knowing that it is one of the ways to power in the land one lives in and loves.

#### **Angora and North Bengal.**

We respect the Musalmans of India for their political wisdom and religious solidarity in rallying to the support of Mustapha Kemal Pasha and the Angora government. No true man can help being drawn to those who try to maintain the traditional position of the brotherhood to which he belongs. At the same time, the Musalmans of India can and ought to show, more than they have hitherto done, by their conduct that they are also *Indian* Musalmans, by liberally helping fellow-Musalmans in distress. In the flood-stricken areas in North Bengal, the majority of the distressed people are Muhammadans. Yet, though Musalmans have given some help, the bulk of the help and the helpers have come from the non-Muselman communities. Angora Funds have been opened in various provinces of India and in some places liberally subscribed to; but we earnestly desire to be able to record that Muhammadans in and outside Bengal have been liberally subscribing to the North Bengal flood relief funds also. East Bengal and North Bengal are prevaillingly Muselman in population. Yet whenever there is devastating famine, flood or cyclone there, the work of relief is shouldered mainly and sometimes entirely by non-Musalmans. Musalmans want separate representation in municipalities, district boards, legislative bodies, university senates and a fixed proportion of govern-

ment appointments. Powers, rights and emoluments it is easy to claim; but there should be equal eagerness to share duties and responsibilities.

### Guru-ka-Bagh.

At first in Guru-ka-Bagh the Punjab Government wanted to settle a dispute of a civil character between a Mahant or priest of a Sikh temple and the Akali Sikhs by taking the side of the Mahant and beating off the Akalis; and this use of "minimum force" on men who were inwardly and outwardly quite non-violent resulted in the death of a few Akalis and numerous cases of serious hurt.

The following is a classified list of the injuries received by the wounded, admitted into the hospitals at Amritsar, submitted by Col. Gulab Singh in charge of the hospitals. Besides, there are another 130 cases that received injuries at Guru-ka-Bagh, but could not receive proper medical aid and consequently their injuries could not be classified.

Injuries above the trunk	...	269
"  on the frontal part of the body	...	300
"  to brain	...	79
"  testicles	...	60
"  perinium	...	19
"  teeth	...	7
Contused wounds	...	158
Incised wounds	...	3
Punctured wounds	...	2
Urine trouble	...	40
Fractures	...	9
Dislocations	...	2

Note.—Injuries on the back, buttocks and legs have not been enumerated in the list.

AMAR SING, *Secretary*, S. G. P. Committee.

Subsequently the use of "minimum force" was discontinued and thousands were arrested, tried and sent to jail. This, too, has now ceased, and now by a subterfuge, adopted by whom it is immaterial to discuss, here the Akalis are allowed to cut wood in Guru-ka-Bagh grounds for the free kitchen of the Guru.

Thus in this non-violent struggle the Akalis have triumphed, and the Panjab Government cut a very sorry figure indeed. The moral victory was with the Sikhs from the very beginning. They have shown an example of the highest courage and self-control. Though very brave fighters, they not only did not hurt their

assailants, but did not even flinch from or avoid their blows, because they had taken the pledge of absolute non-violence before Akal Takht, Amritsar.

### The Gurdwara Bill.

In spite of the unanimous opposition of the Sikh and Hindu members of the Panjab Legislative Council and in spite of the fact that the Sikh community do not want the Gurdwara Bill, which is meant for their benefit, the Panjab Government has passed it. Is this a record in obstinacy and unwisdom? It is by such means that the blessings of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms are illustrated.

### The Irish Situation.

All lovers of peace and haters of violence and bloodshed will earnestly desire that there may ensue in Ireland an era of ordered progress. Peace at any price is inglorious and dishonorable and "safety first" is not always fit to be the motto of of manly and honorable men. But the Irish have shown through centuries of struggle that they can and are always ready to pay any price for liberty. So if now they settle down to the paths of peace that lead upwards, no one can say that they have preferred inglorious ease to national honour. Perhaps the constitution which they have now won may enable them to be freer still in future without bloodshed.

### ✓Indian Shipping.

India can never achieve economic independence unless she possesses her own mercantile marine and can effectively control her coastal trade in defence of her rightful interests. The story of how Indian shipping and the indigenous ship-building industry were destroyed during the rule of the East India Company is a sad and sordid one. The contemporary story of how foreign shipping has been trying to prevent the growth of Indian shipping is also very sordid. The experience of the Scindia Steam Navigation Company, Limited, would furnish materials for a chapter of that story. The latest Direc-

tors' report of that Company tells the shareholders :

Your Directors have to point out to you that the powerful position of the vested interests on the Coast, and the existence of the deferred rebate system have been responsible for the recent tremendous cuts in the rates of freights on the Coast. And your Directors have to say to their regret that despite the declaration of the Government of India to foster and develop large industries of a sound and promising character, their attitude towards this company has not only been disappointing but of a positively discouraging character. Your Directors have therefore to run the Company's steamers in face of this powerful competition and the fact that they raised nearly 180,000 tons on the Coast during the year under review, would therefore be considered satisfactory. Your Directors believe that, if such unusual conditions did not exist, the Company would have shown better results.

While many countries, specially the United States of America, have by legislation reserved the coastal trade to their National Shipping Companies, we in this country have not only no monopoly of the trade on the Coast, but Foreign Shipping Companies have been able to create a monopoly against Indian Shipping and owing to their favourable position, have been able to kill previous ventures in this line. They have formed a shipping conference and have, beyond the usual and ingenious method of cutting down rates, used the deferred rebate system to drive the National Companies out of the field. They have also denied spice, although available, to shippers who were loyal to the Indian Company. They have thus prevented your participation in a region, yours in nature and by right. That natural right, we, with your support and goodwill, are striving to see re-established.

The speech of the chairman of the meeting, Mr. Narottam Morarjee, enables one clearly to understand what the Directors have said. In it we read :—

Last year, the Company had the support of the timber merchants of Moulmein and of one big shipper of rice at Rangoon and consequently the Company's steamers were plying from Moulmein and Rangoon, to Calcutta, Colombo and Bombay. That big shipper went over to the B. I. in November last, as he was threatened with the forfeiture of his rebates to the extent of about 2 lacs of rupees, if he were to continue his support to this Company. We had, therefore, no book cargo in the open market. Fortunately, many small but patriotic shippers came to our aid and we could, therefore, maintain our services from Burma as usual.

Those shippers, who were supporting the Company, required space for the different cargo on the Coast. They were penalised by the vested interests for their support to this Company. Space was refused, although available. We, therefore, decided to extend our services to all these ports on the Coast.

Those unacquainted with the business may not understand what is meant by "the deferred rebate system". Morarjee incidentally explains it by quoting the following passage from the Report of the Fiscal Commission signed by all its European members.

"The system of shipping rebates is one of the strongest buttresses of monopoly. It is an arrangement, whereby a certain percentage of the freight paid is returnable to the shipper at the end of 12 months, provided cargo is shipped by any outside line, is a powerful weapon for maintaining a shipping monopoly. Other countries have recently legislated against this system, and we think that Government of India should make a thorough enquiry into the desirability of initiating similar legislation in India."

Almost all the important maritime nations of the world, says Mr. Morarjee, have realised and recognised the necessity of encouraging the development of mercantile marine of their countries.

They have helped their Shipping Companies in a variety of ways by subsidies, bonus discrimination in railway rates and tonnage dues, etc., as well as by reserving the coastal trade to their own nationals. Such important civilized countries of the world as the U. S. States of America, France, Italy, Spain, Germany and Japan have reserved their coasting trade to the ships flying the national flag. In other words, these important maritime countries of the world have been encouraging and assisting in all possible ways their own Merchant Marine to attain a powerful position on the seas. The Japanese shipping has, by an intense effort supported by a national Government, within a few years come into the fore front of maritime nations. The wartime activity of the U. S. America in developing an Ocean Merchant Marine has been continued since the Armistice and has resulted in the famous Jones Act which was passed in 1920 and the ship subsidy bill which is now before the American legislature. Even Great Britain, which prides itself upon its *laissez faire* policy, advanced cheap loans for the building up of the Cunard liners *s. s. Mauretania* and *s. s. Lusitania*. But what is the policy of Indian shipping and what is our Government doing to build up an Indian Merchant Marine? There is absolutely no direct encouragement.



it for building up and developing Indian Merchant Marine. No subsidies. No bounties. No cheap rates. No special railway rates. No discrimination of tonnage dues. No reservation of Coast Trade. When we placed our views before the Fiscal Commission, the Chairman told us that he sympathised with our aspirations but could do nothing as there were no funds to meet our legitimate demands. Yes, Gentlemen, there are no funds to develop this water transport so necessary for the commercial and industrial growth of our nation. When however, the question of land transport was concerned, the Government could find money to support the railways and spend from the general revenues of the country to make good the loss which the railways incurred in the beginning; surely when the question of the Indian Merchant Marine comes up, it is not fair to put us off with the words "No funds, Gentlemen, no funds!"

Mr. Morarjee then proceeded to give one or two illustrations of the way in which the attitude of the Government towards the Scindia Company has been a positively discouraging character.

Last year, we requested the Government to give us, mind you, Gentlemen, merely to give an opportunity to quote for the carriage of 100 tons of coal from Calcutta to Rangoon. What was the result? Even the opportunity for tendering for the business was denied in defiance of promises from the proper local authority and the contract was made elsewhere for 10 years at rates which the Government did not think it proper to disclose in the interests of the public. Which public, may I ask, Indian or English? Surely no special facilities are necessary for the carriage of coal from Calcutta to Rangoon and by no stretch of imagination could the Government ever justify the necessity of making the contract for carriage of coal for such a long period as 10 years. But the reasons are obvious. They do not want the Indian Company to have a legitimate share of business in their own country. Gentlemen, one of your Directors, the late Mr. Lallubhai Samaldas, moved a Resolution in the Council of State last March and the Council of State agreed that, where the rates of the Indian and the Foreign Companies were the same the Indian companies should be given preference for the carriage of the Government and Railway materials from any port to India. It was really very encouraging and sympathetic on the part of the Government to accept such a Resolution. But what has been the result in practice? Except for inquiry for the carriage of a few cows or a few goats from Karachi to Rangoon, the Scindia Company has never been invited by the Department concerned when substantial cargoes

had to be lifted. There boats with full cargo of timber on account of the Government of Burma were fixed direct in London and we were never given an opportunity even to tender for it in spite of the above Resolution. When we protested against such action, we were told the Indian Government could not see their way to interfere in such matters with the decision of the Provincial Governments! Is this encouraging or discouraging? Instances could be multiplied, but, I feel sure, you will agree with me that your Directors have not overstated the case, when they observed that the attitude of the Government has been of a discouraging character so far as this Company is concerned.

He reminded his audience of a resolution moved by Sir Sivaswami Iyer in the Legislative Assembly for the appointment of a Committee to consider the question of building up and developing an Indian Merchant Marine. The Government accepted that resolution, and was sympathetic. But though more than 8 months have passed since the passing of the resolution, this sympathy has not led even to the appointment of the Committee, though the appointment of a committee is not necessarily followed by action. The fight, then, which Indians have to fight is two-fold. "There is something more than indifference, nay positive discouragement, on the part of the Government, and there is strong and continuous fight on the part of the vested interests." Mr. Morarjee, therefore, quite rightly thought that the time had come for the central legislature "to take active steps to compel the Government to discharge its duties and responsibilities to India." But the question is, has the central legislature this power of compulsion? A non-official Bill has been proposed to be introduced there for reserving the Indian coastal trade for Indian Companies and for abolishing the deferred rebate system. Let us wait and see what happens.

The deferred rebate system and the freight wars have given almost a monopoly of the trade to the vested interests on the Coast, so much so that more than 80 per. cent. of the trade is in their own hands, and yet, mind you, Gentlemen, these very vested interests, according to the Report of the Shipping Committee, appointed by the Board of Trade in England,

and published in 1918, have strongly urged the reservation of the Coasting Trade of India and Burma to British ships alone!! Not only are we not to be our own masters in our own house, but it is the vested interests, who, not satisfied with the monopoly that they enjoy, want to have our own house reserved to themselves for ever!

Owing to the powerful vested interests carrying on a freight war,

Rates have been reduced to utterly losing levels. Space has been denied to shippers sympathetic to the Indian Company. Unless, therefore, we determine to fight against these interests, which by every means want to put down all legitimate competition and thus wipe the Indian Shipping out of existence, as they have successfully done in the past, we do not think how we shall be able to maintain our ground. It is, therefore, impossible to say what return we shall be giving in the immediate future; but if you, Gentlemen, will take larger view of Indian Shipping and support us wholeheartedly by a public movement in this respect in securing for you your natural right to be your own masters in your own house, we hope to carry this fight to a successful finish.

We have now however been following the right path and if you will bear with us for sometime to come and give us your unstinted support, even the powerful vested interests will know that here is a Company which has not only the full support of its shareholders but has also got the powerful public opinion at its back, and which is determined at any cost to break the back of the monopolists. The old adage applies fully in our case: "United we stand—Divided we fall." If we shall, therefore, stand shoulder to shoulder in this fight against the vested interests in spite of the petrifying and discouraging attitude of the Government, we shall surely come out successful.

It is for the people of India to prove by their attitude of active sympathy that Mr. Morarjee's expectation is not without foundation.

### ✓ A World Safe for Democracy!

History tells us that in the past Britain gave shelter to foreign European rebels and revolutionaries. But she adopts a different attitude towards those Indians who are for taking steps for making India independent. This is well known. And the following facts will add a fresh illustration. During the world war Mr. Taraknath Das, an Indian independentist in America, was

put in jail there through the efforts of the Government of Great Britain.

Not satisfied with that, while he was in jail in Leavenworth, the British Government through the British Consul-General, Carnegie Ross, suggested that Mr. Das and other Indian nationalists be deported to India. When the U. S. Immigration authorities came to deport Mr. Das, they found that he was an American citizen. So the United States Government had to start a suit for cancellation of the American citizenship of Mr. Das so that he could be deported after the cancellation of citizenship, as an undesirable alien. The case was heard before the United States Judge, Hon. Wm Van Fleet on Dec. 19, 1919. At that time the District Attorney could not produce a case against Mr. Das, but secured time by filing brief later. Time was extended seven times and after all when a few days ago Hon. Judge asked for further evidence on the case and the Government failed to do so, the case was dismissed.

One of the efforts of the British to hurt a man who advocates the true American spirit of liberty for all has been foiled by patient and expensive fight. This does not mean that the fight against Das is over.

### Mr. C. R. Das on Swaraj.

The following passage occurs in speech delivered by Mr. C. R. Das before Dnn, as reported in *The Am. Bazar Patrika* of the 5th November :-

They must not think of a Parliament set up by the Government which only meant Government by the middle classes—by the bourgeoisie by capitalists over the masses, the labour classes, the poorer people—in other words, a ransy of the more powerful over the weak. There might be among them some who thought let the Government hand over to them more departments and lo and behold they in Swaraj! He declared that would be only Swaraj for the middle classes. There might be some who would say that "Let us take that Swaraj we will offer it to the masses." He said we would never do that. We at once begin selfish and there would be a struggle again between the classes and the masses. As long as any breath was left in him he would oppose such Swaraj. Swaraj must be for the mass and the Swaraj must be won by the mass. He had no belief in trusteeship, for nobody is upto now discharged it honestly. That was great significance of non-violent non-co-operation. Non-violent non-co-operation wanted to put an end to the disgraceful chapter of European history, namely the tyranny of the bourgeoisie, of the moneyed classes of the capitalists over the masses, the poor labouring

It is not the middle classes alone whom possession of power makes selfish. Never in history and in no other country have the masses got such power as the masses in Russia. But have they not deceived the middle classes and the aristocracy of all power there? Have they not tyrannised over them? Nay, have they not tried even to exterminate them?

Swaraj, therefore, should be for all—the masses, the middle classes and the upper classes—so long as there are different classes. True, the masses form the majority, and the other two classes are minorities. But minorities, too, have their rights. This fact was recognised by Mr. Das in the statement of his views made by him to the press at Amraoti, when he said:—

In my opinion at Gaya the Indian National Congress should commence its work for the year by a clearer declaration of the rights of the different communities in India under the Swaraj Government. So far as the Hindus and Mussulmans are concerned there should be a clear and emphatic confirmation of what is known as the "Lucknow Compact." As regards other communities such as Sikhs, Christians and Parsis, the Hindus and the Mahomedans, who constitute the bulk of the people, should be prepared to give them their just and proper share in the Swaraj Administration. I propose that the Congress should bring about a general agreement between all these communities in which the rights of every minority should be clearly recognised in order to remove all doubts which may arise and all apprehensions which probably exist.

If the rights of religious communities who are minorities are to be recognised, there is no reason why the rights of those who form minority groups according to occupation and wealth, are not to be recognised.

A parliamentary system is not necessarily identical with middle class government. In Britain a Labour Government is within sight.

### A Representation to Parliament against the Princes' Protection Bill.

In a representation to Parliament made by the Dakshini Sanathan Hitarachak Sabha against sanctioning the

Princes' Protection Bill passed by the Council of State extracts have been made from the evidence of Mr. Rushbrook Williams, the Director, Central Bureau of Information, showing that the criticisms in the Indian press on the affairs of Indian States are seldom of a seditious character. Some questions and Mr. Williams's answers to them are given below.

**Question:—**Now as regards the prevention of disaffection concerning Indian States?

**Answer:—**I can only base my statement on my personal experience. During the course of my study I have not come across anything which in its substance went beyond the grounds of legitimate criticism.

**Question:—**You have not seen anything beyond legitimate criticism and therefore you did not think any protection is necessary?

**Answer:—**Yes.

**Question:—**You have said something about the protection of Indian Princes. If any very strong and virulent article was written in the vernacular Press about the Indian States, do you think it is likely that it would be brought to your notice in your official capacity?

**Answer:—**Yes. I certainly think so. The major portion of the more important news papers passes through my office.

**Question:—**May I take it that you have not come across any article so far written against the Indian States which in your opinion would justify the introduction of any provision in the ordinary law of the land?

**Answer:—**So far as my experience goes, that is so. I should be inclined to say that while the tone of some of the criticisms which have been directed against the Indian Princes can only be described as regrettable, the subject matter of the articles has been, to the extent of my knowledge, as a rule unobjectionable.

### An Example of Wasteful Expenditure.

If there be a sincere desire to cut down unnecessary expenditure, the following passage from *The Amrita Bazar Patrika* should receive prompt attention:—

In the school of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene there is a class arranged for the Diploma in Public Health. There are at present nine students studying for this diploma. For delivering lectures on Hygiene to these nine students there is a Professor of Hygiene on a princely salary of Rs. 30,000 a year! Formerly this work was done for a small remuneration by the Assistant Directors of Public Health, of which there are half a dozen stationed in Calcutta. All these

hold British Medical degrees and are usually engaged in Public Health work. They delivered lectures in former years for the trifling remuneration of Rs. 100 or so a month. This arrangement, however, did not suit the sector of Public Health, possibly because the men were all Indians. Now in addition to the European professor we have mentioned above, there is another European officer on a salary of Rs. 26,000 a year for Laboratory actice. This work has for several years past been performed by Assistants in the Bengal Public Health Laboratory for the small remuneration of Rs. 250 a year. These Assistants are usually engaged in Laboratory work as full-time and the little extra teaching work was carried on in addition to their duties. Although this inexpensive arrangement went on smoothly for some time, still it was abandoned and now two officers at a cost of Rs. 56,000 a year have been employed. In this connection it could be noted that the Assistants who did the work in previous years have still been retained to bear the brunt of the work. In addition to this, a portion of the practical work done under the supervision of the other professors of the Tropical School who, however, have not been officially appointed for the purpose. The services of European officers who have been appointed on high salaries might easily have been dispensed with.

### The Handloom Industry.

The Indian Social Reformer shows from the statistics of the Inland Trade of India in 1920-21, that the increase in the output of power-looms in the whole country since 1911-12 is about 50,000 tons, and that at least the same quantity was supplied in 1920-21 by hand-looms. This, according to our contemporary, "brings out the fact that while there is a definite limit to the expansion of the power-loom industry, the hand-loom industry seems to be capable of practically indefinite expansion at a time of international crisis. If the hand-loom industry had been extinct in India, as some of our more ardent advocates of modern industrialism would wish, large classes of the population during recent years should have gone without a rag to cover their nakedness. While, therefore, it is possible to overdo the cult of the Sharka, there is even more danger of under-estimating its importance in this country. From the broad national standpoint, the Indian statesman should ever

extend a protecting hand to the hand-loom weaver in his cottage home."

### Angora and Capitulations.

It is cheerful news that the Angora government has set at naught the capitulations. They are very humiliating to self-respecting independent nations, being "an arrangement by which foreigners are withdrawn, for most civil and criminal purposes, from the jurisdiction of the state making the capitulation. Thus in Turkey arrangements termed capitulations, and treaties confirmatory of them, have been made between the Porte and other States by which foreigners resident in Turkey are subjected to the laws of their respective countries. . . . The practical result of the capitulations in Turkey is to form each separate colony into a sort of *imperium in imperio*, and to hamper the local jurisdiction very considerably." — *Encyclo. Brit.*

### Nur Jahan and Jahangir.

In a paper read at the fourth meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission Mr. Beni Prasad, Assistant Professor of History at the University of Allahabad, has tried to show from contemporary sources that the deep stain attaching to the character of the Empress Nur Jahan for having married the Emperor Jahangir who got her first husband murdered for securing her, is not justified by the facts of history. Nur Jahan is one of the outstanding characters in Indian history. Great personalities are priceless national possessions. But moral guilt detracts from the worth of personalities. Therefore he who succeeds in proving that a historical personage was not really guilty of what he or she is generally thought to have been guilty of renders noteworthy service to society. Such service would stand to the credit of Mr. Beni Prasad, should his paper stand the scrutiny of historians.

### India's Debt to Britain.

Since the end of the war the British Indian Government has borrowed large sums in Britain. The amounts, dates, and rates of interest are mentioned below.

£ 7,500,000	at par	April 1921	7 1/2
" 10,000,000	" 93	December 1921	11 1/2
" 12,500,000	" 96	June 1922	11 1/2
" 20,000,000	" 85	November 1922	11 1/2
Total £ 50,000,000 or 75 crores of Rupees			

India's previous debt to Britain was £170,000,000. So the grand total is £220,000,000 or three hundred and thirty crores of rupees. The more the money borrowed for India in Britain, the stronger becomes Britain's hold on India. The larger the number of the British creditors of India and the larger their lendings, the greater becomes the British opposition to the winning of self-rule by Indians; because the British investors apprehend that a self-governing India may repudiate the loans, or reduce the rates of interest, or may really become insolvent and unable to pay.

In addition to being politically disadvantageous to us, foreign loans are also economically bad for us, in as much as the sums paid as interest go away from the land and do not bear fruit here. Large loans also enable the Government to incur extravagant expenditure and at the same time keep up the appearance of solvency, which is detrimental to our interests.

### Parliament as the Fountain-head of Justice.

Years ago the late Mr. W. T. Stead wrote in *The Review of Reviews* in terms of high praise of the journalistic ability of the Panjabi gentleman whose pen-name is St. Nihal Singh. Mr. Singh has most probably come into touch with a more diversified element in Parliament than any other Indian. It is such a man who writes in *The Amrita Bazar Patrika* that for him "the illusion that Parliament is the fountain-head of justice—that it is the champion of every lost cause—does not exist. It did exist at one time: but it exists no longer."

A few among the persons sent to St. Stephens are idealists, and may be expected to resist all they can the attempt to hold us in subjection. While their moral support will be of the highest value to us, it cannot be effective until there is a majority in Parliament willing to make India mistress in her own house, no matter how adversely it may affect the market for the products of British Universities and of the British factories. That majority, unfortunately for us, does not exist in the Parliament which has just begun to function.

There was a time when many Indians thought that the Liberals would do great things for India. That hope has perished.

Some Indians think that Labour would do justice done to India. As a labour government may not be very far off, we may have to wait long to witness the actual achievement of Labour.

### Questions at Issue Between University and Legislature.

A persistent attempt is being made to obscure the questions really at issue between the Calcutta University and the Legislature of Bengal, and a clear statement of them will explain the situation to the public outside Calcutta. The questions are two: (1) Is the Legislature competent to lay down rules for the spending of the public money granted by it and to pronounce an opinion on any policy which, if adopted, is likely to lead to recurrent appeals for the tax-payer's money? For it should be borne in mind that the overgrown post-graduate department of the Calcutta University and its reckless expenditure on printing had made it work on deficit budgets for some years past, though the deficits have been concealed by its swelling up its entire reserve (leaving no credit balance to fall back upon in a temporary emergency), pouring trust-money for the time being into the current non-returnable expenditure, and diverting earmarked funds to other than their legitimate purposes. All these "petty shifts and temporary expedients" have at last broken down, and every sensible man has been predicting they would; and to-day the University's deficit is 5½ lakhs of rupees for the present year only, with no assets within sight to meet even a fraction of it.

But it should be remembered that such a huge deficit will recur *year after year* and the Bengal tax-payer will be saddled with a permanent burden of over five lakhs payable annually to the University, unless Sir Ashutosh's\* megalomania is cured and a Senate is formed with less crude notions of finance and a greater sense of its own responsibility.

How can the Legislature be expected to find money continually, while Sir Ashutosh is opening new branches in the Post-graduate Departments and appointing new lecturers (sometimes at the rate of two teacher to one

\* We mean Sir Ashutosh Bhattacharya and not Sir Ashutosh Chaudhuri, as the latter is well-known for his concurrent judgments.

student', and a Senate with its "co-operators' mentality" is rejecting all appeals for commonsense, moderation and foresight in finance, by "over-whelming majorities", as the University reporter triumphantly describes it?

The Bengal Legislature has, therefore, realised that the granting of 5½ lakhs to the Calcutta University this year, without imposing statutory checks on its improvidence and casual financial methods, will not be the end of the trouble, but the beginning, as it will be called upon *year after after* to pay the piper while Sir Ashutosh is lustily bawling for the tune. The Legislative Council, which has a more lively sense of its duty to the public than the Senate, has wisely decided to set the Senate House in order *before* it will give away public money to such a shiftless feckless pithless body. The Legislature will be guilty of betraying the trust reposed in it, if it makes an unconditional grant to the University. The proprietor of the Goldighi Encumbered Estate,—“the singular number is more appropriate here”, if we may borrow the classic remark of Sir Rash Behari Ghosh on the University, must no longer be permitted to create unlimited liabilities.

(2) The second question, which has been completely obscured by hired partisans in the local press, is,—should the Calcutta University alone among public bodies in the world, spend its money without framing and passing a budget *before-hand*, without strictly conforming to it afterwards, and in disregard of such well-known principles of finance that one cannot re-appropriate grants nor add to his obligations in the midst of the year if he is working on a deficit budget?

The world outside Calcutta will be surprised to learn that not only has the practice of the Calcutta University under Sir Ashutosh,—we again mean Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee, and not his concurrent brother—has been the exact antithesis of such sound financial management, but also that there are men at Calcutta who deny the wisdom of such a policy and the right of the “money-granting organ” to insist on its observance. The outer world will be surprised to learn that Sir Ashutosh's true men are even now—in this year of utter bankruptcy—fighting defiantly against the elementary principles of political science and business

management, and confronting the Legislature in a spirit of *tu quoque*.

A few facts will illustrate the point. When, at the wishes of the Legislative Council, the Accountant-General examined the accounts of the University and after exposing its irregular, confused and ruinous methods, suggested the right principles of financial management, the remark was made in the Senate “amidst loud applause”? “These are the rules we have sketched in our draft budget rules.” Here it should be explained that, while every honest and efficient public body has its rules of financial procedure, the Calcutta University has none. It resolved years ago to frame such rules, but they had not yet been placed before the Senate and passed,—not to speak of the being enforced in practice.

When the deplorable financial methods of the University were commented on in the Council long ago, the Senate should have adopted and published these rules. But our learned Lancelot Gobbo would not budge. Then, again, when in March 1922, the Legislature granted the University about 1½ lakhs and the Minister assured the House that the learned prodigal was willing to place his financial system on sound footing, nothing was really done. The Senate appointed a Committee, no doubt, but only to survey and justify its past reckless expenditure. But the Report of this Committee was deliberately held back till after the too simple and trustful legislators had voted 2½ lakhs to the University in July last. The budget rules were not passed *even then*! Next (in September, 1922) came the Accountant-General's exposure of how the University spends large sums without any system except individual caprice. Even then the draft budget rules were not passed and Lancelot Gobbo would not budge. He adhered to his childish plot of getting money out of the Legislature *unconditionally* and then boasting to the world of his diplomatic victory.

Now, every man who wants to conduct business *honestly* and with a view to efficiency and success, places his finances on a sound basis, frames and follows *rules* of procedure and rules of sanction, expenditure and audit. The obstinate refusal of the University to do this only proves that it is determined to keep the “reformed” and representative legislature

Bengal a slap in the face and say, "It is *me* to spend and for you to find the money without question. 'I am the master here.'"

In countries familiar with representative government it would be considered inconceivable that a body enjoying a parliamentary grant can adopt such an attitude to the Legislature, or that a body professing to be learned should be so ignorant of the first principles of political science as to question the right of the money-granting organ to lay down principles and policy for the expenditure of that money.

The learned Ph. D.'s of the Calcutta post-graduate department are at present too busy with their theses on *Human vitality and its survival after three months' starvation*, *the quantitative analysis of answer-papers examined without remuneration*, *The influ-*

*ence of the Vaisnav sect of Kartabhajas on the recent academic literature of Bengal*, *The Art of the Dedicator*, *The aesthetics of Oscar Wilde when robed in a professor's gown*, and similar original and erudite subjects of research. This fact explains why they are blissfully ignorant of the fact that the British Parliament made it a condition of its recent offer of increased grants to Oxford and Cambridge that Parliament should have the right of *dictating* the regulations (statutes) to be followed by these Universities.

The public will now see why the Bengal Legislature does not consider it safe to entrust public money to Sir Ashutosh,—we again refer to the Saraswati, and not to his learned ex-junior,—unless and until there is a change of heart in him and his Old Guards.



Granny's School.



By Sarada Chandra











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